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This edition first published 2019

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John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA

Editorial Office

101 Station Landing, Medford, MA 02155, USA

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Henriksén, Christer, editor.

Title: A companion to ancient epigram / edited by Christer Henriksén.

Description: Hoboken : Wiley, 2019. | Series: Blackwell companions to the ancient world |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018014795 (print) | LCCN 2018016994 (ebook) | ISBN 9781118841624 (pdf) |

ISBN 9781118841730 (epub) | ISBN 9781118841723 (cloth)

Subjects: LCSH: Epigrams, Greek—History and criticism. | Epigrams, Latin—History and criticism.

Classification: LCC PA3084.E64 (ebook) | LCC PA3084.E64 C66 2018 (print) |

DDC 888/.00209—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018014795>

Cover Design: Wiley

Cover Image: © Everett - Art/Shutterstock

Set in 11/13.5pt Galliard by SPi Global, Pondicherry, India

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Contents

Notes on Contributors	ix
Abbreviations	xvii
Introduction	1
<i>Christer Henriksen</i>	
PART I Epigram: Features and Definitions	19
1 What Is an Epigram?: Defining a Genre	21
<i>Mario Citroni</i>	
2 A Gallery of Characters: Real Persons and Fictitious Types in Epigram	43
<i>Patricia Watson</i>	
3 Epigram, Society, and Political Power	59
<i>Kathleen M. Coleman</i>	
4 Hidden Figures: The Women Who Wrote Epigrams	77
<i>Laurel Bowman</i>	
5 The Masculine and the Feminine in Epigram	93
<i>Lindsay Watson</i>	
6 Obscenity in Epigram	111
<i>Bret Mulligan</i>	
7 The Meters of Epigram: Elegy and Its Rivals	127
<i>Llewelyn Morgan</i>	

8	Epigram in Epic and Greek Tragedy: Generic Interactions <i>Martin T. Dinter</i>	145
9	Epigram and Satire <i>Rosario Cortés Tovar</i>	163
10	Immanent Genre Theory in Greek and Roman Epigram <i>Margot Neger</i>	179
11	Epigram and Rhetoric <i>Nina Mindt</i>	195
12	Greek Anthologies from the Hellenistic Age to the Byzantine Era: A Survey <i>Francesca Maltomini</i>	211
	PART II Epigram in Pre-Hellenistic Greece	229
13	The Origins of Greek Epigram: The Unity of Inscription and Object <i>Joseph W. Day</i>	231
14	Simonides of Ceos and Epigram in Classical Greece <i>Luigi Bravi</i>	249
	PART III Epigram in the Hellenistic World	265
15	The Development of Epigram into a Literary Genre <i>Valentina Garulli</i>	267
16	Anyte's Feminine Voice: Tradition and Innovation <i>Ellen Greene</i>	287
17	Leonidas of Tarentum <i>Jacqueline Klooster</i>	303
18	Callimachus on the Death of a Friend: A Short Study of Callimachean Epigram <i>Benjamin Acosta-Hughes</i>	319
19	Asclepiades of Samos <i>Alexander Sens</i>	337
20	Posidippus and Ancient Epigram Books <i>Kathryn Gutzwiller</i>	351
21	Taking Position: Later Hellenistic Epigrammatists <i>Annette Harder</i>	371

22	Meleager of Gadara <i>Évelyne Prioux</i>	389
23	Moving to Rome: Antipater of Sidon, Archias of Antiocheia, Philodemus, and Others <i>Annemarie Ambühl</i>	407
PART IV Latin and Greek Epigram at Rome		423
24	The Beginnings of Roman Epigram and Its Relationship with Hellenistic Poetry <i>Alfredo Mario Morelli</i>	425
25	Catullus as Epigrammatist <i>Niklas Holzberg</i>	441
26	Latin Epigram in the Early Empire <i>Christer Henriksén</i>	459
27	Greek Epigram in Rome in the First Century CE <i>Regina Höschele</i>	475
28	Epigrams in the Graffiti of Pompeii <i>Kristina Milnor</i>	491
29	Martial's Early Works: The <i>Liber Spectaculorum</i> , <i>Xenia</i> , and <i>Apophoreta</i> <i>T. J. Leary</i>	505
30	Micro to Macro: Martial's Twelve Books of Epigrams <i>Sven Lorenz</i>	521
31	<i>Carminis Incompti Lusus</i> : The <i>Carmina Priapea</i> <i>Eugene O'Connor</i>	541
32	Pseudo-Senecan Epigrams <i>Alfred Breitenbach</i>	557
PART V Epigram in Late Antiquity		575
33	The Late Latin Literary Epigram (Third to Fifth Centuries CE) <i>Luca Mondin</i>	577
34	Greek Epigram in Late Antiquity <i>Gianfranco Agosti</i>	597

35	Damasus and the Christian Epigram in the West <i>Dennis Trout</i>	615
36	Gregory of Nazianzus and the Christian Epigram in the East <i>Christos Simelidis</i>	633
37	<i>Inter Romulidas et Tyrias Manus</i> : Luxorius and Epigram in Vandal Africa <i>Anna Maria Wasyl</i>	649
PART VI The Fortleben of Ancient Epigram		665
38	Epigram in the Later Western Literary Tradition <i>Peter Howell</i>	667
39	The Epigram in Byzantium and Beyond <i>Andreas Rhoby</i>	679
Index		695

Notes on Contributors

Benjamin Acosta-Hughes is Professor of Greek and Latin at the Ohio State University. He is the author of *Polyeideia: The “Iambi” of Callimachus and the Archaic Iambic Tradition* (2002) and of *Arion’s Lyre: Archaic Lyric into Hellenistic Poetry* (2010), co-author of *Callimachus in Context: From Plato to the Augustan Poets* (2012), and co-editor of *Brill’s Companion to Callimachus* (2011), and of *Euphorion: Oeuvre poétique et autres fragments* (2012). He is currently at work on a third monograph, *The Fractured Mirror: Callimachus of Cyrene and Apollonius of Rhodes*.

Gianfranco Agosti is Professor (*Prof. Ass.*) of Classical and Late Antique Philology at the Sapienza University in Rome. He published extensively on late antique epic poetry, Christian Greek poetry, and late antique and Byzantine papyrology and epigraphy. He is currently working on a monograph on Greek metrical inscriptions and late antique society.

Annemarie Ambühl is a Privatdozentin in Classical Studies at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz. Her research interests focus on Hellenistic poetry and its transfer to Rome, on Greek and Roman epic and tragedy, and on classical culture and reception. She has published monographs on Callimachus and Lucan as well as contributions to handbooks such as *Brill’s Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* (2007), the *Blackwell Companion to Hellenistic Literature* (2010), and the *Dictionnaire de l’épigramme littéraire dans l’antiquité grecque et romaine* (forthcoming).

Laurel Bowman received her PhD from UCLA in 1994, and teaches at the University of Victoria (Canada). Her research interests include Greek tragedy, women’s poetry, classical reception and its cousin, classics in popular culture.

Luigi Bravi is Ricercatore di Filologia classica at the University

"G. d'Annunzio" of Chieti-Pescara; he has devoted part of his research activity to Simonides and the epigrams transmitted as his work. On this subject he wrote *Gli epigrammi di Simonide e le vie della tradizione* (2006). He is also the author of papers on Aristophanes, Greek metrics, and manuscripts.

Alfred Breitenbach is Akademischer Oberrat at the Universität zu Köln and teaches Latin language and literature. He is author of books on the Pseudo-Senecan epigrams and on Athens in late antique literature and of a number of essays and articles about various topics and authors in antiquity.

Mario Citroni is Emeritus Professor of Latin at the Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa. He is the author of an edition and commentary on Martial, Book I (1975) and of several studies on ancient epigram. His research interests include the author–public relationship in Latin Poetry (*Poesia e lettori in Roma antica*, 1995), literary canons in ancient literature, and the origin of the concept of the classic.

Kathleen M. Coleman is the James Loeb Professor of the Classics at Harvard University. She specializes in Latin language and literature of the Flavian and Trajanic periods, especially epigram, occasional poetry, and epistolography, and in Roman

culture, especially spectacle and punishment. She has published commentaries on Statius, *Silvae* IV and Martial, *Liber spectaculorum*, and edited volumes on Roman spectacle, ancient gardens, and the integration of material culture into text-based scholarship.

Rosario Cortés Tovar is Catedrática de Universidad of Latin Philology at the University of Salamanca. She is the author of *Teoría de la sátira: Análisis de Apocolocyntosis de Séneca* (1986) and has translated Persius (1988) and Juvenal (2007); she has co-edited *Bimilenario de Horacio* (1994) and *Intertextualidad en las literaturas griega y latina* (2000), and has published a number of articles on satire (Horatius and Juvenal), epigram (Martial), and the classical tradition.

Joseph W. Day is Emeritus Professor of Classics at Wabash College (Indiana, USA) and frequent senior associate member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Since the 1980s he has published numerous articles and reviews on earlier Greek epigram and, in 2010, *Archaic Greek Epigram and Dedication: Representation and Reperformance*.

Martin T. Dinter is Senior Lecturer in Latin Literature and Language at King's College London. He is author of *Anatomizing Civil War: Studies*

in *Lucan's Epic Technique* (2012) as well as co-editor of the *A Companion to the Neronian Age* (2013). He has published articles on Roman comedy, Vergil, Horace, Lucan, Seneca, and Flavian epic and is currently preparing a book-length study on Cato the Elder. In addition to editing the *Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy* he has co-edited volumes on Quintilian (2016) and Calpurnius Flaccus (2017) and on Seneca the Elder (2017).

Valentina Garulli is Researcher in Greek Language and Literature at Bologna University and worked at different stages of her career in Cambridge, Göttingen, Cincinnati, and Oxford. She authored publications on Greek biography (*Il "Περὶ ποιητῶν" di Lobone di Argo*, 2004), Greek poetry on stone (*Byblos laïnee: Epigrafia, letteratura, epitafio*, 2012), Greek and Latin epigram (Callimachus and Posidippus), and history of classical scholarship (Wilhelm Crönert, Tadeusz Zielinski, and the novelist for children Laura Orvieto).

Ellen Greene received her PhD from Berkeley in 1992. She is the Joseph Paxton Presidential Professor of Classics and Letters at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, Oklahoma. Her research focuses primarily on gender issues in Sappho and Roman elegy. She has published a number of books and articles in those areas, including *The Erotics of*

Domination: Male Desire and the Mistress in Latin Love Poetry (1998) and *Reading Sappho* (1996).

Kathryn Gutzwiller is Professor of Classics at the University of Cincinnati. She has written extensively on Hellenistic poetry, with a focus in recent years on epigrams and visual depictions of texts. Her books include *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies: The Formation of a Genre* (1991), *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* (1998), and *A Guide to Hellenistic Literature* (2007). She has also edited *The New Posidippus: A Hellenistic Poetry Book* (2005).

Annette Harder is Professor of Ancient Greek at the University of Groningen (The Netherlands). She has published on Greek tragedy, Greek literary papyri, and particularly on Hellenistic poetry. Since 1992 she has organized the biennial Groningen Workshops on Hellenistic Poetry and edits the series *Hellenistica Groningana*. In 2012 her edition with commentary of Callimachus' *Aetia* was published.

Christer Henriksén is Professor of Latin at Uppsala University. He is the author of *A Commentary on Martial, Epigrams Book 9* (2012), of a number of articles on Martial, Statius, and Latin epigraphic epigram, and has also published on Latin and Greek epigraphy in

general. He is currently working on a diachronic study of the Latin hexameter and elegiac distich.

Niklas Holzberg, until his retirement Professor at the University of Munich, now teaches part-time at the University of Bamberg. His areas of expertise are ancient narrative prose, epigrams, Augustan poetry, and Hans Sachs; he has published a book on Catullus (2003) and an introduction to Martial (2012), as well as translations into German of Catullus' complete poems (2009) and of selected epigrams from Martial (2008) and from the *Anthologia Graeca* (2010).

Regina Höschele is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Toronto. Her research focuses on post-classical Greek literature and ancient erotica. She is the author of *Verrückt nach Frauen: Der Epigrammatiker Rufin* (2005), *Die blütenlesende Muse: Poetik und Textualität antiker Epigrammsammlungen* (2010), as well as an annotated bilingual edition of Aristaenetus' *Erotic Letters* (with Peter Bing, 2014).

Peter Howell taught Classics in the University of London for 35 years, first at Bedford College, then at Royal Holloway. He has published editions of Book I (1980) and Book V (1995) of Martial, and also *Martial in the Ancients in Action* series (2009).

Jacqueline Klooster (PhD 2009, University of Amsterdam), has published on Hellenistic poetry (*Poetry as Window and Mirror: Positioning the Poet in Hellenistic Poetry*, 2011), space in literature (with Jo Heirman: *The Ideologies of Lived Space in Literature, Ancient and Modern*, 2013), and the representation of writing rulers in antiquity (*A Portrait of the Statesman as an Artist*, forthcoming). She is a postdoctoral research fellow at Groningen University.

T. J. Leary lives in London and Witney, near Oxford. He has published commentaries on Martial's *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* and the *Aenigmata* of Symphosius.

Sven Lorenz (PhD 2001, University of Munich) teaches Latin at a secondary school in Munich. He has published on Martial and other Roman writers and on the didactics of teaching Latin.

Francesca Maltomini is Researcher in Papyrology at the University of Florence. Her studies on the transmission of epigrammatic anthologies include first editions and re-editions of papyri, as well as contributions on medieval collections.

Kristina Milnor is Professor of Classics and Ancient Studies at Barnard College in New York City. She is the author of *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus*

(2005) and *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii* (2014). She is currently working on a book about the financial activities of women under the Roman Empire entitled *Faustilla the Pawnbroker*.

Nina Mindt, Privatdozentin at Humboldt University Berlin, undertook her studies and research in Germany and Italy (Siena, Florence) and has a special interest in the *genera minora* and their poetics. She is a member of the Collaborative Research Project “Transformations of Antiquity.”

Luca Mondin is Associate Professor of Latin at Ca' Foscari University in Venice. He is the author of studies devoted to the exegesis and textual criticism of Latin poets (Lucilius, Horace and Ausonius), late antique epigrams, and intertextuality in classical literature.

Alfredo Mario Morelli is Professore Associato in Latin language and literature at the University of Cassino. His main interests concern Greco-Latin epigram and elegy (both literary and epigraphic), pseudo-Vergilian poetry, and Senecan drama. He has organized two International Conferences at Cassino (on *Epigramma longum* and on Catullus), published a book on the history of early Latin epigram (*L'epigramma latino prima di Catullo*, 2000), as well as several

papers, also about poetry of late antiquity.

Llewelyn Morgan is a University Lecturer in Classical Languages and Literature at the University of Oxford, and a fellow of Brasenose College. His interests have focused on Roman poetry, and in recent years on the meaning that attached to the metrical forms that Roman poets deployed.

Bret Mulligan, Associate Professor and Chair of Classics at Haverford College, has published on Martial, Statius, Claudian, epigram, and most recently Nepos' Life of Hannibal. He is currently working on a translation of Ennodius' poetry, a commentary on Martial, Book 10, and the image of disease in Latin poetry.

Margot Neger gained her PhD 2011 in Munich, with a thesis on Martial (published as *Martials Dichtergedichte: Das Epigramm als Medium der poetischen Selbstreflexion*, 2012). From 2007 to 2013 she was a member of staff in the Classics Department in Munich. Since March 2013 she has held a postdoctoral position at the Classics Department in Salzburg. Her research interests are Greek and Roman epigram and letters as well as ancient literary criticism. She is currently working on a book project on narrative strategies in Pliny the Younger's letters.

Eugene O'Connor earned his PhD in Classics at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He has published on Roman epigram, the Greek novel, the revival of Latin epigram in the Renaissance, and, with K. W. Goings, the role of the Greek and Latin classics at historically black colleges and universities in the United States from Reconstruction to the mid-twentieth century. He was acquiring editor in Classics and Medieval Studies at The Ohio State University Press.

Évelyne Prioux is a scientific researcher in the CNRS. She is the author of *Regards alexandrins: Histoire et théories des arts dans l'épigramme hellénistique* (2007), and *Petits musées en vers: Épigramme et discours sur les collections antiques* (2008).

Andreas Rhoby works at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Medieval Research, where he is Deputy Head of the Division of Byzantine Research. In addition, he is Privatdozent at the University of Vienna and Chair of the Commission *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* of the Association Internationale des Études Byzantines. He has published extensively on Byzantine epigrams and epigraphy as well as on Byzantine literature, lexicography, and cultural history.

Alexander Sens is Markos and Eleni Tsakopoulos Kounalakis Professor of

Hellenic Studies at Georgetown University. His most recent research has focused on Lycophron and on epigram, including Asclepiades.

Christos Simelidis is Assistant Professor in Late Antique and Byzantine Literature at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. His research interests also include Greek palaeography and textual criticism, the reception of classical literature in the early Christian and Byzantine periods, and various aspects of Byzantine scholarship (what was read, by whom, and with what degree of understanding). His major research project is a critical edition of the *Carmina* of Gregory of Nazianzus for the *Corpus Christianorum* series.

Dennis Trout is Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Missouri. He is the author of *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (1999), *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry* (2015), and various articles on late antique life and literature. He is currently writing a book on the metrical inscriptions of the churches and martyria of late ancient Rome.

Lindsay Watson is a retired Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Sydney. He is the author of *Arae: The Curse Poetry of Antiquity* (1991), *A Commentary on Horace's Epodes* (2003) and, with Patricia Watson, *Martial: Select Epigrams* (2003),

Juvenal Satire 6 (2014), and *Martial* (Understanding Classics series, 2015). He has recently completed a monograph on some under-examined aspects of Greek and Roman magic.

Patricia Watson is a retired Senior Lecturer in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Sydney. She is the author of *Ancient Stepmothers: Myth, Misogyny and Reality* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 143, 1995) and, with Lindsay Watson, *Martial: Select Epigrams* (2003), *Juvenal Satire 6* (2014), and *Martial* (Understanding Classics series, 2015).

Anna Maria Wasyl is Associate Professor in Latin at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Her research interests concentrate on Latin poetry, genology, poetics, and literary aesthetics of late antiquity, and in particular the literary culture of the Romano-Barbaric age (fifth–seventh centuries CE). She is the author of a number of articles and four books, most recently *Genres Rediscovered: Studies in Latin Miniature Epic, Love Elegy, and Epigram of the Romano-Barbaric Age* (2011), a commented edition of *Maximianus* (2016) and a book on the Alcestis myth in late antiquity (2018).

Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Modern Reference Works, Editions, and Databases

All abbreviations of papyrus editions follow the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*. See <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>.

AB	Austin, Colin, and Guido Bastianini, eds. 2002. <i>Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia</i> . Milan: Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto.
AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> . 1889–. Paris.
ala2004	Roueché, Charlotte. 2004. <i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions</i> , rev. 2nd ed. http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004 .
CEG	Hansen, Peter Allan, ed. 1983–89. <i>Carmina epigraphica Graeca</i> . 2 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 1828–77. Berlin.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . 1863–. Berlin.
CLA	Shackleton Bailey, David R. 1965–70. <i>Cicero's Letters to Atticus</i> . 7 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
CLE	Bücheler, Franz, and Ernst Lommatzsch, eds. 1895–1926. <i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> . 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner.
DAA	Raubitschek, Antony E., and Lilan H. Jeffery, eds. 1949. <i>Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis: A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BC</i> . Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Institute of America.
DBBE	<i>Database of the Byzantine Book Epigrams</i> . http://www.dbbe.ugent.be .

- De Rossi 2.1 de Rossi, Giovanni Battista, ed. 1888. *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*. Vol. 2, pt. 1. Rome: Officina libraria pontificia.
- DGE Adrados, Francisco R., Elvira Gangutia, et al., eds. 1980–. *Diccionario Griego-Español*. Madrid: Instituto “Antonio de Nebrija.” <http://dge.cchs.csic.es/xdge>.
- ED Ferrua, Antonio. 1942. *Epigrammata Damasiana*. Rome: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana.
- EG Page, Denys L. 1975, ed. *Epigrammata Graeca*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- FD Colin, Gaston, et al., eds. 1922–85. *Fouilles de Delphes*, Tom 3: *Épigraphie*. Paris: Boccard.
- FGE Page, Denys L. 1981. *Further Greek Epigrams: Epigrams Before AD 50 from the Greek Anthology and Other Sources Not Included in “Hellenistic Epigrams” or “The Garland of Philip”*. Revised and prepared for publication by R. D. Dawe and J. Diggle. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FGrHist Jacoby, Felix, ed. 1923–. *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden: Brill.
- FPL Blänsdorf, Jürgen, ed. 2011. *Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum epicorum et lyricorum praeter Enni Annales et Ciceronis Germanicique Aratea: Post W. Morel et K. Büchner editionem quartam autam curavit J. B.* Berlin: De Gruyter.
- GESA Joachim Ebert. 1972. *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- GP Gow, Andrew S. F., and Denys L. Page. 1965. *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GP Garland Gow, Andrew S. F., and Denys L. Page. 1968. *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GVI Peek, Werner. 1955. *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- I.Achaïe II Rizakis, Athanasios D. 1998. *Achaïe II: La cité de Patras: Épigraphie et histoire*. Athens: Centre de recherches de l’antiquité grecque et romaine.
- I.Métr. Bernand, Étienne. 1969. *Inscriptions métriques de l’Égypte gréco-romaine: recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des grecs en Égypte*. Paris: Belles lettres.
- ICI *Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae septimo saeculo antiquiores*. 1985–. Bari.

ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores. Nuova serie.</i> 1922–. Rome.
IDélos	<i>Inscriptions de Délos.</i> 1926–. Paris.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i> 1873–. Berlin.
ILCV	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres.</i> 1925–67. Vols. 1–3, ed. Ernst Diehl. Vol. 4, ed. Jacques Moreau and Henri-Irénée Marrou. Berlin: Weidmann.
ILLRP	Degrassi, Attilio, ed., 1965. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae</i> , 2nd ed. Florence: La Nuova Italia.
ILS	Dessau, Hermann, ed. 1892–1916. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.</i> 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann.
Kaibel	Kaibel, Georg, ed. 1878. <i>Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta.</i> Berlin: G. Reimer.
Keil, <i>Gramm. Lat.</i>	Keil, Heinrich, ed. 1855–80. <i>Grammatici Latini.</i> 8 vols. Leipzig: Teubner.
LDAB	<i>Leuven Database of Ancient Books.</i> http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab .
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.</i> 1981–2009. Zürich: Artemis.
LSA	<i>Last Statues of Antiquity Database.</i> http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk .
LSAG	Jeffery, Lilian H. 1990. <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and Its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries BC</i> , rev. ed. with a Supplement by A. W. Johnston. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. 1996. <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> , 9th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
PCG	Kassel, Rudolf, and Colin Austin, eds. 1983–. <i>Poetae Comici Graeci.</i> Berlin: de Gruyter.
PG	Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed. 1857–66. <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca.</i> Paris: Migne.
PMG	Page, Denys L., ed. 1962. <i>Poetae Melici Graeci.</i> Oxford: Clarendon Press.
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt.</i> 1950–. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, neue Bearbeitung.</i> 1894–1978. Stuttgart.

<i>RLM</i>	Halm, Karl, ed. 1863. <i>Rhetores Latini Minores</i> . Leipzig: Teubner.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . 1923–. Leiden.
<i>SGO</i>	Merkelbach, Reinhold, and Josef Stauber, eds. 1998–2004. <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> . 5 vols. Stuttgart: Teubner.
<i>Suppl. Hell.</i>	Lloyd-Jones, Hugh, and Peter Parsons, eds. 1983. <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter.
<i>SVF</i>	von Arnim, Hans, ed. 1903–24. <i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i> . 4 vols. Leipzig: Teubner.
<i>Syll.</i> ³	Dittenberger, Wilhelm, ed. 1915–24. <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd ed. Leipzig: Hirzelium.

Abbreviations of Ancient Authors and Works

<i>Acts</i>	<i>Acts of the Apostles</i>
<i>Ael.</i>	Claudius Aelianus
<i>VH</i>	<i>Varia Historia</i>
<i>Aesch.</i>	Aeschylus
<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>
<i>Aeschin.</i>	Aeschines
<i>In Ctes.</i>	<i>In Ctesiphontem</i>
<i>Aesop.</i>	Aesop
<i>Agath.</i>	Agathias
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
<i>AL</i>	<i>Anthologia Latina</i>
<i>Alc.</i>	Alcaeus
<i>Anac.</i>	Anacreon
<i>Anaximen.</i>	Anaximenes of Lampsacus
<i>Ars Rh.</i>	<i>Ars Rhetorica</i>
<i>AP</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
<i>APL</i>	<i>Anthologia Planudea</i>
<i>Ap. Rhod.</i>	Apollonius of Rhodes
<i>Apul.</i>	Apuleius
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Ar.</i>	Aristophanes
<i>Eq.</i>	<i>Equites</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysistrata</i>
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespae</i>

Archil.	Archilochus
Arist.	Aristotle
<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetica</i>
<i>Rh.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i>
Ath.	Athenaeus
Auson.	Ausonius (ed. Green, 1991)
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
Bacchyl.	Bacchylides (ed. Snell and Maehler, 1970)
Cael. Aurel.	Caelius Aurelianus
<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronicae passionēs</i>
Callim.	Callimachus
<i>Aet.</i>	<i>Aetia</i>
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>fr.</i>	<i>Fragmenta</i>
<i>Hymn.</i>	<i>Hymni</i>
T	<i>Testimonia</i>
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio
Catull.	Catullus
Char.	Flavius Sospiter Charisius
<i>Gramm.</i>	<i>Ars grammatica</i>
Cic.	M. Tullius Cicero
<i>Arch.</i>	<i>Pro Archia</i>
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus</i>
<i>De or.</i>	<i>De oratore</i>
<i>Div.</i>	<i>De divinatione</i>
<i>Fam.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>
<i>Fat.</i>	<i>De fato</i>
<i>Fin.</i>	<i>De finibus</i>
<i>Inv.</i>	<i>De inventione</i>
<i>Nat. D.</i>	<i>De natura deorum</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De officiis</i>
<i>Orat.</i>	<i>Orator</i>
<i>Pis.</i>	<i>In Pisonem</i>
<i>QFr.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem</i>
<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De republica</i>
<i>Sest.</i>	<i>Pro Sestio</i>
<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
<i>Verr.</i>	<i>In Verrem</i>

Claud.	Claudianus
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina maiora</i>
<i>Carm. min.</i>	<i>Carmina minora</i>
Cor.	Corinthians
Dem.	Demosthenes
<i>De cor.</i>	<i>De corona</i>
Demetr.	Demetrius
<i>Eloc.</i>	<i>De elocutione</i>
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
Diom.	Diomedes
<i>Gramm.</i>	<i>Ars grammatica</i>
Dion. Hal.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus
<i>Ant. Rom.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
[Dionys.]	[Dionysius]
<i>Ars Rh.</i>	<i>Ars rhetorica</i>
Donat.	Aelius Donatus
<i>Ter. Phorm.</i>	<i>Commentum in Terentii Phormionem</i>
<i>Vit. Verg.</i>	<i>Vita Vergilii</i>
Enn.	Ennius
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
<i>fr. var.</i>	<i>Fragmenta varia</i> (ed. Vahlen, 1903)
Ennod.	Magnus Felix Ennodius
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
<i>Dict.</i>	<i>Dictiones</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Opusc.</i>	<i>Opuscula miscellanea</i>
<i>Epigr. Bob.</i>	<i>Epigrammata Bobiensia</i>
Eudocia	Aelia Eudocia
<i>Viol.</i>	<i>Violarium</i>
Eur.	Euripides
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>
<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades</i>
Flor.	L. Annaeus Florus
Fronto	
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Gell.	Aulus Gellius
NA	<i>Noctes Atticae</i>
Gregory of Nazianzus	
<i>Carm.</i> 1.2.14	<i>De humana natura</i> (<i>Carmina moralia</i> , PG 37, 755–65)
<i>Carm.</i> 2.1.19	<i>Querela de suis calamitibus</i> (<i>Carmina de se ipso</i> , PG 37, 1271–79)

Herod.	Herodas
<i>Mim.</i>	<i>Mimiambi</i>
Hes.	Hesiod
<i>fr.</i>	<i>Fragmenta</i> (ed. Merkelbach and West, 1967)
<i>Op.</i>	<i>Opera et Dies</i>
<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogonia</i>
Hom.	Homer
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
Hor.	Horace
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Epod.</i>	<i>Epodi</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satirae</i>
Ibyc.	Ibycus
Isid.	Isidorus
<i>Etym.</i>	<i>Etymologiae</i>
Jer.	Jerome
<i>Ab Abr.</i>	<i>Ab Abraham</i>
<i>De vir. ill.</i>	<i>De viris illustribus</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Juv.	Juvenal
[Longinus]	
<i>Subl.</i>	<i>De sublimitate</i>
Lucian	
<i>Hist. conscr.</i>	<i>Quomodo historia conscribenda sit</i>
Lycurg.	Lycurgus
<i>Leoc.</i>	<i>In Leocratem</i>
Macrobian.	Macrobius
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>
Mart.	Martial
<i>Spect.</i>	<i>Liber spectaculorum</i>
Matt.	Matthew
Men. Rhet.	Menander Rhetor
Mimn.	Mimnermus
Non.	Nonius Marcellus
Nonnus	
<i>Dion.</i>	<i>Dionysiaca</i>
Optatianus Porphyrius	
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
Ov.	Ovid
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>
<i>Ars am.</i>	<i>Ars amatoria</i>

<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroides</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Pont.</i>	<i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i>
<i>Rem. am.</i>	<i>Remedia amoris</i>
<i>Tr.</i>	<i>Tristia</i>
Paul. Nol.	Paulinus Nolanus
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
Paus.	Pausanias
Pers.	Persius
Petron.	Petronius
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satyrica</i>
Philostr.	Philostratus
<i>V S</i>	<i>Vitae sophistarum</i>
Pind.	Pindar
<i>Isthm.</i>	<i>Isthmian Odes</i>
<i>Ol.</i>	<i>Olympian Odes</i>
<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythian Odes</i>
Pl.	Plato
<i>Euthyd.</i>	<i>Euthydemus</i>
<i>Prt.</i>	<i>Protagoras</i>
<i>Soph.</i>	<i>Sophista</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
Plaut.	Plautus
<i>Amph.</i>	<i>Amphitruo</i>
Plin.	Pliny the Elder
<i>HN</i>	<i>Naturalis historia</i>
Plin.	Pliny the Younger
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Pan.</i>	<i>Panegyricus</i>
Plut.	Plutarch
<i>De def. or.</i>	<i>De defectu oraculorum</i>
<i>De malign. Hdt.</i>	<i>De malignitate Herodoti</i>
[<i>De mus.</i>]	<i>De musica</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Vit. Cat. Mai.</i>	<i>Vitae Parallelae, Cato Maior</i>
<i>Vit. Cleom.</i>	" <i>Cleomenes</i>
<i>Vit. Dem.</i>	" <i>Demosthenes</i>
<i>Vit. Flam.</i>	" <i>Flaminius</i>
<i>Vit. Marc.</i>	" <i>Marcellus</i>
<i>Vit. Rom.</i>	" <i>Romulus</i>
<i>Vit. Sull.</i>	" <i>Sulla</i>

[Plut.]	[Plutarch]
<i>De Hom.</i>	<i>De Homero</i>
Poll.	Pollux
<i>Onom.</i>	<i>Onomasticon</i>
Polyb.	Polybius
[Prob.]	[Probus]
<i>Verg. G.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Vergilii Georgica</i>
Prop.	Propertius
Porph.	Pomponius Porphyrio
<i>Hor. Carm.</i>	<i>Commentum in Horatii Carmina</i>
<i>Priap.</i>	<i>Priapea</i>
Priscian	
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio de arte grammatica</i>
Quint.	Quintilian
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>
<i>Rhet. Her.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>
Sacerd.	Marius Plotius Sacerdos
<i>Gramm.</i>	<i>Artes grammaticae</i>
Sapph.	Sappho
<i>Schol. A in Il.</i>	<i>Scholia A in Homeri Iliadem</i>
<i>Schol. Flor. Callim.</i>	<i>Scholia Florentina in Callimachum</i>
<i>Schol. Juv.</i>	<i>Scholia in Juvenalem</i>
Sen.	Seneca the Elder
<i>Controv.</i>	<i>Controversiae</i>
<i>Suas.</i>	<i>Suasoriae</i>
Sen.	Seneca the Younger
<i>Constant.</i>	<i>De constantia sapientis</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogi</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Helv.</i>	<i>Ad Helviam</i>
<i>QNat.</i>	<i>Quaestiones naturales</i>
[Sen.]	[Seneca the Younger]
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae
<i>Alex. Sev.</i>	<i>Alexander Severus</i>
<i>Aurel.</i>	<i>Aurelian</i>
<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Claudius</i>
<i>Diad.</i>	<i>Diadumenus Antoninus</i>
<i>Opil. Macr.</i>	<i>Opilius Macrinus</i>
<i>Pesc. Nig.</i>	<i>Pescennius Niger</i>
<i>Tyr. Trig.</i>	<i>Tyranni Triginta</i>

Sid. Apoll.	Sidonius Apollinaris
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Sil.	Silius Italicus
<i>Pun.</i>	<i>Punica</i>
Simon.	Simonides
<i>Eleg.</i>	<i>Elegiae</i>
Soph.	Sophocles
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antigone</i>
<i>fr.</i>	<i>Fragmenta</i>
<i>OC</i>	<i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>
Stob.	Stobaeus
<i>Flor.</i>	<i>Florilegium</i>
Suet.	Suetonius
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Divus Augustus</i>
<i>Calig.</i>	<i>Gaius Caligula</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Domitianus</i>
<i>Gram. et rhet.</i>	<i>De grammaticis et rhetoribus</i>
<i>Iul.</i>	<i>Divus Iulius</i>
<i>Ner.</i>	<i>Nero</i>
<i>Oth.</i>	<i>Otho</i>
<i>Tib.</i>	<i>Tiberius</i>
<i>Tit.</i>	<i>Titus</i>
Symeon	
<i>Hymn.</i>	<i>Hymni</i>
Symm.	Symmachus
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Tac.	Tacitus
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogus de oratoribus</i>
Theoc.	Theocritus
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Id.</i>	<i>Idyllia</i>
Theophr.	Theophrastus
<i>Hist. pl.</i>	<i>Historia plantarum</i>
Thgn.	Theognis
Tib.	Tibullus
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus
Verg.	Vergil
<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogues</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Georgics</i>

[Verg.]	[Vergil]
<i>Catal.</i>	<i>Catalepton</i>
<i>Vit. Aesch.</i>	<i>Vita Aeschyli</i>
Vitr.	Vitruvius
<i>De arch.</i>	<i>De architectura</i>
Xen.	Xenophon
<i>Cyr.</i>	<i>Cyropaedia</i>

Introduction

Christer Henriksén

No other poetic genre in the Western literary tradition has a history nearly as long as that of epigram. In a time when its foremost rival for longevity, epic, has long since laid aside meter and made itself a home in fantasy prose, epigram remains true to its origins, clinging to what have always been its two principal characteristics, its metrical form and its shortness. Whether we look at the early eighth-century-BCE inscription on Nestor's cup or at the light verse of Ogden Nash, these basic features are the same. Like the Greeks and the Romans, we continue to inscribe gravestones and memorials with short poems and include them in obituaries; and the metrical graffiti preserved at Pompeii, but which were surely once found all over the ancient world, have their modern equivalents (often remarkably close) on the walls of public restrooms – in sufficient quantity as to earn this particular manifestation of popular poetry its own label, *latrinalia* (Dundes 1965). The ability to express oneself concisely and elegantly, while at the same time meeting the challenges posed not only by restrictions of space but also by the rules of meter, is as attractive today as it was in antiquity.

In the past fifty years, scholarly interest in Greek and Roman epigram has steadily increased. In the case of Hellenistic epigram, the fundamental work by Gow and Page on the *Garlands* of Meleager and Philip may be seen as a catalyst, whereas research in Latin epigram has been spurred by the renaissance of interest in its foremost representative, Martial. Occasionally, a new discovery has given an impetus to scholarly work, most importantly, perhaps, the Posidippus papyrus, which, as recently as the 1990s and without precedent, presented us with the greater part of a Hellenistic epigram book. Gradually, scholars have moved farther away from the paths trodden by previous generations to devote serious study to the epigram of archaic Greece and late antiquity. It can be said without exaggeration that much of this work has been pioneering, helping us to understand epigram as something more than just witty and impromptu pieces intended to amuse and impress an immediate audience, but of little substance and limited literary value.

The abundant research devoted in past years to virtually every aspect of ancient epigram means that we are now in a better position than ever before to attempt a history of the entire genre – from its beginnings as a purely epigraphic phenomenon in archaic Greece, via classical Greece, where it gradually freed itself from its attachment to physical objects, to the Hellenistic world, in which it developed into a genre capable of treating any aspect of human existence, and thence to late republican and imperial Rome, where epigram in the hands of Martial gained the assurance to challenge even epic; onward through a period of stagnation and even decline, from which epigram emerged in partly new forms – notably as a vehicle for Christian eulogies – until its last blooming, as antiquity stood at the verge of the Dark Ages.

This *Companion to Ancient Epigram* is the outcome of such an attempt. Its thirty-nine chapters offer the first full-scale treatment of the genre, and do so from a broad international perspective. The book is divided into six parts, the first of which covers certain typical characteristics of the genre, examines aspects that are central to our understanding of epigram, and discusses its relation to other literary genres. The subsequent four parts present a diachronic history of epigram, from archaic Greece to late antiquity, with a concluding part looking at the heritage of ancient epigram from the Middle Ages up to modern times.

The following survey of this volume will serve also as a summary timeline of epigram, from which the reader is referred to the various chapters themselves for detailed discussion. It will also add a few points that, for various reasons, have not found a place in the chapters themselves.

I.1 A Companion to Ancient Epigram: An Overview

I.1.1 Part I: Epigram – Features and Definitions

*What is an epigram? A dwarfish whole;
Its body brevity and wit its soul.*

Samuel Taylor Coleridge's epigram about epigram (on which see further Howell's chapter in this volume) was first published in the *Morning Post*, September 23, 1802. An adaptation of the first lines in Christian Wernicke's poem "Beschaffenheit der Überschriften" ("Dann läßt die Überschrift kein Leser aus der Acht, / Wenn in der Kürz' ihr Leib, die Seel' in Witz besteht"), it has become much more famous than its longer model, bringing together as it does the two qualities usually considered characteristic in the modern view of epigram – wit and brevity – in a poem that through its form and features illustrates its own contents. What Coleridge offers us is, however, an idealized and much too narrow image of epigram which, had it been applied to the subject of this book, would have made it very much shorter. True enough, the ancients would have had no difficulty in acknowledging wit and, in particular, brevity as important elements of epigram, but they would certainly have been very much opposed to the idea that epigram was defined by these features alone. At the same time, it would very likely have been impossible to reach any kind of consensus among Greeks and Romans as to what an epigram actually was. Indeed, since there was a range of terms for short poetry, the word *epigramma* would not necessarily have occurred first to many of them in designating a literary genre. Even the quality of brevity, which might appear to be the most stable defining factor in our view of epigram, is called into question when Martial takes to writing poems of 50 lines and more and still claims that they are epigrams. In the first chapter of this book, Mario Citroni tackles the issue of what an epigram is – a vital question in a book that purports to be about epigram, but one that is notoriously difficult to answer.

Six chapters follow that focus on various key features of epigram. Chapters 2 and 3 look at its relation to individuals and society, as Patricia Watson introduces us to the colorful gallery of real and fictitious characters in which those who are demonstrably real can actually turn out to be literary constructs in the text. Kathleen M. Coleman discusses epigram's encomiastic propensity, from Simonides' patriotic eulogy for the dead at Thermopylae to the Ptolemaic court at Alexandria and the imperial panegyrics at Rome; she

also offers an insight into the antithesis of panegyric, the scopic or “mocking” epigram (often seen as typical of the genre, although a relatively late addition), from which even men of power were not entirely safe.

Few other literary genres lend themselves as readily to gender studies as epigram does. First of all, it is a much neglected fact that no other genre can boast as many female authors. In Chapter 4, Laurel Bowman discusses the epigrams of Erinna, Moero, Anyte, and Nossis, who all belonged to the first generation of Hellenistic poets and who contributed significantly to the genre’s development. In spite of this pronounced feminine presence, epigram – and in particular Roman epigram – may give the impression of being mainly a “masculine,” in certain respects even a “macho” and misogynistic genre. Lindsay Watson examines its attitudes towards masculinity and femininity in Chapter 5, also showing the difference between Greek and Roman epigram in this respect. A related topic is obscenity, covered by Bret Mulligan in Chapter 6. Here too, there is a marked difference between Roman epigram, which uses lexical obscenities freely, and Hellenistic epigram, which is less coarse and more poetically pornographic. Of course, while obscenity is often seen as typically epigrammatic, and notwithstanding Martial’s contention that epigrams cannot “please without a cock” (*non possunt sine mentula placere*, 1.3.5), one does well to remember that even in Martial the obscene poems amount to little more than 6 percent (Sullivan 1991, 65 n. 24).

An element of more sweeping importance is meter. While the epigram was originally written in hexameters, from the mid-sixth century BCE the elegiac distich became the prevailing meter and remained so throughout antiquity. Unlike most other genres, though, epigram is free to use just about any meter it pleases. Although departure from elegiacs remained rare – particularly with the Greek epigrammatists – the choice of meter obviously mattered and was in itself meaningful. Llewelyn Morgan supplies a guide to the metrics of epigram in Chapter 7.

The latter section of part I deals with issues of genre and transmission, beginning with epigram and its relation to epic and tragedy. In Chapter 8, Martin T. Dinter shows how these genres, although in certain ways one another’s antithesis, developed a complex relationship that often proved mutually enriching. Rosario Cortés Tovar in Chapter 9 addresses the interaction between epigram and satire (the “evil twin of epic”) from a programmatic point of view, discussing, *inter alia*, Martial 6.64, an epigram in 32 stichic hexameters (thus precisely the kind of poem that makes the genre difficult to define), as a link between Horatian satire and that of Juvenal. While being aware of its surrounding literary landscape, epigram, as shown by Margot Neger in Chapter 10, is also highly self-conscious, frequently reflecting on its length, language, contents, and function. It is typical, for instance, that Martial follows up the above-mentioned 6.64 with a six-line epigram in distichs, in which a fictitious reader objects to his writing epi-

grams that are both in the “wrong” meter and far too long. While Martial responds that he is quite within his rights in writing *epigrammata longa* in hexameters, he thus problematizes what an epigram actually is.

Although not a genre, rhetoric was a phenomenon that pervaded public life and much of ancient literature. In the case of epigram, it was quite natural that a genre which cultivates concise and pregnant expression should appeal to teachers of rhetoric, and just as natural that their teachings on how to express oneself in this way should find an eager student in epigram. In Chapter 11, Nina Mindt discusses aspects of epigram in rhetoric, and rhetoric in epigram.

The first part of this book closes with Francesca Maltomini’s survey of our major (and in many cases our only) source of knowledge about Greek epigram, the Greek anthologies. Best known today are undoubtedly the two anthologies that make up the bulk of the corpus known as the *Greek Anthology*, viz. the tenth-century *Anthologia Palatina* (so called after the Bibliotheca Palatina in Heidelberg, where the only surviving manuscript was discovered at the beginning of the seventeenth century) and the *Anthologia Planudea*, put together by Maximus Planudes in the late thirteenth century. However, these collections were preceded by a number of earlier anthologies, notably the *Garlands* of Meleager (ca. 90–80 BCE) and Philip (mid-first century CE) and the *Cycle* of Agathias (mid-sixth century CE). In turn, these were preceded by Hellenistic and pre-Hellenistic anthologies, dating, at least, back to the end of the fourth century BCE. There is, of course, nothing similar in the case of Latin epigram, apart from the relatively minor collections put together in Vandal Africa (such as the *Anthologia Salmasiana*, about which Anna Maria Wasyl writes in Chapter 37). The collection now known as the *Anthologia Latina* is a modern compilation of poems from various manuscripts and inscriptions published by Pieter Burmann the Younger in 1759–73. Burmann’s collection was later supplanted by the considerably revised edition of Alexander Riese (1869), to which was added Franz Bücheler’s *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* as a second volume. The first fascicle of Riese’s edition (containing, *inter alia*, the poems found in the *Codex Salmasianus*) has since been re-edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey (1982).

I.1.2 Part II: Epigram in Pre-Hellenistic Greece

The second part of this Companion concerns epigram’s infancy and childhood, each of its two chapters focusing on a period whose legacy was to remain very evident throughout the history of the genre. Epigram, importantly, is text (γράμμα), which from the very beginning set it apart from the originally oral tradition of epic. But it is also text written *on* (ἐπί) something. Whether this was a stone slab or a household object such as a cup or a spoon, the object itself meant that the space available for the text was limited. Thus,

the genre-defining brevity arose out of pure necessity. In Chapter 13, Joseph W. Day writes about the genesis of epigram on eighth-century pottery and then, in the following century, on monumental epitaphs and dedications. While these “double births” of epigram apparently happened independently of one another, the unity of inscription and object was in both cases fundamentally important.

In the late archaic and early classical periods, epigram became increasingly common in monumental inscriptions commemorating military deeds and athletic victories as well as on objects of art. Later, a good number of these epigrams were attributed to Simonides of Ceos, one of the nine poets in the Alexandrian canon of lyricists, including the famous poem on the fallen Spartans at Thermopylae (*AP* 7.249, just one of many poems about the Persian Wars ascribed to Simonides). There is evidence, too, that epigrams attributed to Simonides were copied into collections, such as that known as the *Sylloge Simonidea* – an indication that epigram was about to free itself from the physical boundaries imposed by an object. In Chapter 14, Luigi Bravi discusses the complex question of Simonidean epigram on stone and in collections, and why many ancient attributions are no longer tenable.

I.1.3 Part III: Epigram in the Hellenistic World

Part III covers epigram in the Hellenistic world, from Anyte of Tegea around 300 to Philodemus in the late first century BCE. This is perhaps the most important stage in the development of the genre, being the phase in which it definitively sheds its epigraphic identity, broadens its perspectives enormously, and takes the decisive step into literature. Valentina Garulli gives a comprehensive overview of the entire period in Chapter 15 and, as she traces the main stages of this development, giving special attention to the oldest collections of epigrams, looks at themes, subgenres, context, language, and meter.

The following eight chapters deal with some of the most prominent figures in the history of epigram, beginning with Ellen Greene’s discussion of one of the great female epigrammatists of the Hellenistic world, Anyte of Tegea, in Chapter 16. Greene focuses on Anyte’s epitaphs for young unmarried women (contrasted with traditional laments for men, which celebrate their heroism and the *kleos* that is their due), her epitaphs for pets (blending epic discourse with that of public funerary speech and female lamentation), and her pastoral epigrams, pastoral being a theme that she introduced into the genre. The picture that emerges is one of an innovative poet, notable for her interplay between masculine and feminine modes of expression, and between the domesticity typically associated with women and established male literary culture. Anyte was an important influence on Leonidas of Tarentum (late fourth to mid-third century BCE), whose funerary and dedicatory epigrams, often involving humble people like workmen, artisans, and

fishermen, were in their turn highly influential in antiquity. In Chapter 17, Jacqueline Klooster analyzes the coherence of his themes and his sustained effort at elevating the poor through poetry. In terms of influence, though, neither Anyte nor Leonidas can match the subject of Chapter 18, Callimachus of Cyrene, arguably one of the most prominent poets of antiquity. While his fame today perhaps rests particularly on the *Aetia* (containing the famous programmatic preface against his literary detractors, the “Telchines”), the *Hymns*, the *Iambi*, and the *Hecale* (being an early instance of the epic subgenre termed “epyllion” by modern scholarship), he also wrote epigram. Although one should probably not over-emphasize the implications of the saying famously attributed to him by Athenaeus, that “a big book is the equivalent of a big evil” (*fr.* 465 Pf.), epigram seems entirely in agreement with his view that poetic τέχνη was a more important criterion than length, and that “a poet should aim for the quality of small-scale, subtle, and original ... poetry” (Harder 2012, vol. 2, 10). Beginning with his epigram on the death of his friend Heraclitus (*Epigr.* 2 Pf.), Benjamin Acosta-Hughes offers a selection of readings that draw on the poet’s use of Platonic texts and on Roman recasting of Callimachean epigram.

The following two chapters concern epigrammatists who were both identified in antiquity as being among Callimachus’ “Telchines” (a fact that indicates that their disagreement was about style and not genre; see Harder 2012, vol. 2, 88–90). The first of these is Asclepiades of Samos, who, as described by Alexander Sens in Chapter 19, did much to make funerary and dedicatory epigram, both inherently inscriptional, more literary by attenuating their epigraphic character, reworking conventional topoi and introducing irony and sexual undertones. In the same vein, he was careful to give a subtle and nuanced characterization of his poems’ speakers, and played an important role in the development of erotic and sympotic epigrams, subgenres of which he has been regarded as the inventor. The second poet is Posidippus of Pella, who was formerly known chiefly as an erotic-sympotic poet, his reputation then resting on fewer than 30 extant epigrams. This picture was drastically changed in the early 1990s when a book roll, used as cartonnage for a second-century-BCE Egyptian mummy, came to light, containing about 112 epigrams (approximately 606 verses). As two of these were among those previously known to be by Posidippus, and as there is no indication of different authors for the various epigrams in the roll, it has been assumed in its entirety to be a collection of Posidippus’ epigrams, possibly arranged by the author himself. In Chapter 20, Kathryn Gutzwiller discusses how this important discovery changes our view of Posidippus, adding as it does several subgenres to his oeuvre, as well as its implications for how we consider other ancient epigram books from Hellenistic times onward.

The next important stage in the development of Hellenistic epigram falls within the decades surrounding the year 200 and involves the “third generation” of Hellenistic epigrammatists. Focusing on Alcaeus, Damagetus,

Dioscorides, Mnasilces, Nicaenetus, Phaedimus, Samius, and Theodoridas, Annette Harder shows in Chapter 21 how these poets actively engaged with earlier poetry – from the archaic period down to their immediate Hellenistic predecessors – to root themselves in an extensive and comprehensive poetical tradition. Importantly, they also displayed a new and distinct interest in politics, wars, and city life outside the Ptolemaic court and the Museion. Not shying from its grimmer and more sordid aspects, they may be seen as laying the foundations for the broad spectrum of images from everyday life that we meet in Roman epigram.

Greek and Hellenistic epigram was anthologized in its entirety about a century later by Meleager of Gadara, who thereby made himself one of the most important figures in the history of the genre. The prefatory poem to his four-book anthology likens the epigrammatists it includes – ranging from Sappho down to Meleager himself – to various plants and flowers that have been woven into a garland; hence, the collection is known as his *στέφανος*, or the *Garland of Meleager*. Meleager was no mere compiler, however, but arranged his anthology carefully and creatively, setting the standard for subsequent anthologies for over a millennium. The *Garland* had a major impact when it was published, and was to exert considerable influence on Roman poets of the late republic and early empire, not least Catullus. In Chapter 22, Évelyne Prioux surveys recent scholarship on it and on the innovations of Meleager as a writer of erotic epigrams, with an epilogue on Meleager's influence in Rome.

After Meleager, the focus increasingly moved from the Hellenistic world to Rome and Italy. For a number of reasons, some of them of a political and a social nature, Hellenistic poets formed bonds with Roman aristocracy and settled in Rome or on the Bay of Naples. The most significant of these were Antipater of Sidon (who, according to Cic. *De or.* 3.194, used to “scatter about hexameters and other verses of various forms and meters ad lib”), Archias of Antiocheia (famously defended by Cicero in his speech *Pro Archia*, in which he speaks very favorably of his poetry), the philosopher-poet Philodemus of Gadara (whose prose-writings have been partially recovered from the villa of his patron L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus at Herculaneum), and Antipater of Thessalonica. In Chapter 23, Annemarie Ambühl closes Part III with a discussion of this “literary migration,” which had an enormous impact not only on the further development of epigram, but – through the contact of a poet like Philodemus with Lucretius, Vergil, and Horace – on Roman poetry in general.

1.1.4 Part IV: Latin and Greek Epigram at Rome

Epigram in Rome did not, of course, begin with Antipater and his fellow poets. As in archaic Greece, the earliest surviving examples, although contemporaneous with the earliest surviving literature, are epigraphic. Part

IV of this book, which describes Latin and Greek epigram at Rome down to the second century CE, opens with Alfredo Morelli's account of the beginnings of Latin epigram, from the epitaphs of the Scipio family (of which the earliest instances, written in the elusive Saturnian meter, were inscribed on their sarcophagi probably shortly after 230 BCE) to the early first century BCE. Even in the archaizing Scipionic epitaphs Hellenistic influence is discernible right from the outset, and while early literary epigram retained for some time a certain pseudo-epigraphic character, towards the end of the second century BCE elements of satire and irony were introduced by Lucilius. In the early first century, erotic motifs were added by Q. Lutatius Catulus, possibly in response to Meleager's *Garland* (although Prioux and Morelli differ as to whether Catulus could actually have known Meleager's anthology). Catulus, together with his contemporaries Porcius Licinius and Valerius Aedituus, has been labeled a "preneoteric" poet, although there is no evidence that these poets actually formed a set of the same kind as the highly influential literary coterie known as the "neoterics" a generation later. The only poet of this later group whose poetry has survived in any quantity – and then only just – is C. Valerius Catullus, who forms the topic of the following chapter by Niklas Holzberg. Catullus' corpus falls into three sections, nos. 1–60 (poems of four to thirty-four lines in various lyric and iambic meters), 61–68 (the "longer poems"), and 69–116 (poems in elegiacs, ranging from two to twenty-six lines). Whereas the last section is unmistakably "epigrammatic," the lyric and iambic poems have not invariably been considered as such – in spite of the fact that in the first five poems Catullus points directly to Meleager's *Garland* as a major influence. In his chapter, Holzberg discusses whether poems 1–60 should be regarded as epigrams (arriving at a positive answer), and then considers 1–60 and 69–116 as two separate epigram books, the latter of which pays homage to an even greater model of the neoterics, Callimachus. The chapter closes with two sections, about the typically Roman "paradox epigram" and about Catullus' *Nachleben* in the ancient world.

The influence of Catullus and the neoterics on poets like Vergil and Horace (and hence on all later Latin poetry) was enormous. However, for a number of reasons, the capriciousness of textual transmission being not the least of them, it is difficult to trace his epigrammatic legacy in the decades following his death and into the early empire, a period during which Latin poetry blossomed. Epigram was certainly written but the evidence is mostly circumstantial, making it difficult to appreciate the development from Catullus to Martial a century and a half later. Martial, however, always highly conscious of his genre, is eager to identify his Roman predecessors, naming Catullus, Domitius Marsus, Albinovanus Pedo, and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus as important models. This ancestry has often been met with skepticism,

being virtually impossible to confirm on the basis of the surviving texts (which in the case of Marsus, Peto, and Gaetulicus together amount to little more than 50 lines). In Chapter 26, concerning Latin epigram in the early empire, I have nonetheless decided to follow Martial's lead in an attempt to explain why he chose to single out these three poets as the most important authors of Latin epigram between Catullus and himself.

It is important to remember that the relative rarity of epigram surviving from late republican and early imperial Rome is confined (somewhat ironically) to Latin. The survival of contemporaneous Greek epigram was assured in part by the *Garland* of Philip of Thessalonica, which was compiled around the mid-first century CE as a sequel to – and in rivalry with – the *Garland* of Meleager. The poets in Philip's anthology (of which there were at least 39, including those discussed by Ambühl in Chapter 23 and with a substantial contribution by Philip himself) do not, of course, have the same appeal as those in Meleager's and have attracted less attention from scholars, but still include a number of important names. In Chapter 27, Regina Hörschele surveys Philip's *Garland*, exemplifying, through a detailed discussion of two epigrams by Crinagoras addressed to Augustus' nephew Marcellus, a typical feature of Greek epigram written at Rome during this period, its engagement with imperial topics and with the patronage of the Roman elite.

Since the *Garland* of Philip appeared around the mid-first century CE, it does not include a number of influential Greek epigrammatists working in Rome in the latter half of that century. Passing mention should be made here of two who receive fleeting notice in other chapters of this Companion, Lucillius and Nicarchus. Lucillius, who wrote under the patronage of the emperor Nero, dedicated his δεύτερον βιβλίον, his second book, to the emperor in recognition of his support (the dedication is preserved in *AP* 9.572), and so must have published at least two books of epigrams. Apart from that, we know nothing about him, neither if he was Greek or (less likely) a Roman writing in Greek, nor if his career continued, as has been suggested, after the death of Nero and into the reign of Vespasian.¹ It is perfectly clear, though, that he was an important figure in propagating scoptic epigram, he devoted considerable attention to the witty ending, and he was drawn to mocking generic types of people for their physical or moral defects. While these elements had been virtually absent from earlier Greek epigram, they were picked up and brought to perfection a few decades later by Martial, for whom, although he never mentions him, Lucillius was obviously an important model (a list of his "adaptations" of Lucillian epigrams can be found in Sullivan 1991, 88 n. 17).

Nicarchus seems to have written a little later than Lucillius, and, while adding obscenity to his epigrams, has been variously considered a pale

imitator and creative reworker of his predecessor. There are possible signs in Martial of *aemulatio* with Nicarchus (Sullivan 1991, 90), which, if correctly identified, could imply that the two were more or less contemporary (Nisbet 2003, 82). Many more of Lucilius' epigrams survive than do Nicarchus', the former being represented by at least 120 poems in the *Greek Anthology* (to which should probably be added a number of epigrams attributed to "Lucianus"),² the latter only by about 40 lines. A third epigrammatist who may be mentioned here is Rufinus, author of 37 amatory epigrams preserved in *AP* 5.2–103, where they are intermingled with other poems (see Page 1978, 3–14; Gutzwiller 1998, 292 n. 129). In the absence of any external evidence, the date of this Rufinus is extremely difficult to fix, suggestions having ranged from the first all the way to the sixth century. The most recent discussion is Hörschele (2006, 49–61), who inclines towards dating him earlier than Martial, on whom he may have been a further Greek influence. (A possible indication is *Mart.* 1.57, which may be an adaptation of Rufinus' *AP* 5.42.)

Although these are our principal sources, our knowledge of epigram is not confined to the transmission of published literary texts and conventional inscriptions. In Pompeii, a virtual anthology of metrical graffiti was preserved by chance when the town was buried by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 CE. The pieces of verse scribbled on the walls of the ancient city offer unique insights into a range of matters relating to Latin language and literature, from the purely linguistic to the contemporary Romans' engagement with literary poetry; school authors such as Homer and Vergil are echoed in quotations of first lines, elegists betray their influence on the large number of amatory poems, and there is even the occasional occurrence of Greek epigrams from the *Garlands* of both Meleager and Philip (Leonidas *AP* 6.31 and Evenus *AP* 9.62, not actually written, but painted on frescos in the so-called Casa degli epigrammi greci, together with an additional anonymous epigram: Kaibel 1103).³ In Chapter 28, Kristina Milnor guides us through the streets of Pompeii, discussing the quotations from Roman literary poetry as well as completely original pieces, such as the series of 11 (probably preneoteric) epigrams by a certain Loreius Tiburtinus.

When Pompeii was buried, Martial was about 40 years old and an active poet, although we know nothing of his early output. However, over the following two decades, he was to produce work that is indisputably unmatched in the history of epigram, both before him and in the subsequent tradition, and he had a profound influence on the modern conception of what an epigram is (ironically, since he himself is fairly liberal in his definition both as regards length and meter). He is known chiefly for the 12 *Epigrammaton*

libri, or “Books of Epigrams,” that were published between 85 and 101 and comprise 1174 epigrams on virtually every possible aspect of Roman life, revealing also a notable awareness of epigram’s value as literature. These 12 books are a remarkable literary construction in which a cohesive whole is stitched together from small constituents, as shown by Sven Lorenz in Chapter 30.

Before Martial embarked on this project, however, he published three collections of epigrams in the early eighties that are each thematically coherent, the *Liber Spectaculorum*, the *Xenia*, and the *Apophoreta*. The first of these was formerly held to commemorate the inauguration of the Colosseum under Titus in 80 CE, but this is no longer tenable as several of the poems in the collection must be dated to the early years of Domitian’s reign. The *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta*, published in 83/84 and 85 respectively (but somewhat confusingly numbered as books 13 and 14 in modern editions), consist almost entirely of single distichs about food (the *Xenia*) and various kinds of gifts (the *Apophoreta*) for dinner guests to take home with them. The two-line poems are each presented as a kind of riddle (with a lemma stating the “answer”) and represent a poetic tour de force, addressing both the restrictions of format imposed by the poet on himself and the challenge of arranging them into integral books for the appreciation of the reader. In Chapter 29, Timothy J. Leary discusses all three of these works, with an additional glance at the late antique *Aenigmata* of Symphosius, the only book to pick up from the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta*.

The last two chapters of Part IV – on the *Carmina Priapea* and on the epigrams attributed to Seneca the Younger – may seem out of place coming after the two chapters on Martial. In the latter case, though, the poems were certainly not written by Seneca (which would date them to the reign of Nero), and in the former the dating is one of the inherent problems of the work, particularly the question of whether or not it should be dated earlier or later than (or contemporaneously with) Martial. The fact that the chapter on the *Priapea* has been placed after those about Martial in this book does not imply that any particular position on the problem is taken by the editor.

The *Carmina Priapea*, or *Corpus Priapeorum*, is a collection of poems centered around the ithyphallic god Priapus, who in Rome had the function of protector of orchards and gardens, in which could be seen his wooden likeness, crudely wrought, painted in red, and with a very prominent phallus. Priapus occasionally appears as a grotesque figure in Latin poetry from Catullus on, but it is as the sexually aggressive (and often slightly ridiculous) protagonist in a scabrous subgenre of Priapic poetry that he is most prominently presented. While this genre had forerunners of a more serious nature

in Hellenistic poetry in the form of dedicatory epigrams, e.g., by Leonidas of Tarentum (see Klooster in this volume), Philip of Thessalonica, and Crinagoras (Buchheit 1962, 55–62), it was in Rome that this kind of Priapic poetry took on its obscene and often comical characteristics. Two instances are transmitted with the *Elegies* of Tibullus (though certainly not by him) and another three are prefixed to the *Catalepton* in the *Appendix Vergiliana*, but the 80 poems in the *Carmina Priapea* are the only coherent collection. In Chapter 39, Eugene O'Connor surveys these *Priapea*, their background and character, as well as two longstanding problems relating to the corpus, its authorship – is it the work of a single author or that of a compiler? – and dating.

The history of epigram abounds with the false attribution of poems to the great names of ancient literature, all the way back to Homer. In some cases, collections of poetry pose as the work of a major author who has nothing whatsoever to do with them; the above-mentioned *Catalepton*, which presents itself as the work of the young Vergil, is a good example. Another such collection survives in the ninth-century manuscript Vossianus Q. 86 (and, with an additional poem as well as some overlappings, in the *Codex Salmasianus*). The speaker in these nearly 70 epigrams (some quite long) never states his identity, but it is clear from their contents that the reader is intended to identify him with Seneca the Younger (dead in 65 CE), to whom some of the poems are also ascribed by the manuscripts. In the last chapter of Part IV, Alfred Breitenbach discusses the coherence of this collection of “Senecan” epigrams, why an attribution to the historical Seneca is impossible (assigning the poems rather to the second century), and why an anonymous poet might want to impersonate a famous classical author.

I.1.5 Part V: Epigram in Late Antiquity

With Part V, we move into late antiquity, a period of changing taste which saw more than one of the classical genres reworked or even abandoned. From the perspective of poetry, it has often been viewed as a period of decline (see, e.g., Conte 1994, 588). Epigram, which had reached its zenith as a genre with Martial, remained as a literary *lusus* for the educated but lost much of its literary aspiration. At the hands of the so-called *poetae novelli*, Latin epigram instead became archaizing and manneristic, indulging in anomalous meters and so-called *carmina figurata*, poems that create outlines of the objects they describe by using verses of varying length and a creative layout. Such exercises were nothing new in themselves: Greek *carmina figurata* had already been composed around 300 BCE by Simias of Rhodes, whose “Axe” (Πέλεκυς), “Egg” (Ὠόν), and “Pair of Wings” (Πτερύγιον) are preserved in the *Greek*

Anthology (AP 15.22, 24, and 27). Note also the nine palindromic epigrams of Nicodemus of Heraclea (*FGE* 1–9, of uncertain date), most (if not all) about works of art and palindromic in the sense that each poem can be read backwards (with the meter preserved), as long as the words themselves are read forwards (see Page 1981, 543–44 for the principles). Under Nero and the Flavian emperors, Leonides of Alexandria wrote “isopsephic” epigrams, i.e., epigrams in which each distich in a four-line poem (or each line in a two-liner) adds up to the same numerical value (since each Greek letter also functions as a number). This might seem a strange and forced exercise but, as Denys Page remarks on *FGE* Leonides 1 (AP 6.321, a birthday-poem for one of the Caesars, in which the letters of each distich add up to 5699), “the phrasing is neat and terse; quite a lot is said in little more than twenty words. The effort to create *isopsephia* has left, as usual, no trace whatever.” One should not, then, brand such formal features as signs of decline in themselves.

Nevertheless, the second and third centuries may be regarded as a period of stagnation for epigram, both Latin and Greek, and signs of a revival are not evident until the fourth century. In Chapter 33, Luca Mondin surveys Latin epigram after Martial down to the fifth century CE, with special attention to the fourth century, which produced some of the last great talents of later non-Christian poetry – such as Ausonius and Claudian – although, as prolific writers of secular epigram, we also find future bishops such as Sidonius Apollinaris and Ennodius. In the following chapter, Gianfranco Agosti describes how Greek epigram received a new impetus in the fourth century through Palladas’ revival of satirical epigram, through the revitalization of verse inscription in public buildings and churches,⁴ and – most importantly – through the renewal of literary epigram in sixth-century Constantinople. A central character here was Agathias of Myrina, a lawyer who, following the example of Meleager and Philip, compiled an anthology known as the *Cycle* (κύκλος). While he included epigrams written by himself, as had his predecessors, he differed from them in that he otherwise restricted himself to contemporary epigram by other high-ranking officials such as Paul the Silentiary, Macedonius, and Julian the Egyptian, all of it of classicizing and secular content, although the authors were certainly Christian.

Parallel to this secular composition, there now emerged a specific Christian epigrammatic tradition. At Rome, as at Constantinople, metrical inscriptions became fashionable and more ambitious as Constantine and his family adorned their buildings with *carmina epigraphica*, expressing their political and religious convictions as well as their awareness of Rome’s literary heritage. In the second half of the fourth century, Pope Damasus undertook an epigraphic program along similar lines, commemorating the Roman martyrs in a series of more than 60 *eulogia* inscribed by his calligrapher Philocalus

and set up in the cemeteries of Rome. In Chapter 35, Dennis Trout shows how the impetus from Constantine continued and was expanded through Damasus and other fourth-century bishops to make epigraphic epigram a signal feature of the final centuries of Latin antiquity.

Book 8 of the *Palatine Anthology* is devoted exclusively to epigrams by the fourth-century Church Father Gregory of Nazianzus, making it the sole single-author book in the anthology and Gregory its best-represented author; indeed, its 253 epigrams mean that we have more epigrams by Gregory than by any other author from antiquity apart from Martial (whose corpus is nearly five times bigger). Gregory's epigrams are of a general funerary character, commemorating friends and relatives, but also attacking grave-robbers, with a small number criticizing those who held excessive banquets in the churches of the martyrs. The poems are highly classicizing, mixing non-Christian and Christian *exempla*, and it is sometimes impossible to identify them as Christian from their contents alone, a fact which sets them apart from Gregory's other poetry. In Chapter 36, Christos Simelidis surveys Gregory's epigrammatic output, discussing his central role in the adaptation of Greek epigram to its Christian form and the importance of his literary epigrams as models for inscribed Christian epitaphs.

The last significant manifestation of literary Latin epigram in antiquity comes not from Italy but the Vandal kingdom in northern Africa. It comprises an anthology preserved in the eighth-century *Codex Salmasianus* and includes, *inter alia*, three collections of short poems, viz. the *Liber epigrammaton* of Luxorius, the *Unius poetae sylloge*, and the *Anonymi versus serpentini*. In the final chapter of Part V, Anna Maria Wasyl examines these three collections, with special attention to Luxorius, the "Carthaginian Martial," a grammarian who wrote in the 520s and was possibly the one who compiled the anthology. His epigrams seem to have been written and circulated within a group of like-minded friends, to which the author of the *Sylloge* may also have belonged. The anonymous collection of *Versus serpentini*, 42 distichs that begin and end with the same words, have the character, rather, of a school reader, although they are not necessarily without literary pretension. In general, the works give a fascinating insight into the intellectual environment that resulted from the meeting of traditional Roman culture with that of invading Germanic tribes.

I.1.6 Part VI: The Fortleben of Ancient Epigram

With Luxorius, Agathias, and their fellow poets, we leave the scope of this Companion. In the subsequent centuries there followed again a period of decline, from which epigram emerged in the Middle Ages in the best of health and endured for another millennium. In the final part of the book,

Peter Howell and Andreas Rhoby offer a survey of the *Fortleben* of ancient epigram, in the Western and Eastern traditions respectively.

In the western Europe of the Carolingian Renaissance, Martial – whose books survived the Dark Ages almost completely intact, with the exception of the *Liber spectaculorum* – again set the epigrammatic standard and was clearly well known to men of the church, who quoted and imitated him. In ninth-century Byzantium, epigraphic epigram regained its popularity and developed a variety of forms and applications such as “book epigrams,” i.e., epigrams that function as introductions to or dedications of literary texts. New meters, more akin to contemporary spoken Greek, largely supplanted the ancient, particularly in epigrams that were meant to be recited, such as the Byzantine dodecasyllable (based on the iambic trimeter) and the purely accentual political (i.e., “unprosodic”) verse. The tenth century saw the compilation of the *Palatine Anthology*, the all-important collection to which we owe so much of our knowledge of Greek epigram, while the anthology of Maximus Planudes, which complements it, was put together around 1300.

The Byzantine traditions of epigraphic epigram and book epigram lived on after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, even into the nineteenth century; and when the *Planudean Anthology* was first published – in Florence in 1494, a little more than a century before the manuscript of the *Palatine Anthology* was rediscovered – it sparked a renewed interest in Greek epigram in the West, challenging Martial as the prime model. Indeed, Greek epigram was often considered superior to Latin. Humanist and Renaissance authors wrote epigrams in Latin with versions in Greek, on a variety of topics and using the ancient meters (at times with greater enthusiasm than ability). In Greece, epigrams praising worldly as well as religious dignitaries – sometimes with a Latin translation – were written into the eighteenth century. In the sixteenth century epigrams began to be written in the vernacular languages of western Europe, and the genre became immensely popular in the seventeenth century, perhaps more so than any other genre of antiquity. Further, although it was not always to the taste of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, epigram lived on into the twentieth as a vehicle for political satire, aphorisms, and humorous poems in general – as well as for the *latrinalia*, although these, while equally coarse, seldom match the finesse of their Pompeian predecessors. As this survey has indicated, however, and as is evident from the book it introduces, ancient epigram is very much more than short, witty, and indecent poetry. It is also dignified, touching, even tragic, and at times wise; it is sharply and ruthlessly observant, mischievous, and disrespectful, loving, erotic, and obscene. It is a microcosm of human existence, and remains – as Martial so aptly remarked nearly two millennia ago – the one genre about which Life itself can say “this is mine.”

NOTES

1. On Lucillius and his poetry, see now the introduction in Floridi (2014, 3–93).
2. Floridi (2014) prints 127 epigrams as genuinely Lucillian, another five as *dubia*, and ten as *spuria*.
3. On these epigrams and their context, see Prioux (2011). The epigrams by Leonidas and Evenus are mentioned in the chapters by Klooster and Coleman.
4. Much of this naturally expressed Christian sentiments; the first book of the *Palatine Anthology* consists of 123 such inscriptions (collected by Constantine Cephalas for his lost ninth-century anthology, from which the anthology is descended).

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PART I

**EPIGRAM: FEATURES
AND DEFINITIONS**

CHAPTER ONE

What Is an Epigram?: Defining a Genre

Mario Citroni

1.1 The Problem

Generally regarded by ancients and moderns alike as a minor, marginal genre, epigram has displayed a vitality no less durable than that of the most prestigious genres. The composition of epigrams is already attested at the end of the eighth century BCE (the age to which the earliest extant Greek verse inscription dates back), and continued almost unbroken until late antiquity. After an intermittent presence in the Middle Ages, the fresh flourishing of the genre in the Renaissance, based on the recovery of its ancient forms, opened up the rich and lively history of epigram in European literature stretching through to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Collections of epigrams were also written during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and are still written today, albeit episodically and with a more idiosyncratic and experimental attitude. Such a long-lived and extensive presence is an indication of the genre's capacity to respond to substantive, non-ephemeral needs of poets and audiences in very different historical circumstances and cultural settings.

And yet defining this genre has always been very problematic. There are two distinct but interconnected reasons for this: a variety of content and forms that appears hard to fit into a single category; and the uncertainty of the boundaries separating it from other genres with similar characteristics.

The spectrum of content is almost limitless. The mode of utterance can range from the speech of a varying identifiable voice to dialogue, narration,

and description. One almost constant characteristic is brevity, but no single meter is employed – the most immediately significant formal trait for recognizing a genre in ancient literatures – nor is there a meter that is exclusive to the epigram: hence the difficulty in differentiating it from other genres of short poems that use the same metrical forms. Many, finally, are the occasions and functions of the epigram's "use," another key criterion in distinguishing genres, and which, for the epigram, range from inscription on objects and monuments, both sacred and profane, to recitation at symposia or other social situations, to circulation as informal writing or in book form, for entertainment, for literary or political polemic, for instruction, et cetera.

But epigram, which perhaps displays the greatest degree of variety among all the ancient genres, is also the one with the greatest degree of repetitiveness. On one hand there are the numerous typologies based on content and function: the funerary, votive, erotic, sympotic, "epideictic" (that is, "demonstrative," with various sub-types: Rossi 2002, 151–55 and cf. Lauxtermann 1998), aphoristic, ecphrastic, satiric, celebratory; then there are riddles, oracles, mythical or historical re-evocations, literary polemic, et cetera, always with the freedom to experiment with further types. On the other hand, within these typologies, and in part across them too, there is an insistent recurrence of motifs, situations, formulas, and compositional forms. A further aspect of this contradiction is that epigram, due to the freedom in the choice of themes, offers us rare and invaluable testimony of minor and intimate aspects of everyday life, but, usually, within a literarily formalized and conventional framework.

Some scholars of the ancient (Reitzenstein 1907, 111) and modern (Nowicki 1974, 10–19) output have denied that epigram, because of its diversification, can be considered as a definite genre. According to Crusius (1905, 2277) and others, the epigram in elegiac couplets, representing the majority of ancient production, should be considered together with elegy as part of a single genre; this thesis, which, as we shall see, seems to have some grounding in ancient theory, would lend itself to being applied also to the few Greek and many Latin epigrams in iambic and lyric meters. But an overwhelming ancient and modern tradition shared by poets, readers, and critics has recognized the epigram, however varied, problematic, and hard to pin down, to be a unitary genre.

The only "objective" way to define a genre seems to be to systematically describe its manifestations. This cannot be fully achieved within the bounds of this chapter, but it also runs up against a difficulty of principle, well known to those who study genre theory: a repertory of all the manifestations of a genre presupposes that we already know which works belong to it, and therefore that its identity is already defined. Moreover, with an approach of

this kind there is a risk of losing sight precisely of the unitary element we are searching for here. The outline of the essential phases in the development of Greek and Latin epigram in the next two sections therefore makes no claim to be complete, but simply attempts to single out the historical reasons why certain different literary realities were united under this single name, and to see what awareness the ancients themselves might have had of the identity of epigram.

1.2 Ideas of Greek Epigram Through Time

The word ἐπίγραμμα means “inscription,” that is, a text inscribed or painted onto an object (other meanings are: “annotation,” “title”). An inscription may publicize a text (typically, laws, decrees, pacts, lists), where there are reasons for its being made known independent of the tablet it is inscribed on, which is just its support: ἐπιγραφή and ἀναγραφή were usually used for that sense. Alternatively its function can be to give a particular meaning to the object it is inscribed on, and to preserve the memory of this meaning over time: typically, to attest who made it, owned it, offered it, and to which deity, person, or community, who the buried person is, to whom a monument is dedicated, who is represented in an image. It might also provide information about the life, circumstances of death, works, and virtues of the buried or commemorated person, or the reasons for the offering. Often the object, or the buried person, speaks in the first person: the inscription is also a way of giving voice to inanimate things (Burzachechi 1962) and to preserve the life and voice of the dead. To denote inscriptions with these functions, especially when written in verse, the word ἐπίγραμμα, attested since the fifth century BCE, was used almost exclusively.

Epigram is the only ancient poetic genre which is posited, in its name and effective original function, as inherently “written,” instead of an originally oral genre for which writing provided a stable support (the same could be said of the poetic epistle, which however arrived much later, and with limited diffusion). Due to its structural brevity, epigram could not be (though it has been hypothesized) a transcription of verses recited or sung on the occasion of funeral or votive rites, even if its content and expressive choices might have been influenced by them. That the text would have been read aloud, possibly by a literate intermediary for other people’s benefit, detracts nothing from the specificity of the epigram as a written text. Likewise, such specificity is in no way diminished by the fact that epigram is often constructed as an allocution of the dead, or of the tomb or of an anonymous mourner (Cassio 1994) to a passer-by, or of a passer-by to the dead or the tomb, or as

a dialogue between them. These conventional scenarios, widely used also in literary epigrams (Fantuzzi 2004, 306–38; Meyer 2005, 101–26; Tueller 2008), are perhaps a sign of the influence exerted on it by the oral nature of the other poetic genres.

The lesser prestige attributed to epigram in the ancient literary system is now widely considered to derive from its being a written genre. But insofar as it was written, epigram performed vital anthropological and identificatory roles, such as relations with the gods, the dead, and with the very idea of death and memory. I believe, instead, that for these reasons, the funerary and votive epigraphs, in prose and verse, were an important driving force in the unstoppable growth in the role of writing, and that the lower prestige of the epigram, which persisted in the prevalently written literary culture of imperial Rome, and in modern literature, derives from prejudices associated with its brevity, its occasional nature and, therefore, its apparent “ease” of creation.

Inscriptions in verse have always been much rarer than prose ones (data in Bing and Bruss 2007, 2–4). The decision to adopt the metrical form may have various motivations: enhancement of the distinction and value of the message and of the object it was inscribed on; communicative efficacy, because a poetic text can stir greater interest, be more striking, and remain more firmly impressed in the reader’s memory; the sacredness and suggestiveness deriving from the magical values associated with the poetic form. Anyone composing, commissioning, or reading a verse inscription would certainly have been aware of the specific identity of this product which, even at its simplest, stood out as being different from a prose inscription, in that it was endowed with the aesthetic, communicative, and magic–sacred qualities belonging to the poetic form. The precocious, stable use of ἐπίγραμμα to designate inscriptions in verse seems to offer linguistic confirmation of an awareness of the specificity of this genre of writing. The fact that, at the beginning of the fifth century, epigrams of great public importance like those for the fallen in the Persian Wars were, or were believed to have been, commissioned from a famous poet like Simonides presupposes that the verse inscription was already recognized as being fully integrated into the system of poetic genres.

The earliest inscribed epigrams are for the most part short and simple: until the end of the sixth century BCE they rarely exceed four lines, often repeat established formulas, and are almost all in hexameters, the meter of epic poetry, with which they also display remarkable affinities of language. From the second half of the sixth century we also find epigrams in iambic or trochaic meters, and in elegiac couplets. The latter quickly became the prevalent meter, and ἐλεγίον (strictly “elegiac couplet”) could also be used as a synonym of ἐπίγραμμα: in the singular, it denotes an inscribed poetic text of

more than one couplet in *CEG* 819 iii, from 405 BCE or some decades later, and then various times from the first century BCE onwards (West 1974, 4). Later it was also used occasionally to indicate epitaphs in non-elegiac meter (*ibid.*).

The reasons why the elegiac couplet was adopted as the prevalent meter cannot be identified. It has been argued (Reitzenstein 1893, 105; Gentili 1968, 65) that the rhythmic nature of the couplet, a compact strophe with a more expansive opening followed by two brief segments giving a strong sense of closure, made it particularly suited to the inscriptional modality. Besides this rather doubtful claim, there is the fact that the origin of elegy, and of the name *ἐλεγος* itself, was generally traced back by the ancients to the funeral lament. The shared sepulchral theme, fundamental for both genres (though the ancients' assertion of its predominance in elegy is not borne out by surviving texts) might have attracted epigram from the hexameter to the very close rhythmic modality of elegy. A shared general theme, that is, might have been at the heart of the metrical assimilation that would subsequently form the basis for further thematic assimilations between the two genres, with the birth of the sympotic and erotic epigram. Grammatical treatises of the peripatetic school, in illustrating the etymology of *ἐλεγος*, seem to regard the funeral lament in elegiac meter and the epitaph in elegiacs as the same reality (Reitzenstein 1907, 74–77), and the unitariness of the funerary/votive inscription in elegiac couplets and the elegiac lament seems to be presupposed by a passage (75–76) from Horace's *Ars poetica*. One of the sources of Horace's work was Neoptolemus of Parium, the only ancient author known to have written a treatise on epigram. The idea of an essential unity between epigram and elegy thus formed part of ancient perceptions of the genre, though this does not mean it necessarily corresponded to reality, nor do we know if the view was shared by everyone.

Between the fourth and third century BCE, the idea of epigram extended in two fundamental ways. Besides its value as an “inscribed poem,” which remained intact, it also extended to take in poems which, while having the features of inscribed texts, referred to solely imaginary tombs or objects. It also began to cover poems lacking any recognizable link with epigraphic writing.

The first shift can easily be reconstructed, albeit through conjecture. The spread of poetic epigraphs associated with important events or figures, and the fact that sometimes these were, or were considered to be, the work of eminent poets, stirred a two-fold interest – historical-antiquarian and literary – in being able to read them in book collections, doing away with the need to visit specific places or to rely on travelers' accounts. We know of a collection of *Attic Epigrams* prepared by the historian Philochorus between the fourth and third century BCE (see Maltomini in this volume), but similar

books might have existed before that: the texts of various epigrams were already reproduced by Herodotus in his work for their historical interest. And the workshops that actually produced the inscriptions had certainly long been using repertoire-books of exemplary texts, some taken from existing epigraphs, so clients could choose one to adapt to their needs.

The fact that verse inscriptions began to circulate in book form, freed from an actual physical tie with a monument or object, as texts destined for a present or future readership interested in poetry, would have given poets further motivation to write them, and to do so in an original way. All the more so as, in book form, the epigrams could also bear the name of their author, only very rarely recorded in epigraphic texts (Fantuzzi 2004, 287–91; Santin 2009). Freedom from any tie with the monument, enabling readers to enjoy epigrams for their essentially aesthetic interest, would have prompted authors to free themselves from that restriction in composing them, and to write fictitious sepulchral and votive texts with the new creative freedom afforded by no longer being bound by real occasions. The “inscriptions” are recognizably fictitious when they concern unrealistic burials or votive offerings (for example, for figures from myth or remote ages), or when they are parodic (for instance, celebrating a dead person’s vices rather than his virtues). But apart from the greater freedom of conception and elaboration, the literary epigrams are in principle undistinguishable from those composed for graves or real offerings, precisely because they were intentionally modeled on them. Nowadays it is considered likely that anthologies or collections of epigrams with a real or fictitious epigraphic purpose, attributed to known poets on varying solid grounds, were circulating in the fourth century BCE.

The leading poets of early Hellenism (end of fourth/third century) developed epigram greatly. It fully suited the new poetics privileging brief forms, in which the poet could achieve an ideal of sophisticated formal elegance, and, foregoing sublime heights, give voice to a private, even intimate world, and delicate feelings tinged with melancholic, ironic, or even playful shades. In such a spirit, they wrote many epigrams of an inscriptional, burial, or votive form, for the most part clearly fictitious. They wrote ecphrastic epigrams, descriptions of objects, jewels, statues, and trophies for protectors and patrons in which we can see developments, sometimes very free ones, of inscriptional forms. But they also wrote many poems, especially erotic and sympotic ones, that made no reference to inscriptional modalities but were also called “epigrams.”

This latter extension represents a crucial turning point, which lies at the heart of the question forming the title of this chapter: what makes the identity of the genre problematic is, primarily, that it includes poems lacking the inscriptional form to which the name refers. This evolution is a historical-literary

problem that has not really been clarified. At a linguistic level, we can note that in a papyrus of the third century BCE (*P.Vindob.* G 40611) ἐπιγράμματα denotes an anthology of poems of which only the first words are given, but which in various cases can be recognized as non-inscriptional (and in some cases as non-elegiac). In a papyrus from the same age (*P.Petr.* II 49a = *Suppl. Hell.* 961), the term must have had the same meaning, designating as σύμμεκτα ἐπιγράμματα (“mixed epigrams”) a collection of which part of an elegiac poem on an epithalamic theme, at least 24 lines long and certainly not inscriptional (and in any case anomalous as an epigram), has survived (Cameron 1993, 7, 13; Argentieri 1998, 9). Further evidence between the third and second century BCE confirms this extended meaning of the term, which from then on would be stable: it was used by the peripatetic Hieronymus of Rhodes (third century BCE) for an erotic epigram attributed to Sophocles (*FGE* I) and by the grammarian Callistratus (second century BCE) for a sympotic epigram ascribed to Simonides (*FGE* LXXXVIII). The epigraph of 263/2 BCE (*IG* 9.1² i, 17a) containing the decree which, in awarding an honor to the poet Posidippus, describes him as ἐπιγραμματοποιός, seems to represent further confirmation (it would not just have referred to the writing of poems destined to be inscribed). The treatise “On epigrams” (Περὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων) by Neoptolemus of Parium, a third-century-BCE grammarian and poet who himself wrote epigrams, is likely to have referred to this extended meaning of the term as well. Puelma (1997) observes that epigrammatists themselves never used ἐπίγραμμα until the first century CE, preferring the traditional terms for oral poetry (ῥυμος, μέλισμα, ἔλεγχος). But this cannot be considered evidence of an unawareness of the genre’s identity, as Puelma thinks: the word ἐπίγραμμα might have been avoided because it was felt to be prosaic (as Puelma himself suggests).

The new extension of the term’s meaning corresponds to the emergence of a new type of composition. It can be seen as an evolution of the inscriptional epigram: freed from the tie with the material object, it became receptive to different themes, especially erotic and sympotic, and gnomic ones as well, drawing inspiration from other genres dealing with the same themes but distinguishing itself from them for certain typical features of the inscriptional epigram (brevity, concentration, a preference for elegiac meter) retained in this new dimension. But it could also be seen as the evolution of already-existing types of erotic and sympotic poetry which, in the course of their development, came into contact with epigram (in turn transformed with respect to its original modalities), from which they acquired those same typical features, and the name. Both these scenarios, perhaps two ways of representing the same phenomenon, pose the problem of the relationship between epigram and other genres exploring the same themes: lyric, *iambos*,

elegy (Gutzwiller 1998, 115–229). Between the fifth and third century BCE, these genres continued to be performed orally at symposia and at public and private rituals, but were also, or indeed prevalently, enjoyed as book reading, and were composed also for this purpose, as were epigrams following the path of development we have discussed. In the book, now a shared space for all these genres, an overlapping of themes is understandable; in particular, the difference between short elegy and non-inscriptional epigram, which shared the same meter, tended to dissolve. Another common space where these genres could influence each other was the oral one of the symposium, which was the context for singing, reciting, and off-the-cuff composing of poems in various meters on erotic, sympotic, and gnomic themes. These were often performed in sequences, with each participant being “obliged” to pick up from, vary, and try to outdo the execution of the person preceding him (a characteristic modality of a specific genre of light sympotic lyric called *skolion*). Participants in symposia, at least in more recent times, also recited, sometimes in verse, anecdotes, witticisms, jokey characterizations of individuals, riddles, aphorisms, polemical quips (serious and playful) on literary and philosophical themes, and expressions of homage to or even attacks on powerful figures. These are all recurrent themes in the epigrammatic tradition, which has also preserved many cases of variations on the same theme, produced in the context of poets’ vying to outdo one another. The non-inscriptional Hellenistic epigram, which circulated in book form but could also be recited (and sometimes perhaps improvised) at symposia, might perhaps derive from these convivial poetic practices (Reitzenstein 1893, 87–192; Cameron 1995, 76–103, objections in Bing 2009, 106–15, among others), included in the “epigram” category following their regularization in the short form and the conciseness characteristic of inscriptional poems. All the more so as these sympotic verse practices might themselves have had an inscriptional basis (Fantuzzi 2004, 284–87): the earliest extant epigrams, dating to the end of the eighth century BCE, are verse inscriptions on recipients (the “cup of Nestor,” the Dipylon and the Ithaca *oenochoai*: CEG 454, 432, 453), with references to wine, eros, and dance, and were probably intended to be recited in a symposium. Subsequently, we find inscriptions on goblets, mostly in prose and very elementary, which might have served as a basis for convivial poetic performances of extemporary or traditional texts. On the other hand, at a symposium there could be no space, or any inscriptional basis, for the fundamental types of epigram, the funerary and votive-sacred ones that gave the genre its early identity and its name. Except for a possible presence in funeral and religious banquets, these types could appear only marginally in symposia, for offerings and convivial gifts and for evoking the dead, also in a parodic and playful manner.

The papyrus of Posidippus (see Gutzwiller in this volume), a third-century-BCE collection of epigrams of which 112 are extant, all in elegiac meter, with as many as 95 comprising 4 or 6 lines and none more than 14, attests that the contours of a type of epigram were already clearly delineated: regular in its forms, which were prevalently of epigraphic derivation, but often with an impossible or improbable inscriptional collocation. A contemporary papyrus (*P.Berol.* 13270) also provides evidence, however, of the circulation of short elegiac poems together with sympotic lyric poems, suggesting a more uncertain reality, in which the separation between lyric, *iambos*, and epigram was not clear-cut (Gutzwiller 1998, 16–25). The compilers of the ancient anthologies forming the basis for the great Byzantine collections (Palatine and Planudean) that have come down to us, at least starting from Meleager (beginning of the first century BCE), probably selected the texts also on the basis of their conformity to that “regular” model of epigram, preventing us from seeing a more varied picture, in which, perhaps even after the third century BCE, in sympotic recitations as in book collections, short poems of different kinds and in varying meter could coexist with “epigrams” in elegiac couplets. It is significant that, among the Hellenistic poems passed down as epigrams, the ones of anomalous meter (Fantuzzi 2004, 39) or length come from the most ancient phase of this “new” genre (third century BCE: Cameron 1993, 13–15). And in any case if the anthologists did make such a selection, it means that at least from the time of Meleager elegiac meter and brevity were regarded as virtually necessary features of the genre (Dale 2010). Such criteria became more rigorous in the *Garland* of Philip (mid-first century CE), where epigrams in a meter other than elegiac are much rarer, and only one epigram appears to be more than 8 lines long, compared to 71 of those remaining from the Meleager *Garland* (Gow and Page 1968, vol. 1, xxxvii).

Clarity is also seriously hampered by the scarcity of surviving lyric, iambic, and elegiac output, especially from the fifth century BCE onwards, compared to the extensive (albeit partial) knowledge of the epigrammatic tradition resulting from the conservation of the Byzantine anthologies, of the vast epigraphic material, and of important papyrus texts. In the case of elegy, the genre closest to epigram by virtue of the meter, we can ascertain that, at least in archaic production, compositions of over 100 lines were admitted (and we also know of very extensive narrative elegiac poems). But we do not know the generally accepted minimum length, and therefore to what extent the erotic or sympotic epigram in elegiac couplets, with its brevity, represented a deviation from what was already practiced in the elegiac tradition (Bowie 2007). The compilation which, under the name of Theognis, also brings together texts of different origin and age, often includes very brief segments of complete meaning, sometimes just a single couplet, that

are not distinguishable from non-inscriptional epigrams: but some might be passages taken from longer elegies, as can be definitely ascertained in certain cases.

The panorama offered by the extant Greek tradition from the third century BCE onwards is essentially that of a well-defined genre. The general formal arrangement, characterized by brevity and elegiac meter, appears stable: epigrams in a different meter or longer than, say, 14 lines, are admitted, but felt to be exceptions (Morelli 2008). At the same time, there is a great variety of typologies, and almost boundless content. During the further evolution of Greek epigram in the imperial and Byzantine age, the comic-satiric epigram and the ecphrastic one (which sometimes had didactic and religious ends) would undergo wide and in part new development – but they are all typologies already known to the Hellenistic epigram.

1.3 Ideas of Latin Epigram Through Time

Though it depends considerably on the Greek genre, Latin epigram has a quite different profile, which has played a key role, alongside and often in open competition with the Greek model, in defining the genre's identity in the modern tradition.

While in Greece the epigram had a stable structure from the third century BCE, in Rome it always appeared more open and varied, being considered a genre of uncertain identity and name (Citroni 2004). Pliny the Younger describes a rich variety of minor poetry in different meters composed by himself and his friends, clearly analogous to that of Martial. Speaking of a collection of his own, he says he chose the title *Hendecasyllabi* because it consisted of poems in that meter alone, but then he adds: “you could call them *epigrammata*, *idyllia*, *eclogae*, *poematia*, as many do (*ut multi*), or in whatever other way you prefer” (*Ep.* 4.14.9). One of his friends chose, in fact, the title *Poematia* (*Ep.* 4.27.1). Pliny does not say what he called his own collection of poems in varied meter (*Ep.* 8.21.4). Instead, he always designates as *epigrammata* the short poems his friends wrote in Greek (*Ep.* 4.3.3; 4.18.1), evidently referring in this case to what he considered to be a clear-cut genre, with a canonical author, who, for Pliny (*Ep.* 4.3.4) as for Martial (4.23), was Callimachus.

By contrast, Martial, also a friend of Pliny, shows he had a precise idea of the genre he worked in. He consistently used just one term, *epigramma*, and first published three “special” books consisting solely (*Liber spectaculorum*) or almost solely (*Xenia* and *Apophoreta*) of poems in elegiac couplets, and then a *corpus* of 12 books that are all homogeneous in their metrical variety: the

majority of the poems are in elegiac meter, but these alternate with significant numbers of pieces in hendecasyllables (phalaeceans) and a smaller number of scazons. Other kinds of meter – lyrics, iambics, or hexameters – appear only sporadically (data in Scherf 2001). This very controlled variety is fundamentally different from the Greek epigrammatic tradition known to us. Martial repeatedly declares that his supreme model, and that of the entire Latin epigram tradition, is Catullus. In fact, Catullus’ “minor” poems were likewise in elegiac couplets, phalaeceans, scazons and, occasionally, in other lyrical and iambic meters. The same meters were favored by the “neoterics” in Catullus’ circle, as far as can be deduced from remaining fragments. Pliny also considered Catullus (and Calvus) to be models of the minor poetry written among his acquaintances, where the same metric variety was managed very differently from Martial, as collections just of phalaeceans were commonplace (*Ep.* 7.4.8). Unlike Greek epigram, this “Catullian” genre did not seem unitarily definable to Pliny, as it did to Martial.

Neither for Catullus nor for the neoterics can we say whether they thought that poems not written in elegiac couplets belonged to the same genre as those that were, nor whether they used the term “epigram” for them, as Martial, but not Pliny, would do consistently. In Catullus’ book, as it has come down to us, the short poems in elegiac meter and the short poems in different meters form two separate sections, conventionally described by modern scholars as “epigrams” and “polymetrics”; but what is not known is if this ordering originated with the author, or at any rate reflected his intentions.¹ Catullus never uses the word *epigramma*, describing his phalaeceans as *hendecasyllabi* and the invective verse as *iambi*, which seemingly also included the invectives in phalaeceans (that we consider a lyric meter). Other authors’ citations do not help much. Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.20) describes a derisory poem in couplets by Catullus as an *epigramma*, and (10.1.96) lists Catullus among the iambic poets (as do Diom. *Gramm.* I 485.17 and Porph. *Hor. Carm.* 1.16.24), specifying however that he was not the author of a unitary iambic collection. A couplet of Calvus is quoted as an *epigramma* (schol. Luc. 7.726) and a hexameter-end by Cinna as *in epigrammatis* (Non. 87.24M.): in this case the reference to a collection thus named would be possible. Poems by Catullus and Calvus in phalaeceans are sometimes referred to as *hendecasyllabi*: only in two cases (Sen. *Controv.* 7.4.7 and Char. *Gramm.* I 97.13K) would the reference to a collection so identified be admissible, though improbable. Gellius uses the expression *in poematis* for a phalaecean by Calvus (*NA* 9.12.10), and two phalaeceans (19.13.5) and a scazon (9.12.12) by Cinna. Charisius (*Gramm.* 128.19 B.) refers, with the equally generic *in carminibus*, to a passage in elegiac meter of Calvus. Catullus, who for Martial is the canonical epigrammatist, was also remembered as *lyricus*

(Jer. *Ab Abr.* 150 and cf. *Ep.* 53.8.17), and, as we have seen, as the author of iambs. There is no reason to believe that any of the above qualifications stem from the poets themselves, for whom the genre status of this production seems to have been highly fluid.

Catullus 1, the dedication, in phalaeceans, of a collection of unknown content and length, is reminiscent of the preface and perhaps also the epilogue (both in elegiacs) of Meleager's *Garland* (Mondin 2011), a prestigious synthesis of the Hellenistic epigrammatic output which, published in the years in which Catullus was born, certainly represented important reading for him. It is improbable that with this allusion Catullus intended to propose his "polymetrics" as part of the same genre represented, in Greek, by the *Garland*. All his minor poetry, polymetric and elegiac, is profoundly different from Hellenistic epigram, quite apart from the fundamental difference in meter and the fact that about one third of the "polymetrics" exceed 18 lines. Equally fundamental is that none of the polymetrics or epigrams have the inscriptional form (Laurens 2012, 235–68) that the epigrams of the *Garland* very often preserved to "signal" their membership of the genre: Catullus 3 and 101, though influenced by the funerary epigram, have the form of "oral" laments in funeral occasions; poem 4, though influenced by the votive epigram, is an "oral" illustration of a dedicatory ritual, as is no. 36, a bizarre parody of a dedicatory ritual. Precisely these poems, the least distant from the inscriptional form, though impossible to imagine carved in stone, are among the "polymetrics" (except for 101), and in Catullus the allusions to Hellenistic epigrams are much more frequent in the "polymetrics" than in the "epigrams" (Reitzenstein 1907, 101–2; Ross 1969, 153). Moreover, among both the polymetrics and the epigrams there are personally aggressive, even violent poems, with scathing and obscene expressions directed at figures in the poet's world and at eminent political personalities of the age: the ancient Greek iambic tradition is interwoven here with traditional Roman practices (various remnants have survived) of politically polemical denigratory verse, while in the Greek epigram references to political debate are rare and almost never invective. Another great difference is that the experiences of a presumed autobiographical "I" dominate the entire collection, with a profound emotional involvement on the part of the subject, especially in the love poetry. In this, both in the "polymetrics" and in the "epigrams," though there are soft and even playful notes with affinities in Hellenistic poetry, intense expression is given to a genuine personal tragedy. Nothing equally lacerating can be found in Greek epigram: in this Catullus draws on, and explicitly refers to (51), the archaic Greek lyric tradition. Like all the major Latin poets, Catullus felt free to rework various Greek traditions, ancient and recent, in an original fashion. But the panorama of

Hellenistic poetry he must have been familiar with, and which was undoubtedly the crucial point of reference in this re-elaboration, would have been different from ours. Epigram must have presented, besides the exclusively elegiac mode attested by the Milan papyrus of Posidippus, greater scope for metrical variation than what we can find in the extant material of Meleager's *Garland*. And he must have known a variety of iambic, elegiac, and lyric minor poetry, produced between the third and first century BCE, that we can only glimpse thanks to indirect sources and papyrus remains. In the remains of Callimachus' *Iambi* we can discern an instance of a collection varying in meter, theme, and length, from which Catullus may have taken ideas but not a genre model. If we knew the *Παίγνια* of Philitas (a title similar to the Latin *nugae* used by Catullus to describe his poems), who was also an epigrammatist, and other analogous Greek collections (Gutzwiller 1998, 17–19), we would probably be able to find in them significant affinities with Catullus' short poems as a whole.

Catullus' short poems are highly original heirs not only of Greek traditions, but Latin ones as well: Lucilian satire, comedy, and an earlier Latin tradition of epigrams (Morelli 2000), which, as far as we can know it, appears very meager. The funerary metrical epigraphs, initially quite independent from the Greek tradition also because of the meter (Saturnian), later adopted Greek meters and themes. The Latin literary epigram began with Ennius, for whom all we have are some extremely brief inscriptional epigrams, solemn and monumental, in elegiac couplets. There was continuity of the inscriptional type in the purported self-epitaphs of Naevius, Plautus, and Pacuvius, of uncertain authorship and with an evident Hellenistic influence, and in Varro's lost epigrams about illustrious men. Lucilius had produced some parodic versions of the funerary epigrams. Politically and personally aggressive verse circulated continually in Rome from the time of Naevius through to late antiquity, often referred to as *epigrammata*, at least from the second century CE onwards, whether in elegiac couplets or in another meter. Around 100 BCE, erotic Latin poems in elegiac meter modeled on the Hellenistic epigram were written in refined aristocratic circles frequented also by Greek epigrammatists (Cameron 1993, 51–56; Morelli 2000): softly sentimental works, they were overlaid by expressive effects and conceits.

Catullus was the first artistic figure of great force and temperament to concentrate his efforts on writing short poems in meters of various kind. In his experimental, non-systematic output, in which different traditions, Greek and Latin, engaged with each other, the Augustan poets found important points of reference for their "regular" collections of iambic, lyric, and elegiac poetry. Martial was not the first to see in the "minor" production of Catullus the point of reference for a "regular" Latin epigram: he regarded himself as

the coherent heir of a tradition continued, after Catullus, by Domitius Marsus and Albinovanus Pedo in the Augustan age and by Gaetulicus in the Tiberian age. Only for Marsus do a few epigrams and fragments remain, both on funerary themes and of an aggressive or playful kind. The bringing together of poems in elegiacs and other Catullian meters into a single collection is not attested for Marsus, for whom we only have elegiac remnants (see Henriksén in this volume), but it is present in the pseudo-Vergilian *Catalepton*, in all likelihood compiled sometimes in the first century CE, and then in the *Priapea*, a monothematic collection probably already influenced by Martial (Citroni 2008; cf. O'Connor in this volume). The relative regularity in the mix of Catullian meters that can be found in these collections and in Martial (and perhaps already present in the predecessors he cites?), did not create a stable tradition: the *poetae novelli* of the second century CE experimented with a bolder polymetry in collections whose contours are unknown. The strong revival of the epigram from the fourth century CE onwards produced poems that conformed to the various typical modes of Greek epigram (funerary, votive, sympotic, erotic, scopic, gnomic, ecphrastic, didactic, religious, riddling, anecdotal, etc.), together with comic-satiric or autobiographical poems modeled on Martial, and other mixed forms in which the epigram is hard to distinguish from brief compositions collected, together with other more extensive ones, under titles such as *eclogae*, or *epistulae*, continuing the morphological liberty that the genre had for Pliny. Among the various pieces, of indistinct genre, collected in his *Silvae*, Statius identified two of them (both in hexameters, and both quite long: 77 and 37 lines respectively) as “*epigramma*-like” (2, *praef. epigrammatis loco scriptos*). Martial’s attempt to give Latin epigram a canonical regularity, perhaps influenced by the relative formal regularity of Greek epigram, did not become established, though it did remain a model in Luxorius (sixth century CE). Yet Martial had had to engage not only with the more indefinite idea of the genre as attested by Pliny, but also with the “purist” view of those who, evidently considering the Greek model to be normative, did not admit epigrams not written in elegiac meter, or which were long (as they quite often are in Martial: data in Scherf 2001 and cf. Morelli 2008), or too aggressive and obscene. Martial answered these criticisms by claiming his epigram conformed to the Latin tradition (1, *praef.*, 2.77, 6.65).

Unlike Catullus, Martial (as Marsus had before him) wrote a number of funerary and votive epigrams, in keeping with the original nature of the genre, and a great many celebrative epigrams, often solemn in character: this was a Greek typology, practiced in Rome by Ennius, which reappeared in Marsus. He wrote some moralistic-edifying epigrams. Similar to Catullus is the constant presence of the authorial “I,” the prominence of literary

polemics, and of the playful and convivial dimension, while there is not much love poetry. One glaring characteristic is the marked presence of comic-satiric epigrams, less frequent in the Hellenistic output, which Greek poets active in Rome at the time of Nero had practiced by hitting out at very abstract and impersonal physical types and character traits. Martial, who was familiar with and in part imitated this Greek production, transformed it into a very lively criticism of morals, feeding on the Latin traditions of satire and comedy in the inventive boldness of his realistic representations and grotesque deformations of behavior, and in the freedom of his language.

The Greek and then Latin epigrammatic tradition had gradually developed a fondness for pointed endings, accentuating the expressive efficacy of the short form. This tendency ended up combining with post-Ciceronian rhetoric's taste for incisive *sententiae* at the end of an argumentative section (Barwick 1959). Martial achieved particularly dazzling results with his endings, above all but not only, his comic-realistic ones, in which the often unexpected final point denounced contradictions and paradoxes in social behavior, encapsulating the meaning of the whole poem. Only part of his work, albeit an important one, displays this characteristic, but it has particularly struck readers in every age: Martial has often been associated with just this aspect of his art, which, with an obvious distortion of historic reality, has been considered emblematic not only of his output but of the entire literary genre. It is above all due to Martial's prestige that an ingenious ending has often been considered an essential feature of the epigram, and that the term "epigram" in modern languages conveys above all the idea of a polemical and witty point.

1.4 Modern Theories

All the ancient and modern poetic forms assimilable to the ones featuring in the literary story outlined here can legitimately be defined as "epigrams," insofar as they are assimilable to poetic forms described as such by their authors or audiences during the course of Greek and Roman antiquity, to which modern culture has itself referred in seeking to identify the genre.

The rebirth and new life of the epigram in humanistic Latin literature and in different European literatures was accompanied by assiduous reflection on the nature of the genre. Scores of treatises were written about epigram between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (Hutton 1935, 59–72; Nowicki 1974; Weisz 1979, 26–43; Lausberg 1982, 78–101; Hess 1989, 30–59), testifying to the importance attributed to the genre and the persistent difficulty in defining a unitary identity, precisely because of the

non-unitary nature of the ancient tradition that has always been taken as a point of reference.

Ancient theorizations offered no foundations: antiquity produced many treatises, almost all lost, on various genres, but for the epigram, always regarded as marginal, we only know of the treatise of Neoptolemus, also lost. In Greek authors all we can find are some statements associating the genre with brevity (Lausberg 1982, 29–63). As we saw, Martial, on the basis of the Latin tradition deriving from Catullus, affirmed the legitimacy of epigrams that are not brief and are in meter other than elegiac; at the same time he regarded comicality, aggressiveness, and obscenity as not only legitimate but necessary, not in every epigram of course, but at least in part of an epigrammatic collection (1.35). Martial (4.23) seems to distinguish, within a unitary genre presided over by the same Muse (Thalia), between a Greek tradition, typified by Callimachus and characterized by *lepos* (“grace”), and a Latin tradition (for which we know he considered Catullus to be the canonical author) characterized by *sal* (“pungent spirit”). A similar distinction can probably also be discerned in the terms chosen by Pliny to characterize respectively Greek epigrams (cf. 4.3.4; 4.18) and minor Latin poems (cf. 7.9.9 *carmen ... argutum et breve*, “a short and clever poem”) written by his friends (Citroni 2004). It is certainly under the influence of Martial’s epigram, and his characteristic ingenious endings, that Fronto (*Ep.* 215.18–9, not known before the nineteenth century) affirms: “in epigrams the final lines must have a bright element” (*novissimos in epigrammatis versus habere oportet aliquid luminis*). In the fifth century CE Sidonius singled out *acumen* as the characteristic of the epigram.

The treatise writers of the sixteenth century (Robortello, Sebillet, Minturno, and others) often drew on these concepts and this terminology, singling out brevity, charm (*lepor*, *venustas*), and wit (*sal*, *acumen*) as unifying features of the genre, irrespective of its various manifestations.

Of crucial importance, and a lasting influence on later treatises and on the notion of the epigram in modern culture, was the chapter “Epigrammata” in the *Poetices libri* of Iulius Caesar Scaliger (1561), who applied a criterion of rhetorical, logic-based analysis to the genre. For Scaliger, the epigram is a *poema breve*, of which there are two types: a simple kind, describing a thing, person, or fact (*cum simplici cuiuspiam rei vel personae vel facti indicatione*); and a complex one, which deduces something else from that exposition on the basis of logical operators: “greater, lesser, equal, different, opposite” (*alia vero composita sunt, quae deducunt ex propositis aliud quiddam, idque aut maius aut minus aut aequale aut diversum aut contrarium*). It has two *virtutes peculiares*, the yardsticks for measuring an epigram’s value: *brevitas*

and *argutia*. *Argutia* is *anima ac quasi forma* (“the soul and, as it were, the shape”) of the epigram. This structure (simple or complex) and these two *virtutes* are the genre’s unifying traits. Apart from this, it admits all themes, meters, tones, and styles. Scaliger gives a few Greek examples, of the inscriptional kind, of the simple epigram. The other examples are all from Catullus and Martial, the latter being considered superior in *argutia*, while the Catullian epigram is described as *mollis* (“gentle”), *tener* (“tender”), *languidus* (“delicate”), *suavis* (“charming”).

Many treatise writers later developed this approach, recognizing as an inherent property of the epigram a structure that could be interpreted according to Scaliger’s logical categories, and also to the very sophisticated ones adopted by ancient rhetoric, especially by Cicero and Quintilian, for the analysis and construction of comic effects in oratory (Citroni 2014). The most complete form of epigram seemed to be the complex one: Scaliger’s “deductive” epigram was defined as an “enthymeme” (a syllogism lacking one of the two premises, pertaining to rhetoric): the epigram was seen as the expression of an intellectualistic capacity to create witty and ingenious effects in a comic dimension or also, to a lesser degree, in a serious dimension (Cicero and Quintilian also taught that the procedure for wit is the same in both dimensions). The chief model of this ideal epigram was Martial, while the Greek epigram provided an alternative model of a delicate, sentimental epigram with a simple structure and little wit (Hutton 1946, 33–78); this was associated, in a singularly forced manner, also with the minor poetry of Catullus, whom Martial drew on for his comic verve. But it was also clearly forced to ignore the significant presence of comic elements and wit in Greek epigram, especially in the early imperial age, just as it was to reduce all of Martial’s work to an intellectualistic comicality obtained by constructing his poems on the basis of logical procedures (antitheses, paradoxes, plays on words), the mechanism of which is revealed in the striking conclusion, ignoring his mastery in depicting comic and parodic portraits, or his many sentimental, moral, and celebratory pieces.

The contrast of these models, though the fruit of a strained, non-historical interpretation, did, as we have seen, have some foundation in Martial’s own vision of the Latin tradition of the genre compared to the Greek one, was suggested by Scaliger’s examples, and was for a long time a significant point of reference for epigrammatists. The Martialian model prevailed above all in the seventeenth century, when Martial was taken as a model of Baroque *agudeza*.

Theorists, like poets, faced the problem of defining epigram not only in relation to other forms of ancient minor poetry, but also to the many

flourishing types of short poetry inherited from the Middle Ages: sonnets, madrigals, strambotti, quatrains, dizains, et cetera. The sonnet in particular, which tended to have a dense ending, sometimes with a sophisticated conceit, was often considered the modern form of epigram. But in distinguishing the field of the sonnet from that of modern epigram, the latter, also due to the role of *argutia* in the Latin tradition and to Martial's standing, was chiefly cast as light, playful, and occasional (Boileau defined the epigram as "just a witty remark adorned with two rhymes"), while the sonnet was deemed to be the sphere for serious and sentimental poetry (Hutton 1946, 42–44).

The contrast between the two models reached a highpoint in late eighteenth-century Germany, in the types of epigram propounded respectively by Lessing and Herder (Oswald 2014, 97–114). For Lessing the nature of the genre lay in its name: the literary epigram, insofar as it is an "inscription" without a physical monument, must always have two parts. The first, descriptive part, replaces the monument and generates a sense of expectancy (*Erwartung*) in the reader. The second represents the real inscription, and satisfies the expectation by providing clarification (*Aufschluss*) to the meaning of the first part. For Lessing, then, as for Scaliger and his many followers, the identity of epigram is bound up with its structure, specifically a two-part structure where each element of the first part must be functional to the second, which with a concise formulation reveals its sense. Lessing talks about an "enthymematic structure," but rather than the logical dynamic of deduction stressed by Scaliger, he favors the psychological one of expectation-satisfaction. For Lessing it was Martial who created this perfect form of epigram. His interpretation of the genre, and the terms *Erwartung* and *Aufschluss* to define the two parts, were adopted widely by Martial scholars until the mid-twentieth century and beyond, even though it entailed a rigidly intellectualistic vision of his art and of the entire genre (Citroni 1969). Herder proposed a more flexible and less intellectualistic model, based on the tradition of Greek epigram: epigram is not a concept preceded by adequate preliminary preparation, but first and foremost the representation of an object, fact, or sentiment. Herder also thought a two-part division to be typical of epigram, but rightly reaffirmed the full artistic autonomy of the first part, while the second was seen as being a clarification of the point of view from which the fact, object, or sentiment is represented. Herder openly declared his lack of fondness for Martial and his preference for Greek epigram, though he subsequently wrote a sophisticated "ecumenical" epigram proposing the coexistence of the two models: a garden where lovely, delicate flowers live alongside stinging bees (Hess 1989, 57).

1.5 Towards an Identikit

The diversity of the traditions and formal typologies that converge in the genre makes it impossible to reach a unitary definition. Overly broad definitions fail to characterize it, while distinguishing ones cover only part of the production traditionally recognized as falling within the genre, usually arbitrarily favoring the model of the two-part epigram with a final comic-witty point, despite the fact that it does not fit the majority of cases, not even in the work of Martial.

Attempts to pick out a series of features deemed necessary for a poem to be defined as an epigram (e.g., Hess 1989) have not yielded convincing results either. On the contrary, I believe there is no feature which is either necessary or sufficient, as such, to make a poem an epigram. But a number of qualities can be indicated which, given their frequent presence in at least some of the different types of poem traditionally defined as epigrams, can prompt us to define a poem as one, especially if they do not appear in isolation, but together with others.

Below is a brief and by no means exhaustive list of such features.

Brevity: stems from the objective spatial limits of the inscription, and is lent value in various ways by poets as a specific expressive resource of the genre (Lausberg 1982, 20–29): the Hellenistic poets found in the brief form the most suitable locus for refined elegance and intimacy, but brevity is also an artistic challenge to achieve expressive concentration, and is often a desirable or necessary quality of many forms of comic expression, or, vice versa, of sapiential forms (proverbs, apophthegms, oracles, etc.) present in various kinds of epigrams. It is the genre's most characteristic quality: long epigrams do exist, especially in the Latin and in the modern tradition, but they are always felt to be exceptions, recognizable as belonging to the genre only if they are included by the author or anthologist in collections of epigrams.

Presence of inscriptional features, in particular "deictics": this feature is strongly characterizing, and can be a sufficient condition for identifying an epigram, though limited, of course, to types with inscriptional origin.

Elegiac meter: this is widely prevalent, and characterizing, but not exclusive.

Expressive concentration: deriving from brevity, but not necessarily. Ancient and modern poets and theorists are well aware that it is possible to be "too long" even in the space of a couplet.

Two-part structure, especially with a pointed twist in the tail, preferably obtained by antitheses, parallelisms, plays on words, et cetera; above all in a comic and witty key, but sometimes on a serious note as well: it cannot be regarded as necessary, but if present strongly characterizes the genre.

Sense of closure: even in the absence of a striking conclusion, recent criticism in particular has stressed the epigram's characteristic of being a concluded discourse, while lyric and elegy often value an "open" conclusion. This feature could be traced back to the epigram's original purpose of assigning a certain meaning for all time to an object with a text enclosed in an objectively delimited space. The fundamental study of Smith (1968, 196–98) about the formal and content-based elements giving a sense of closure to a literary text, considers the epigram to be the emblematic example of a closed text.

Connection with an occasion: it is often said that the literary epigram, though the link with a monument has been lost, typically refers to something specific. Scaliger spoke of the "exposition of a thing, or a person, or a fact." This still seems to limit the possibilities of an epigram. Herder, and others before him, extended the concept of occasion to a feeling or even a myth, which may appear too indeterminate. The reference to a specific situation is in reality frequent in lyric (including the modern one) and elegy too, but it can be admitted that occasion has a more marked presence in the epigram, and is less readily absorbed by the subjective reaction of the poet to it.

Inclusion in a collection of epigrams: this is proof that the poem was considered by the author or anthologist as belonging to the genre.

The author's profession of limited commitment: expressions of modesty on the part of the author are a topical and recurrent feature of many genres, but almost only those authors who write epigrams link their professed limited artistic commitment to the chosen genre, to which a lower status is ascribed due to its organic brevity and occasional nature. Not the least reason for the role assumed by Martial as the canonical author of the genre in the eyes of many moderns is the fact that he provocatively presented the presumed lesser-ness of the genre as being superior to greater genres in its capacity to represent the variety and complexity of concrete human life.

NOTE

1. On Catullus as an "epigrammatist," see further Holzberg in this volume (not always agreeing with what is said about Catullus below).

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CHAPTER TWO

A Gallery of Characters: Real Persons and Fictitious Types in Epigram

Patricia Watson

From its earliest beginnings, epigram was associated with real persons: the dead commemorated in verse epitaphs, as well as those recorded as donors of tombs or dedicatory offerings. Later, epigrams were detached from their original inscriptional context to become independent literary productions, a process which had begun by the end of the fourth century or earlier but which had its culmination during the Hellenistic period. This paved the way for the creation of fictional characters, both in epitaphic pieces and in the wider range of subgenres that epigrams now came to encompass: erotic, sympotic, ecphrastic and later, satiric.

In the scoptic epigrams of Lucilius and Nicarchus (first century CE), most fictitious subjects are mere stereotypes serving as a starting point for the display of ingenuity in the handling of a theme. By contrast, Martial's stock figures often take on a life of their own, this character construction extending as well to the real persons who feature prominently in his work. A significant innovation in the genre, having its origins in Hellenistic epigram, is Martial's development of a poetic *persona*, important not merely in its own right but for its interaction with his other characters.

Given the prominence of extended characterization in the epigrams of Martial, I will focus on these, while highlighting the poet's unique contribution through briefer discussions of both his predecessors and later Latin epigrammatists.

2.1 Real Persons in Epigram

2.1.1 *Hellenistic Poetry*

Literary epitaphs, though not meant for inscription on an actual monument, sometimes dealt with (probably) historical people and events, as for instance Callimachus' epigram (*AP* 7.517) for his fellow-Cyrenaean Melanippus and his sister Basilo, who committed suicide in grief on the day of her brother's funeral (see Gutzwiller 1998, 203).

A popular type of Hellenistic epigram took the form of an inscription ostensibly to be placed on tombs or statues of famous poets. In these, a degree of characterization is present, for example in the poems on Anacreon by Antipater, where the conceit that the dead poet experiences in the afterlife the pleasures about which he wrote when alive affords the reader "the opportunity of experiencing directly the personality of Anacreon" (Gutzwiller 1998, 264). Here the portrait of the poet is constructed from his poetry; more interesting are epigrams for the iambic poets whose poetry was purportedly associated with real-life events and who thus already possessed a "biography." Leonidas of Tarentum (*AP* 7.408), for example, warns whoever passes the tomb of Hipponax to take care not to awake the "malignant wasp" who "snarled even at his parents," since his verses have the power to cause harm even in Hades. Here, not only is Hipponax resurrected, his malicious spirit imagined as capable of attacking the living, but his *persona* is altered, turning him from an iambic poet who directed provoked invective towards a specific target, into a classic misanthrope who attacks everyone indiscriminately. (For the epigrams on Hipponax, see Rosen 2007, 466–71 and Klooster in this volume).

A further aspect of character creation in Hellenistic epigram is the self-fashioning of the poet – a development resulting from the production of collections of epigrams in an individual author's name. Prominent examples are the poetesses Anyte and Nossis, as well as Leonidas of Tarentum, all of whom adopted *personae* which shifted the focus away from traditional male concerns to those of women and, in the case of Leonidas, the lower classes, whose impoverished lifestyle he represents himself as sharing (see Klooster in this volume; Gutzwiller 1998, 53–114).

Finally, in Hellenistic epigrams dealing with real people we see a second innovation of significance in the history of the genre, namely a strain of panegyric, most notably in the New Posidippus and in Crinagoras of Mytilene (see further Coleman in this volume). As Ambühl (2007) has shown, Posidippus acts as a conduit between the Ptolemaic rulers and the people at large, presenting in his epigrams a portrait that accords with the public image

of the dynasty.¹ Similarly, in the Augustan period, Crinagoras included praise both of the emperor and members of the imperial family such as Antonia the Younger (*AP* 6.244, 9.239).

2.1.2 *Greek Epigrammatists of the Early Empire*

The scoptic poets writing in the early Roman Empire do not offer much biographical information (though Lucillius appears to characterize himself as a poor poet), nor is it possible to ascertain whether there is any underlying reality in the named characters who appear in their epigrams (cf. Nisbet 2003, 98–112). An intriguing exception is the Lucillian epigrams in which the emperor Nero appears.² It is unclear whether the poet enjoyed imperial patronage, but Lucillius on several occasions is not above a joke at the emperor's expense, sometimes very pointed, as in the epigrams (*AP* 11.245–47) on the subject of leaky vessels (alluding to Nero's infamous attempt to drown his mother Agrippina by means of a collapsible boat). In another piece (*AP* 11.254), a dancer portraying Canace – a role of which Nero was fond (Suet. *Ner.* 21) – is ridiculed for his incompetence in leaving the stage alive when the story required suicide: both an attack on Nero's acting ability and a hint that the audience would like him dead.³ The date of the poems is unknown; certainly if they were written when the emperor was still alive, this unsubtle subversiveness stands in strong contrast to Martial's careful avoidance of offending Domitian.⁴

2.1.3 *Martial*

Martial is conspicuous for his ability to create memorable characters and scenarios within the relatively small compass imposed by his chosen genre. His characters can be broadly divided into two groups: (1) persons for whose existence we have independent evidence, or who can reasonably be assumed to have existed, and (2) fictional personages, often representing types, on other occasions appearing as addressees who serve “as a prop, by way of creating the impression of a lively macho discussion between two friends” (Williams 2004, 124). It is generally agreed that patrons who are eulogized, or feature in epigrams concerned with friendship, are real, while those attacked in satiric pieces are literary inventions. In the case of Martial's slaves, young people for whom he writes epitaphs may have existed,⁵ while a beautiful boy such as Diadumenos, the subject of three erotic pieces on kissing, is more likely be a fiction both because of the resonances of his name (recalling a popular statue

by Polyclitus of a youthful athlete) and the intertextual link with Catullus' poems on the boy Iuuentius (see Watson and Watson 2003, 257–60).

The distinction between the two categories just noted is often blurred, in the sense that real persons *as they are presented by Martial* are his creations (even someone as “real” as the emperor Domitian has been shown to be a literary construct: Lorenz 2002⁶), while fictional creations, though viewed through a satiric lens, may have borne a familiar resemblance to one, or several, individuals known to Martial's readers from personal experience.⁷

A key factor in Martial's character portrayal – whether of real or fictitious persons – is the interaction of these with the *persona* of the poet, from whose (often biased) perspective they are depicted. For this reason, let us begin with a brief look at the epigrammatist's fullest creation – Martial himself.

Martial's *persona* is essentially that of a successful poet, *toto notus in orbe*, “known throughout the whole world,” surrounded by a large circle of friends and patrons but obliged to spend much of his time fulfilling the burdensome duties of a client in order to maintain a reasonable lifestyle in the City. Within this framework there is a great deal of variation, even inconsistency: in poems complaining about the patronage system, for instance, Martial exaggerates his poverty and the irksomeness of the client's duties, yet he sometimes appears as a patron himself, issuing dinner invitations (5.44, 50, 8.67, 9.35) or being preyed upon by legacy-hunters (9.88).⁸ However these inconsistencies are explained, it is clear that in some epigrams a *persona* is adopted temporarily for purposes of the poem (e.g., in 4.24 *Omnes quas habuit, Fabiane, Lycoris amicas / extulit: uxori fiat amica meae*, “Lycoris has buried all the girlfriends she had: let her become friends with my wife”); at other times the *persona* veers closer to reality, as for instance in epigrams dealing with details which were verifiable by Martial's contemporary readers, such as his equestrian status, his receipt from two emperors of the *ius trium liberorum*, or his possession of a farm at Nomentum.⁹

Apart from historical *exempla* like Porcia (1.42) or Cato (1, *praef.*, 9.28.3, 11.2.1–2), real persons in Martial's epigrams include well-known entertainers for whom outside testimony is available, such as the pantomime artist Paris, the mime Latinus, or the charioteer Scorpis. The epigrams on Scorpis are interesting in that his character is presented from two perspectives: first, that of the disaffected *cliens* who resents the huge rewards earned by such “pop stars” and the money spent by patrons on erecting statues in their honor (4.67, 5.25.9–10, 10.74.5–6); second, via two epitaphic pieces (10.50, 53), that of the ordinary racing-mad Roman public, lamenting Scorpis' loss at an early age, for whom the successful career of their favorite charioteer is a matter for eulogy.

Martial names around 140 real acquaintances (Sullivan 1991, 16), some appearing rarely, others, such as Flaccus, Fortunatus, or Stella playing a more prominent role.¹⁰ In addition to being of interest as characters in their own right, they also function collectively to reinforce Martial's self-portrait as a successful poet surrounded by numerous friends and patrons.

One of the most interesting characters is Martial's best and most long-standing friend in Rome, Julius Martialis.¹¹ Over the course of time a portrait of Julius is built up: he is well-off, owning a town house on the Campus Martius (3.5) and a villa on the Janiculum which is described at length (4.64). He may have been a lawyer and/or a client like Martial himself (see Nauta 2002, 72–73). Although Martialis acted as a critic of Martial's work (6.1), there is little evidence that he gave him financial support.¹² He is depicted as hospitable, cultured (7.17), and non-materialistic – his villa is to be recommended more for its freedom from urban noise and its welcoming atmosphere than for its opulence (4.64). He has a wife who is said to be happy to accept Martial's book sent from Spain even if it arrives dusty (3.5.7–8), suggesting that she shares her husband's literary interests as well as his lack of materialism.

Much can be gleaned about Martialis' tastes from epigrams such as 5.20, describing the pleasures which the friends would share if they were at leisure, or 10.47, where Martialis, as addressee, may be assumed to be in sympathy with Martial's famous depiction of the ideal life – an ideal with an Epicurean underpinning.¹³ In 7.17, where Martialis' library, to which the poet is sending a collection of his books, is asked to find a place for his risqué poems among the more serious volumes (*inter carmina sanctiora*, line 3), an insight is offered into Martialis' literary preferences. Sobriety of character is also suggested by the fact that Martial never addresses to his friend any epigrams of a scoptic or erotic nature, in contrast, for instance, to those addressed to his close friend Flaccus.

An important element of the ideal life which Martial wishes to share with Martialis is freedom from the tyranny of the client/patron relationship, which enables leisure time to be spent with friends of one's own choosing and for whom there is genuine affection. But Martial is not blind to the negative side of this ideal: that such attachments inevitably involve emotional disturbance when things go wrong, is spelt out in the last poem addressed to Martialis (12.34), though the poet reflects that the moments of joy have exceeded those of bitterness.

In sum, Martial's portrayal of Julius Martialis is of interest not merely for its own sake but for the interaction of the two personalities, an interaction which serves as a reflection on the nature of true friendship.

2.1.4 *Epigrammatists After Martial*

Occasionally, later epigrammatists follow Martial's lead in developing the character of a real person. Ausonius' epigrams on his wife Sabina, for instance, build up a portrait both of the woman herself and the interrelationship of the couple.¹⁴ The series is remarkable for its originality, not only in the rare depiction of romantic love between a married pair (*Epigr.* 20), but in the novel and witty manner in which Sabina's characteristics are brought into focus. In 27, her twin virtues of skill at handicrafts and thrift are associated via a contrast between Eastern luxury and Roman parsimony, ending in a clever pun, when "Ausonian"¹⁵ Sabina is said to equal the artistry of Greek and Oriental weavers but without the use of expensive cloth and gold thread. In the first epigram of the series (19) a less traditional virtue of Sabina is hinted at:

Laidas et Glyceras, lascivae nomina famae,
coniunx in nostro carmine cum legeret,
ludere me dixit falsoque in amore iocari:
tanta illi nostra est de probitate fides.

When my wife was reading in my poetry of Laises and Glyceras, names of wanton repute, she said I was writing playful verse and fantasizing about fictitious love-affairs: such great faith does she have in my innocence.

The epigram is an original take on the conventional *apologia* for risqué poetry (e.g., Mart. 1.4.8) which draws a distinction between the poet's verses and his real-life morals (Kay 2001, 116–17). But in putting into the mouth of Sabina the technical language of such apologies (*ludere*, *iocari*), Ausonius is also portraying his wife as well-versed in literary knowledge.

2.2 Fictitious Characters in Epigram

2.2.1 *Hellenistic Poetry*

Most of the sepulchral epigrams from this period are concerned with imaginary individuals, an impression of reality being created by appropriating the formulaic expressions of actual epitaphs. In these and other types of epigram, the Hellenistic poets show an unprecedented fondness for characterization (for a detailed discussion, see Zanker 2007). Following the practice of New Comedy and the *Characters* of Theophrastus, fictitious persons frequently represent stereotypes which are individualized through the addition of

specific details. For example, a number of epitaphs for drunken old women conjure up vivid personalities such as Maronis, more concerned that the wine cup on her tomb is not full than for her husband and children left behind (*AP* 7.353, 455), or Ariston's elderly tippler Ampelis (*AP* 7.457), whose feeble attempts to fill an enormous cup from a wine vat result in her falling into the vat and drowning.

This method of characterization, commonplace in Greek and Roman literature (cf. most recently Ash, Mossman, and Titchener 2015), is far less prominent in later Greek epigram (Zanker 2007, 248–49), but it foreshadows Martial's treatment of characters such as Selius and Zoilus (see below).

2.2.2 *Fictitious Types in Martial's Satiric Epigrams and His Relationship to the Sceptic Poets of the Empire*

In earlier and less repressive periods than Domitianic Rome, poets directed invective against named living people, including the great (cf. Catullus' attacks on Julius Caesar or Pompey). Martial makes this point in the prose preface to Book 1, assuring his readers that, unlike his predecessors, he will respect all persons, even the lowest: he also rules out the use of pseudonyms for real people (*absit a iocorum nostrorum simplicitate malignus interpres*, "let the ingenuousness of my jokes attract no malicious interpreter"). As Martial puts it in a later piece, the focus of his satire is on vices rather than persons (10.33.9–10 *hunc servare modum nostri novere libelli, / parcere personis, dicere de vitiis*, "my books know how to keep to this limitation: to spare persons, to talk about vices"). Consistent with this avowal, the poet vividly conjures up in his sceptic pieces a bewildering variety of imaginary personages who serve as paradigms of a vice or defect. An obvious technique for adding spice to satiric attacks, this form of character creation had been employed by Lucilius and Nicarchus, but whereas their named individuals are for the most part one-dimensional,¹⁶ mere symbols for a particular defect or character type, Martial's are often of interest in their own right.

A good illustration of the difference between the Roman poet and his Greek predecessors is afforded by those epigrams on abnormalities of body size which feature prominently in Lucilius (*AP* 11.87–95, 99–101, 103–7). Marcus, for instance, who was so thin that when he poked a hole in an Epicurean atom he went right through to the middle of it (93), is nothing but a starting point for a joke at the expense of the emaciated, and in this case, Epicurean atomic theory as well. Such pieces, concerned as they are not so much with characterization as with the witty and clever variation on a theme, often involve absurd hyperbole and may also rely for their effect on

the reader's knowledge of mythology, as for instance 95, in which the tiny Macron,¹⁷ strangling a mouse, boasts that he is a second Heracles.

By contrast, Martial, in keeping with physiognomic theory which viewed physical characteristics as the outward manifestation of inner qualities, frequently gives more depth to his scoptic types by associating corporeal defects with moral ones. In 1.98, for instance, Diodorus, a litigant, suffers from *podagra* (lit. "foot disease," i.e., gout), but is also so niggardly that he fails to pay his attorney, thus also displaying *cheragra* ("hand disease"). Often persons are attacked as much for their hypocrisy in trying to conceal a defect as for the defect per se, e.g., 3.42, 6.55, 57, 10.83, and most notably 6.74:

Medio recumbit imus ille qui lecto,
calvam trifilem semitatus unguento,
foditque tonsis ora laxa lentiscis,
mentitur, Aefulane: non habet dentes.

That person who is reclining in the lowest position on the middle couch, his bald pate with its three hairs streaked with unguent, picking away at his slack jaws with shorn mastic twigs, is carrying out a pretense, Aufulanus: he doesn't have any teeth.

Not only does the subject have not one but two physical defects (baldness and toothlessness) which he humorously attempts to hide, but he is also characterized as a pretentious social climber, occupying the place of honor on the dining couch.

A particularly amusing instance of a person with a physical affliction which they take pains not to reveal is an epigram on Bassa (4.87), a woman attacked earlier in the book (4.4) for her disgusting smell: the source is now traced to her propensity to fart. As a stereotype, this woman is conventional enough,¹⁸ but her ingenious method of dealing with her problem – taking on her lap and fondling babies – affords her individuality.

The various subjects of Martial's satire are too numerous to discuss here. They include the traditional targets of Greek scoptic epigram such as doctors, misers, thieves, sexual deviants, and older women. As with Bassa, the portraits can be highly individual, e.g., 3.93, on Vetustilla ("Cronelette"), where the protagonist goes beyond the stereotype of the sexually active older woman by planning to remarry: epigrammatic motifs (e.g., the old woman as a virtual corpse, the young bride who dies on her wedding day) are exploited and combined with detailed and lengthy physical description in the manner of iambic poetry in order to produce a highly original composition (see further Lindsay Watson in this volume; Merli 1993).

Additionally, a strongly Roman coloring is added to the mix by the introduction of themes with a cultural specificity, such as adulteresses who circumvent the Augustan adultery legislation by marrying their lovers (e.g., 6.7, 22) or those who abuse the patronage system (hunters of dinner invitations or legacies, stingy and supercilious patrons, and so on).

Most of Martial's characters are given names. The cumulative effect is to create the impression of a City filled with an abundance of notable personalities who share between them a multiplicity of failings and vices, the effect of realism being reinforced by the fact that, though the characters are themselves unreal, most of the names chosen for them are attested elsewhere for actual persons (Vallat 2008, 454).

But Martial's use of names in specific cases is often far more subtle and interesting. Names are frequently chosen because of associations – socio-historical, geographical, literary, mythological, etymological – which make them especially suitable for a given target or addressee. For example, the upper-class subject of 6.39, whose many children each bear a suspicious resemblance to one of his household slaves, is given the aristocratic cognomen Cinna, while his slaves have typical servile names such as Damas. In the same poem a eunuch is called Dindymus after the mountain range in Asia Minor associated with Cybele, whose priests practiced self-castration (6.39.21, cf. 11.81.1). In 3.12, intertextual considerations are to the fore in naming the addressee Fabullus, the epigram taking the form of a humorous recasting of Catull. 13 (*cenabis bene, mi Fabulle*).¹⁹ Characters might also bear the name of famous mythological or historical paradigms, e.g., Hyacinthus for a beautiful boy or Lais for a prostitute.

Finally, the etymological associations of names, especially Greek ones, are commonly exploited: e.g., Plecusa (lit. “the one who braids”) is a hairdresser (2.66.4), Phlogis (“fiery”) a hyper-sexed prostitute (11.60). Humor is also derived from the ironic use of an entirely inappropriate name, such as Eutrapelus (“dexterous”) for a barber who is so slow that by the time he finishes trimming a beard another one has grown (7.83).²⁰ Sometimes Martial directs the reader's attention to the joke, for instance when a slave called Hypnus (“Sleep”) is described (11.36.5) as *piger* (“lazy/sleepyhead”), or when the poet addresses the plagiarist Fidentinus: *Nostris versibus esse te poetam, / Fidentine, putas cupisque credi?* “Do you think, Fidentinus, that by using my verses you are a poet and do you want it to be believed?” (1.72.1–2), the use of *credi* underlining the lack of trustworthiness (*fides*) implied by the name.²¹

On occasion, an epigram turns on the associations of a name, as in 3.34, on a dark-skinned but frigid prostitute called Chione (“Snow White,” cf. Gk. χιών “snow”), whose name is shown to be both inappropriate and appropriate. Wordplay may constitute the sole point of an epigram, such pieces also

involving a name change, as in 3.78 on Paulinus, who, after urinating once on board ship, will become Palinurus if he does so a second time.²²

Often the same name is applied to entirely different fictitious individuals,²³ a practice also followed by the Greek satiric epigrammatists (Nisbet 2003, 99 n. 1), but characteristic of Martial is the repeated use of a single name to represent the same personage, often in the form of a “cycle” of epigrams in the same or nearby books (see Barwick 1958, 299–304; Merli 1998). Such repetition allows for these characters to be fleshed out, giving them distinctive features which prevent them from seeming mere stereotypes.

The little cycle of poems on Selius the *cenipeta* (“hunter of dinner invitations”) in Book 2 (11, 14, and 27) offers us one of Martial’s most vividly portrayed characters. Selius is shown in the first epigram looking the picture of misery; while possible reasons for his mournful demeanor are ruled out, information is at the same time imparted about his family and his possessions (he has not lost his brother, two sons, wife, slaves, country estate). The punchline gives the true explanation: *domi cenat* (“he is dining at home”); as well, it establishes his character-type. The second poem of the cycle (2.14), depicting Selius frantically running through parts of the City where a potential inviter might be found, is of interest more for topography than as a description of Selius, yet the specificity of the details conjures up a vivid, if hyperbolic, portrait of the dinner-hunter in action.

In the last epigram of the cycle, Selius is again seen in action, this time finally gaining his wish by eulogizing potential patrons as they recite their poetry or plead a case in court; the scenario is enlivened by directing the attention of a specific (anonymous) patron to Selius and by quoting his actual words:

Laudantem Seliū, cenae cum retia tendit,
accipe, sive legas sive patronus agas:
“Effecte! Graviter! Cito! Nequiter! Euge! Beate!
Hoc volui!” Facta est iam tibi cena, tace.

Listen how Selius praises you when casting his nets for a dinner invitation, whether you’re giving a recitation or acting as advocate: “Effective! Impressive! A quick one! Naughty! Excellent! Lovely! Just what I wanted!” You’ve got your dinner now, so shut up.

Selius reappears, finally, at 2.69.6. In this piece, a dialogue between Martial and a certain Classicus, the poet refuses to believe his addressee’s claim that he dines out unwillingly, citing the example of the famous gourmand Apicius: even he *cum cenaret, erat tristior ... domi*, “was gloomier when dining at

home" (line 4). But if you are so unwilling, adds Martial, why accept dinner invitations at all? To Classicus' reply that he is forced to do so, the poet gives the sarcastic answer "that's true: Silius is too." So convincingly has Martial created Silius as a realistic character that he can use him paradigmatically in company with the historical figure of Apicius, who is comically misrepresented as a *cenipeta* himself: the link is emphasized both by the application to Apicius of the expression *cenare domi* "to dine at home," already prominent in the Silius epigrams (2.11.10, 2.14.2) and by *tristior* "gloomier," which recalls Silius' demeanor as described in 2.11.

Martial's favorite object of satiric attack and most developed creation is the parvenu Zoilus, who reappears throughout the corpus, although many of these epigrams are concentrated within books 2 and 11. Zoilus is a wealthy freedman whose name, while recalling that of a malicious Homeric critic of the fourth century BCE, might also have been chosen to emphasize his servile origins (cf. Kay 1985, 92–93). The parvenu is a type common in Greek as well as Roman literature, but in Martial Zoilus is associated particularly with the Roman patronage system.

It is significant that all except three of the seventeen epigrams in which Zoilus features are cast in the form of an address by "Martial" to Zoilus, establishing a combative relationship between speaker and addressee. In these epigrams, creation of character involves not one but two individuals: Zoilus, the wealthy parvenu/patron, and the speaker ("Martial"), the relatively impoverished but better born and educated client. The juxtaposition of these two characters gives life to the epigrams, but also has the consequence that Zoilus is viewed through the lens of upper-class resentment of freedmen who rise above their station.

The first major characteristic of the parvenu to which Martial draws attention – foolish ostentation – appears in the initial epigram of the Book 2 cycle (2.16), where Zoilus is depicted as feigning illness in order to show off his rich bedclothes. Disingenuously assuming that Zoilus wants to recover from his "illness," the poet suggests he should take *his* bedclothes (*vis fieri sanus? stragula sume mea*, line 6), the implication being that these would not be sufficiently impressive for public display. From the beginning, then, Martial qua *pauper* sets himself up as a foil to Zoilus, establishing the attitude that he will consistently adopt towards his *bête noire*.

As often in satiric works, Zoilus' shortcomings as patron are set in the context of the dinner party. The theme is developed at greatest length in Martial's most extensive treatment of his subject (3.82), a description of a dinner given by Zoilus where Martial includes himself among the banqueters in order to offer a guest's-eye view of this Trimalchio-like host. The epigram touches on a number of Zoilus' foibles: his ostentation, his crude manners,

his insensitive treatment of his clients as he fails to share with them the best food and drink. Above all, the epigram focuses on Zoilus' sexual perversions, in particular his propensity to oral sex – which prompts the concluding wit-ticism: his guests cannot take their revenge by the traditional punishment of *irrumatio* (i.e., forcing the victim to fellate them) since as a *fellator* Zoilus would find this enjoyable.

The portrait of Zoilus is rounded out in later poems, especially in the second cycle of Book 11, where an epigram sometimes clarifies or sheds new light on an earlier one, inviting the reader to revisit and reinterpret the first.²⁴ For example, in Book 6, where homage is paid to Domitian's reinstatement of the Augustan adultery legislation, Martial had used this theme to get in another barb against Zoilus: since *non futuit*, "he doesn't fuck," he need not fear the law (6.91). Given the previous emphasis on Zoilus as *fellator*, the obvious interpretation of *non futuit* is that he prefers men to women as sexual partners: in 11.85, however, he is derided for being a *cunnilingus* who is only forced to fuck when struck with tongue paralysis. Zoilus is, in fact, effeminate, rather than homosexual in our sense of the word, and engages in oral sex with either men or women, both forms being regarded by the Romans as passive, non-masculine activities. Returning then to 6.91, if the reference is to *cunnilingus*, the poem gains in wit: Zoilus has relationships with women which might seem adulterous, but since *non futuit* he is not technically guilty of adultery!

As I have argued, Martial's characters are often not mere stereotypes but individual enough to leave a memorable impression. On the other hand, the hyperbolic nature of satire ensures that on occasion rhetorical effect overrides logic and consistency of characterization. This is true of Martial's last epigram on Zoilus (12.54), in which he gives us a physical portrait:

Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine laesus,
rem magnam praestas, Zoile, si bonus es.

Red-haired, dark in complexion, short of foot and deformed of eye, it's quite
an achievement, Zoilus, if you are a good person.

Since red hair (associated with northerners) and a dark (African) skin are normally mutually exclusive, this is unlikely to be meant as a realistic description:²⁵ rather these "defects," typical of foreigners and slaves, are chosen to emphasize Zoilus' servile origins (cf. 3.29, 11.12, and 11.37). Indeed, the focus in the epigram is not on the actual appearance of Zoilus but on the idea of physical traits as the outward manifestation of inner moral qualities, here underlining the physical and moral shortcomings attributed by the Romans to persons of servile status.

In his farewell to Zoilus, then, Martial sums up his character: no matter how much he has improved his status and material circumstances, in Martial's eyes he will always remain a slave.

2.2.3 *Epigram After Martial*

Ausonius' scoptic targets range from stock types like the *rhetor* Rufus (*Epigr.* 45–52), to the more particularized, such as the *cunnilingus* Eunus (82–87), whose portrait is given individuality by the inclusion of a number of specific details (Eunus is a Syrian, a school teacher, he has a pregnant wife and a mistress, Phyllis, a seller of perfumes in Capua). Distinctive characters are also to be found in the sixth-century writers Luxorius and the anonymous author of a collection from North Africa (*AL* 78–188 SB) whose memorable creations include Bumbulus the dwarf (180–81) and Filager, the lawyer who mates with his mare (137–38; see further Wasyl in this volume).²⁶

2.3 Suggestions for Further Research

The appearance in recent years of full, up-to-date commentaries on most of Martial's Books has proved a great boon: a similar service is needed for Nicarchus. More detailed work could be done on Martial's portrayal of individual friends or patrons (along the lines of Pitcher 1984 and Lorenz 2002) and on the interaction between characters (both fictitious and real) and Martial's persona.²⁷ As well, the ways in which cycles on particular characters function within the architecture of an individual book could be further explored.²⁸

NOTES

1. She interprets some Callimachean epigrams similarly, e.g., in *AP* 7.517 (mentioned earlier) the emphasis on brother-sister love may hint at Ptolemaic ideology (Ambühl 2007, 291–92).
2. Another exception might be Polemon in Ammianos: see Nisbet (2003, 134–64), and, for Lucillius and Nero, 113–33.
3. Cf. *AP* 11.254.1–2 “one big oversight annoyed us greatly.”
4. Nero, however, showed high tolerance of lampoons directed against him (Suet. *Ner.* 39): contrast Domitian's punishment of subversive writings (cf. Suet. *Dom.* 8.3).

5. The consensus of opinion attributes reality to Erotion, for example, partly on the basis of details such as Martial's entrusting of her tomb to the next owner of his land (10.61). There has been a tendency in Martalian scholarship to take specific or unusual details as a sign of reality (e.g., Nauta 2002, 52–53; Vallat 2008, 40–42, 45–46; cf. n. 27 below); contrast, however, Nugent (1990), arguing that it is precisely such details which are used by poets to produce life-like characters rather than mere stereotypes.
6. Cf. Vallat (2008, 111–12) on Regulus. For Martial and Domitian, see also Nauta (2002), Watson and Watson (2015, 32–36).
7. Poems such as 2.23.1–2 (*non dicam, licet usque me rogetis, / qui sit Postumus in meo libello* "I will not say, though you keep asking me, who is the Postumus in my book") imply that readers thought they recognized real individuals behind the characters, but Martial's refusal to divulge names might be merely a literary conceit: cf. Williams (2004, 8–9).
8. For Martial as patron, see further 12.68 with Watson and Watson (2003, 172–73).
9. For Martial's persona, see further Nauta (2002, 48), Becker (2008), Watson and Watson (2015, 111–12).
10. On cycles involving real persons, including Domitian, see Barwick (1958, 284–99).
11. Cf. 1.15.1 and 6.1.2. See Grewing (1997, 69–72) and Kleijwegt (1998, 273–76).
12. See Kleijwegt (1998, 273–76) for discussion of whether *Martialis* is to be considered a patron or a friend.
13. Cf. also *vive hodie*, "enjoy life today" (1.15.12), in the first epigram addressed to Julius *Martialis*, with Howell (1980, 140–42).
14. I follow Nugent (1990) in viewing Ausonius' realism as a literary construct: cf. n. 5 above.
15. Meaning either "Italian" or "[wife] of Ausonius."
16. A rare exception is Lucilius, *AP* 11.215 on Eutychus the painter, father of 20 sons, who never got a likeness even among his children. Eutychus represents the "[bad] painter" type satirized for his inability to reproduce his subjects faithfully, but he is also mocked as a cuckold because none of his children resemble him.
17. Note the inappropriate name *Macron* (μάκρος = "tall"). For comic names in Lucilius and Nicarchus, see Nisbet (2003, 49–50, 62–63, 65–66, 99).
18. She combines the inveterate farter (cf. Nicarchus, *AP* 11.241–42) and the smelly woman. See Watson (2003).
19. See Watson and Watson (2003, 195–97). *Fabullus* appears elsewhere in epigrams recalling the themes of Catullus 13 (dinner/smells). Cf. Watson (2003, 8–9).
20. Cf. also *Mart.* 2.35 and 3.89 on an ugly man called *Phoebus* (an epithet of Apollo, renowned for his beauty). See also n. 19 above.
21. For the use of the name, which also suggests "self-confident, bold" (*fidens*) and is both appropriate and inappropriate, see Giegengack (1969, 55–58).

22. The joke depends both on a (false) etymology (Gk. *πάλιν*, “again,” and *οὐρεῖν*, “to urinate”) and a literary allusion to Palinurus the Trojan helmsman (Verg. *Aen.* 5.833–71). For word play with names, see further Grewing (1998b, 340–45), Giegengack (1969, *passim*), Watson and Watson (2015, 63–65), and Nugent (1990, 246, 258, for Ausonius).
23. E.g., Fabianus is a patron in 3.36, an impoverished but honest man in 4.5 and a man with a hernia in 12.83.
24. For the technique, cf. Lorenz (2004, 265, 273–74) and Williams (2004, 224).
25. Though Barwick (1958, 304) and others see the precision of detail as suggesting that a real person lies behind Zoilus.
26. Both involve highly original takes on stereotypical themes (the small person / the lawyer; bestiality): in the case of Bumbulus, the obscurity of some details suggests that he was real (Kay 2006, 342).
27. I have outlined such an approach with Julius Martialis and Zoilus (both of whom I will treat in greater detail elsewhere).
28. Lorenz (2004) on the structure of Book 4, for instance, includes cycles on characters like Thais: cf. n. 26 above. Similarly Watson (2009) on Chione (Book 3).

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CHAPTER THREE

Epigram, Society, and Political Power

Kathleen M. Coleman

3.1 Introduction

The topic of this chapter could be approached in various ways. In what follows, I will discuss selected examples to demonstrate the function of epigram within Greek and Roman society from classical Greece to imperial Rome. This is a somewhat fraught endeavor, because once the exercise of wit evolves into the hallmark of the genre under the early Roman Empire, humorous tropes and topoi make it very dangerous to approach epigram as though it were a documentary source recording actual persons, circumstances, and events. Nevertheless, precisely those tropes and topoi can reveal much about the attitudes and prejudices of contemporary society, even if the scenarios are fictitious, so I shall approach the relationship between epigram and society not only in terms of the *function* of epigram in antiquity but also as a *reflection* of social attitudes. Not everything pertaining to society is political, but I shall include instances where epigram engages with “political power,” in the sense of the conduct and governance of public affairs within a society.

At the outset, epigram announced a social ritual: the burial of a relative, or the dedication of an object to a deity. The commemoration and the dedication were private acts of public witness, insofar as the location of the inscription was publicly accessible, which we should cautiously assume to have been the case with most necropoleis and sanctuaries throughout the ancient world. Especially in funerary contexts, literary epigram insists on the public nature of the audience, frequently asking the passer-by to stop and read it. The

deceased was usually identified in relation to the sponsor of the epitaph; the dedication was made in the name of the dedicator. In testifying to a death or a dedication, these epigrams bore witness also to the grief of a survivor or the piety of a dedicator, so that the person commissioning them is being commemorated, too.

The most economical form of funerary epigram simply states the identity of the deceased, but more expansive versions mention praiseworthy qualities and achievements, whether simply out of sentimental idealism or to placate the spirits of the dead (Lattimore 1942, 285–300). This encomiastic element establishes a panegyric function for epigram, creating a subgenre that developed in the Hellenistic period. The corollary, satirizing the panegyric element, is scoptic epigram, mocking or insulting the subject (from σκώπτω, “mock”). Discernible already in fifth-century Greece in the derisive epitaph composed by Simonides for Timocreon (*AP* 7.348), this subgenre, like panegyric, flourished in the early Roman Empire. Both the panegyric and the insults are a general index of social values in Greek and Roman society, however stylized the praise or dispraise. The popularity of these tropes, however, makes it difficult to determine whether a named protagonist is a real person or whether the name is used to give the illusion of authenticity to a stock figure, epigram being a genre that is predicated upon identifying the subject by name (cf. Patricia Watson in this volume).

3.2 Panegyric and Patriotism

The relationship between epigram, society, and political power becomes most evident under the Roman Empire, but it has Greek roots since, in archaic and classical Greece, funerary epigram develops as a vehicle for expressing patriotic sentiments. This is most clearly seen in epitaphs commemorating those fallen in battle, most famously the epigrams on the casualties at Thermopylae that, if not all actually composed by Simonides, are attributed to him as the poet *par excellence* of the Persian Wars (Higbie 2010, 186; see Bravi in this volume). The importance of epigram as a catalyst for patriotic feeling is endorsed by the story – even if anachronistic – of a competition to compose an epigram on the fallen at Marathon, in which Aeschylus lost to Simonides (*Vit. Aesch.* = Page 1972, 332; Petrovic 2010, 206). The epigram on the Athenian victory that is attributed to Simonides by the Athenian orator Lycurgus in the fourth century may have been appended to the paintings in the Stoa Poikile in Athens, which included a representation of this battle (Lycurg. *Leoc.* 109 = Simon. 88 and 92 Diehl = 21 and 22B Page; Francis and Vickers 1985). In a pre-modern society with a

literacy rate that was low by modern standards, the association of epigram and painting combined image with meter as visual and aural reinforcement. Such combinations are commonly attested in temples, spaces of divine sanction that validate the achievements commemorated there. Hence the Stoa was in a sense a repository of the Athenian cultural heritage and therefore a space of validation.

Epigrams illustrating patriotism were regarded by later generations as authentic documents testifying to historical truth. In refuting details in Herodotus' *History*, Plutarch quotes liberally from inscribed epigram, most notably in a passage defending the loyalty of Corinth in Greek resistance to the Persians (*De malign. Hdt.* 870E–71C; Higbie 2010, 187–96). For Plutarch, epigram is an historical source for political allegiances more than 500 years in the past – a source with the power to rewrite the record handed down by the Father of History himself, and hence the power to influence beliefs and behavior in the present: public epigram had the capacity to shape events as examples for future generations (Petrovic 2010, 215).

Funerary epigram perforce enacts posthumous commemoration, whereas dedicatory epigram marks an event in the dedicator's lifetime, even though both types speak to posterity. Within their own lifetime, however, people perform deeds worthy of commemoration by their contemporaries; this does not only become evident retrospectively. In Greek and Roman culture, public recognition often takes the form of an honorific statue. Epigram is the ideal medium to convey the honorand's achievements in a condensed and memorable format on the statue-base. In a sense, an epigram commemorating a contemporary achievement is a portable statue, only without the sculpted likeness of the honorand; literary epigram continues to invoke the inscriptional context as an "essential reference point," even when no inscription may have ever existed (Bing 1998, 38). It is often hard to tell whether the epigram was inscribed or not, but its circulation on papyrus guaranteed that the fame of the honorand would reach a broader public than if it were rooted to the spot on a single monument.

The monumental associations of dedicatory epigram make this genre a natural vehicle also for celebrating marvels of construction and engineering, thereby combining its dedicatory and eulogistic functions, and for registering civic or personal pride. In the temple of Hera on Samos, the engineer Mandrocles, a native Samian, dedicated a painting and an epigram to commemorate his feat of bridging the Bosphorus for Darius, thereby employing dedicatory epigram to construct an historical memory that is later quoted by Herodotus (4.88). Posidippus composed epigrams about several Ptolemaic structures: the Pharos at Alexandria (GP 11 = 115 AB), also the subject of an epigram by one of several epigrammatists called Diodorus (*AP* 9.60 = GP

Garland Diodorus 17); the shrine of Arsinoe Zephyritis (GP 12–13 = 116, 119 AB; 39 AB); a *nymphaeum* in honor of Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II (*Suppl. Hell.* 978 = 113 AB); and a statue commissioned by Ptolemy II to honor his former teacher, Philotas of Cos (63 AB). No individual, however, is credited with the construction of the harbor-mole at Puteoli, celebrated by Antiphilus (*AP* 7. 379 = GP *Garland* Antiphilus 3) and Philip (*AP* 9. 708 = GP *Garland* Philip 57). Instead, the honorand of Antiphilus' epigram is Puteoli itself, said to be the equal of Rome in the realm of breakwaters, while Philip's epigram focuses, rather, on the paradox that the sea, quintessentially unstable, is now as firm as land; in epigram, an overt social message may be subordinated to stylistic and structural effects.

The Ἰππικά of Posidippus that recently came to light on the so-called "Posidippus papyrus" illustrates the complexity of working out the relationship between epigram, society, and political power in the Hellenistic period. This sequence comprises 18 epigrams commemorating victories at the chariot races on the famous games-circuit at Corinth, Delphi, Nemea, and Olympia (AB 71–88). All of these epinician epigrams *could* have been inscribed, and some of them definitely *were* (or pretended to be), judging from the deictic pronouns (e.g., οὗτος...ἵππος, 71.1), or the injunction to the audience to look (θηεῖσθε, or explicit mention of a dedication(θεοῖσι δ' Ἀδ[ε]λφοῖς εἰκὼ ἐναργέα τῶν τότε [ἀγώνων]ν | ἄρ[μα καὶ ἡνί]οχον χάλκεον ὧδ' ἔθετο, "and to the Sibling Gods as a visible sign of that [contest] / he dedicated here a bronze [chariot and] driver," 74.13–14; Θεσσαλὸς ... ἵππος ... ἄγ[κειτ]αι μνήμ' ἱερὸν Σκοπάδαις, "This Thessalian horse ... is [dedicated] as a sacred memorial to the Scopadae," 83.1–2). If these epigrams were in fact inscribed, however, it seems strange that none of them should survive independently of the Posidippus papyrus, although their composition amounts to a Ptolemaic monument, whether physical monuments carried them or not (Fantuzzi 2005, 267–68).

Some of the epigrams are composed in the third person, commemorating the driver or the horses or the owner of the team, whereas some employ the conceit that the speaker is the driver or even the horses. This is part of the legacy of funerary epigram, where the deceased frequently utter their own epitaphs. Five of the epigrams commemorate victories by the Ptolemaic queen, Berenice, as befits the "sport of kings," thereby helping to disseminate Ptolemaic ideology (AB 78, 79, 82, 87, 88). The emphasis in the Ἰππικά on the Ptolemies' Macedonian ethnicity may suggest that Posidippus has identified their concern to claim that as Greeks they are eligible to participate in the pan-Hellenic games and, ultimately, to style themselves as the true heirs to Alexander the Great (Fantuzzi 2005, 251–52).

One particularly telling detail in this sequence is the claim expressed in the voice of Queen Berenice's team at Olympia – the “speaking statues” motif – that they had “eclipsed Cynisca's ancient glory in Sparta” (AB 87.3–4; Fantuzzi 2005, 253–58). The claim to outdo the achievements of predecessors is an epigrammatic trope with obvious political potential. In this case, we possess triple corroboration for an inscribed epigram celebrating Cynisca's achievement, in which she claims to be “the only woman in all of Greece to receive this crown” (lines 3–4). These three witnesses are the stone itself from Olympia (*GESA* 33 = *CEG* 820), the text (unattributed) in the *Greek Anthology* (*AP* 13.16), and a description by Pausanias (6.1.6). As the daughter of Archidamas II of Sparta and sister of Agesilaus II and Agis II, Cynisca is making a political statement about the uniqueness and supremacy of the Spartan royal house. Berenice, for her part, stressing her Macedonian ancestry (Βερενίκας ... Μακέτας, AB 87.3–4), surpasses Cynisca and establishes the superiority of Macedon over Sparta. The combination of statue and epigram, which is implied by Berenice and specifically claimed by Cynisca (εἰκόνα τάνδ' ἔστασα, “I set up this statue,” line 3), claims a prominent space in both the cityscape and contemporary consciousness, shaping opinion, establishing authority, and claiming dynastic pre-eminence.

The Roman evolution from dedicatory epigram to honorific epigram with political overtones is illustrated by a fragmentary inscription in Saturnians that was erected after a triumph celebrated by C. Sempronius Tuditanus, consul in 129 BCE, who had won a series of victories over tribes in the eastern Alps, the lower Danube, and the coast of what is now Croatia, and subsequently dedicated a shrine (*aedes*) to the god of the river Timavus, which flows into the Adriatic between Aquileia and Trieste (*CIL* 1².652). Honorific inscriptions from the Roman Republic are normally composed in prose, ranging from expansive (e.g., *CIL* 1².25, celebrating the naval victory of C. Duilius, consul in 260 BCE, over the Carthaginians at Mylae; probably an early imperial redaction of a shorter third-century original¹) to terse (e.g., *CIL* 1².612, a statue-base set up by the *Italicei* to L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus *honoris caussa*). In the case of Tuditanus, the dedicatory context may have prompted the composition of an epigram instead of an inscription in prose; the poem combines praise of his achievements with advertisement of his piety. The stone was found near Aquileia, commemorating Tuditanus' deeds in the area where he performed them and asserting Roman control over the region and divine approval of that control.

Without knowing the exact context in which an inscribed epigram was originally displayed, it is difficult to determine the audience, but even the

most general sense of the findspot can expand our understanding of the scope of ancient epigram. One other honorific epigram in Latin from the Republic was found at Corinth, five elegiac couplets cut on top of a block that already had a Greek inscription on one of the other faces. The name of the honorand suffered subsequent erasure, but it has been restored as that of M. Antonius the orator, grandfather of the triumvir, to whom the epigram accords the feat of dragging his fleet safely over the Isthmus of Corinth, something – it claims – that nobody had ever tried before (*Quod neque conatus quisqu岸st*, line 1).² This identification narrows the date to 102–100 BCE, when Antonius was proconsul in Cilicia, midway between the destruction of the city by Memmius in 146 and the founding of the Roman colony under Julius Caesar. Amid the ruins of Greek Corinth at this period there must have been plenty of dressed stone available for re-inscription by the conquering power, boasting of their efficiency at accomplishing the task (*parvo ... tumultu*, “with little upheaval,” line 7). The epigram may have been composed at the behest of Antonius’ *propraetor*, Hirrus, who is prominently mentioned as having anchored the fleet at Athens for the winter, after Antonius left for Side in Cilicia. Even if the stone was originally erected on the Isthmus, where the feat was accomplished, its record of Roman achievement would have made it an ideal candidate for transfer to Corinth upon the founding of the Julian colony; its political message is well matched to the conversion of Corinth from Greek city to Roman.³

The use of epigram to honor the military achievements of prominent citizens is well attested. This leads naturally to its use also to commemorate civilian events and circumstances associated with the imperial house, its function here being somewhat akin to the society columns in a modern newspaper: Crinagoras recorded the marriage between Juba II and Cleopatra Selene (*AP* 9.235 = *GP Garland* Crinagoras 25); Leonides of Alexandria offered isopsephic⁴ epigrams to accompany the presentation of gifts on birthdays and other occasions (or as gifts themselves) to emperors or their relatives, as well as to other patrons (*AP* 6.321, 322, 325, 328, 329, 9.353, 355 = *FGE* Leonides 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 30, 32), and recorded a sacrifice conducted by the Egyptians in thanksgiving for Nero’s safety (*AP* 9.352 = *FGE* Leonides 29); Antiphilus celebrated a favor shown by Nero (or, less probably, Tiberius) to the island of Rhodes (*AP* 9.178 = *GP Garland* Antiphilus 6). Doubtless, the more of a patron’s preoccupations an epigrammatist could mention in a single poem, the greater the impression he made: in a single epigram in 72 CE, Leonides managed to wish Vespasian happy birthday, express hopes for his recovery from illness, and simultaneously remark on the imminent birth of his third grandchild (*AP* 9.349 = *FGE* Leonides 26).

3.3 Scoptic

If epigram can be used to convey praise, it can, as noted above, be used correspondingly to convey dispraise, sowing the seeds that develop into the full-blown genre of scoptic epigram, a vehicle for mockery of personal behavior and social practices that reached its climax under Nero with the work of Lucillius and Nicarchus (Nisbet 2003). But its roots are much earlier (Blomqvist 1998). Already in the third century BCE, Hedylus had included in his book a series of epigrams mocking gluttons (Ath. 8.344f–45b = GP Hedylus 7–9). Most of the earliest surviving examples of scoptic, however, have a political dimension. In a probable corpus of 22 surviving epigrams, Alcaeus of Messene (see Harder in this volume) treats political themes side by side with erotic and ecphrastic epigrams, as well as epitaphs for poets, actors, and athletes. Lampoon is one of many uses to which Hellenistic epigram can be put, and Alcaeus uses it to attack Philip V of Macedon.⁵

After the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 BCE, in which Philip was defeated by the combined forces of Rome and the Aetolian League, Alcaeus composed an epigram in the voice of the Macedonian dead that turns upside down one of the tropes of funerary epigram – respectful burial of the dead – and culminates in an insult to Philip (Plut. *Vit. Flam.* 9 = AP 7.247 = GP Alcaeus 4, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, adapted):⁶

Unwept and unburied, traveler, on this ridge
of Thessaly, we lie dead, thirty thousand of us,
subdued by the wargod of the Aetolians and of the Latins
whom Titus led from spacious Italy,
great scourge of Emathia. That bold spirit of Philip's
disappeared more nimbly than swift deer.

Philip apparently replied with an even more compact and stinging insult to Alcaeus, employing the same subversion of the trope of burial and implying that he would visit a slave's punishment upon the epigrammatist (APL 26B = Plut. *Vit. Flam.* 9): "Without leaf or bark, traveler, on this ridge / a cross, perched on high, is planted for Alcaeus." Even if the alleged exchange is apocryphal, it reflects the reality that epigram, as a vehicle for brief and pointed polemic, invited repartee.

Three other epigrams by Alcaeus attack Philip, directly or indirectly. In one, the poet expresses the wish that he could drink from Philip's skull (AP 9.519). Another hopes for revenge for the murder of two victims of an οἰνοχάρων μονόμματος, "one-eyed wine-wielding Charon," apparently an allusion to Philip's propensity to poison his enemies (or "one-eyed wine-bibber,"

implying the hope that Philip himself will die by poison); “one-eyed” perhaps implies monstrosity, rather than a literal handicap (*AP* 11.12 = *GP* Alcaeus 3). In a third epigram, Alcaeus praises Titus Flamininus for freeing Greece from servitude, a state implicitly associated with Philip (*APL* 5 = *GP* Alcaeus 5). A fourth epigram, however, claims that now that Philip has conquered land and sea, heaven is the last realm remaining for him (*AP* 9.518 = *GP* Alcaeus 1); this exaggerated praise is at odds with the vitriol that Alcaeus expresses towards Philip in the rest of his epigrams, and so it has sometimes been interpreted ironically (Walbank 1940), but if it was composed before his alliance with Sparta in 198 BCE, at a period when Philip still appeared as a champion of Greek liberty, then no irony may have been intended (Walbank 1942–43). Epigram, being a topical genre, may reflect shifting political allegiances with greater fidelity than genres composed through the lens of hindsight.

Another interesting case of epigram being employed as an opportunistic reaction to political developments comes from the corpus of Crinagoras, who addressed flattering epigrams to Augustus and his relatives. In at least three poems he champions the Roman cause in Germany:⁷ he predicts that Rome will not be overcome by the Germans (*AP* 9.291 = *GP* *Garland* Crinagoras 27), and celebrates the future emperor Tiberius’ successes in both Germany and Armenia (*APL* 61 = *GP* *Garland* Crinagoras 28) and Germanicus’ successes against the Celts (*AP* 9.283 = *GP* *Garland* Crinagoras 26). But he also insults the Romans who colonized Corinth under Julius Caesar, referring to them as “re-sold” (παλίμπρητοι), i.e., slaves, in shameful contrast to the élite Bacchiadae who ruled Corinth in its heyday (*AP* 9.284 = *GP* *Garland* Crinagoras 37). Another oblique reference to slavery in an epigram apparently cost its author his life: according to one version, the grammarian Daphitas was crucified for composing an epigram that characterized the rulers of Lydia and Phrygia as πορφύρειοι μάλωπες, “purple stripes,” combining the purple of royalty with the stripes of servitude, i.e., bruises (Strabo 14.1.39); it seems likely that Daphitas was accusing the later Attalids, who could be said to have ruled Lydia and Phrygia, of being sellouts to Rome, with whom they had forged an alliance (Fontenrose 1960). Evidently Greek epigram could be used to signal resistance to the Romans.

In cultural terms, what another society finds amusing can be revealing. Alongside flattering epigrams for members of the imperial house (mentioned above), Leonides also composed variations on standard epigrammatic tropes, such as the musician who played the lyre so badly that all his neighbors died except one who was deaf (*AP* 11.187 = *FGE* Leonides 36; cf. *AP* 11.185–89), or the man with a nose long enough to use as a fishing rod (*AP* 11.199 = *FGE* Leonides 37) or as a ladder to rescue someone trapped in a burning house

(*AP* 11.200 = *FGE* Leonides 38). Jokes about long noses, exploiting comparable hyperbole, had a long life in Greek epigram: *AP* 11.203 (anonymous: Castor's nose is a versatile tool, serving as hoe, trumpet, anchor, plough, etc.), 204 (Palladas, fourth century CE: the rhetor Maurus has lips weighing a pound each, χεῖλεσι λιτραίοις, and a nose like the trunk of an elephant), 405 (Lucian: Nikon uses his nose as a fishing rod), 406 (Nicarchus: Nikon will follow his nose at some distance).

The ubiquity of epigrams poking fun at people with physical blemishes or disabilities may sound to our ears politically incorrect, but it should remind us how common disability must have been in an age before modern medical treatment or institutional care for the disabled. The deaf, butt of Leonides' joke, are frequently ridiculed. Nicarchus, author of one of the epigrams mocking a long nose, appeals for help in getting rid of a deaf old slave-woman (*AP* 11.74). Instead of τυροί (cheese), she brings him πυροί (wheat); instead of πήγανον (rue, an ancient analgesic), τήγανον (a pan); instead of λάχανον (vegetable), λάσανον (a chamber pot); instead of vinegar (ὄξος), a bow (τόξον). To make himself heard in her presence, Nicarchus does not want to stoop to the function of a towncrier (κήρυξ), which would require him to get up at night in order to practice out-of-doors. Epigram reflects society by both exaggerating weakness (the old woman's mistakes) and revealing prejudice (the shame attached to banausic occupations); but in its own time an epigram like Nicarchus', even if embarrassing nowadays, was meant to be appreciated for its humor and clever verbal play.

Many of the polymetric poems of Catullus combine the form of Hellenistic epigram with native Roman invective in meters other than elegiacs. *Versus plurimi* about the notorious greed of Pipa, a lady friend of Verres, spread at Syracuse and were written over the praetor's bench (Cic. *Verr.* II 3.77, 5.81). Pompey's followers hurled *convicia* and *maledicta* and, ultimately, *versus obscenissimi* at Clodius and Clodia (Cic. *QFr.* 2.3.2). This spirit informs the neoteric circle of Catullus and his friends, although they were influenced also by the Greek literary traditions of epigram and, especially, iambic poetry (Tatum 2007, 337–38). Sexual insults cost Sotades of Maroneia his life, when his “ill-timed freedom of speech,” ἀκαιρος παρρησία, prompted a vulgar couplet about the marriage of Ptolemy Philadelphus to his sister, Arsinoe, and Ptolemy had him drowned in revenge (Ath. 14.13 = 620F). Licinius Calvus vilified Tigellius, a member of Caesar's circle, in scazons (Cic. *Fam.* 7.24; *FPL* C. Licinius Calvus 3) and charged Pompey with homosexuality in an elegiac couplet (Sen. *Controv.* 7.4.7; *Schol. Juv.* 9.133; *FPL* C. Licinius Calvus 18). In a lewd 24-line poem in iambic trimeters aimed at ill-gotten gains acquired in Gaul by Caesar's adherent, Mamurra, Catullus implicates Caesar and Pompey, as well (Catullus 29). A shorter, ten-line poem in hendecasyllables

lampoons Caesar and Mamurra for a homosexual relationship (Catullus 57). An elegiac couplet claims rude indifference to Caesar (Catullus 93), a posture that is hard to reconcile with the earlier obscene insults (Tatum 2007, 344).

It is significant that biographers frequently quote epigram as a way of capturing the view of the common soldier or the “man in the street.”⁸ Plutarch attributes to an anonymous author an unflattering Greek epigram about the elder Cato’s appearance and character, as though it were so well known as to obviate the need for him to identify his source (*Vit. Cat. Mai.* 1): “As the author of the little epigram (ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἐπιγραμματίον) suggests in an unpleasant fashion: ‘Red-haired, all-devouring, and grey-eyed, Porcius, in death, is not received into Hades by Persephone.’” Like Simonides’ derisive epitaph for Timocreon, mentioned above, here too the conventions of funerary epigram are turned inside out: Cato will find no resting place. We get the impression of a public alert to political developments and adept at expressing them in an uncomfortably witty way.

Suetonius says that Calvus composed *notissimi versus* against Julius Caesar and quotes part of one couplet, *Bithynia quicquid / et pedicator Caesaris umquam habuit*, “Whatever Bithynia and the man who buggered Caesar ever owned” (Suet. *Iul.* 49.1 = *FPL* C. Licinius Calvus 17). This is the first of nine examples adduced by Suetonius to demonstrate that Caesar’s relations with King Nicomedes of Bithynia damaged his reputation, starting with hostile – and hence, by implication, unreliable – witnesses and ending with ribald verses chanted at his triumph by Caesar’s own soldiers, whose loyalty was not in question (Gascou 1984, 564): *Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem: / ecce Caesar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias, / Nicomedes non triumphat qui subegit Caesarem*, “Caesar conquered Gaul, Nicomedes Caesar: / look, Caesar who conquered Gaul is now celebrating a triumph; / Nicomedes, who conquered Caesar, isn’t.”⁹ A formal triumph was an occasion on which the military were traditionally accorded verbal license (Mart. 1.4.3–4.) The meter of Caesar’s soldiers’ chant is trochaic tetrameter catalectic, as commonly in soldiers’ songs; likewise, the two lines, also chanted in the Gallic triumph, about Caesar’s eye for other men’s wives, and the popular chant that circulated orally (*vulgo canebantur*) about the Gauls swapping their trousers for the *latus clavus* after the triumph, or the two-liner contrasting Brutus, who became consul after ridding Rome of kings, and Caesar, who became king after ridding Rome of consuls (Suet. *Iul.* 51, 80.2–3). These verses are epigrammatic in all but meter, displaying the characteristic antitheses and parallelism of epigram. All the popular verses in trochaic tetrameters are associated exclusively with the military; it is not clear whether an iambic couplet on the war in Sicily circulated among the soldiers or elsewhere (*epigramma vulgatum est*, Suet. *Aug.* 70.2).

Popular verses in a civilian context are quoted in elegiacs, as with the three couplets of *notissimi versus* chanted *sine auctore* about a notorious banquet that Augustus attended in the guise of Apollo (Suet. *Aug.* 70.2). Suetonius also quotes elegiac couplets on Tiberius' alleged savagery and debauchery (*versiculi*, four single couplets and a three-couplet epigram: *Tib.* 59); Caligula's birth and destiny (*versiculi divulgati*: *Calig.* 8); Nero's matricide, his musicianship and foreign policy, and the take-over of the city center by the Golden House (*multa ... proscripta aut vulgata sunt*: *Ner.* 39.2); Otho's appointment as legate of Lusitania, combining political insight with a titillating sexual innuendo (*Oth.* 3.2). The epigram on the take-over by the Golden House advises the Romans to move out to Veii, unless the Domus Aurea has swallowed that up, too. This example is instructive, because the Greek epigrammatist, Ammianus, employs the same motif in the early second century, alleging that a new city should be built – either for a certain “man from Stratonicea” or else for its current inhabitants, there evidently being no room for both (*AP* 11.97). Unless Ammianus had read Suetonius, which seems unlikely, the similarity suggests that in the early empire the motif was a commonplace, easily adaptable by social and political opportunists to match particular circumstances.

Sometimes, the wit resides in transferring a well-known epigram to a new context. Domitian's controversial vine edict prompted a rash of pamphlets containing a single couplet in Greek (*sparsi libelli cum versibus erant*, Suet. *Dom.* 14.2). The epigram that Suetonius quotes is ascribed to Evenus in the *Anthology*: Κάν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω, / ὅσσον ἐπισπείσαι σοί, τράγε, φρομένῳ, “Even if you eat me down to the root, goat, I will still bear enough fruit for a libation when you are sacrificed” (*AP* 9.75). The pentameter is identical to the last line of a six-line epigram by Leonidas that spells out the fable of the goat and the vine in more detail and is translated into Latin by Ovid (*AP* 9.99 = GP Leonidas of Tarentum 32 = Ov. *Fast.* 1.355–60; cf. Aesop. 404 Hahn). The elliptical two-line version leaves the reader to infer that the speaker is a grapevine. Ovid composed a version in the third person (*Met.* 15.114–15); Vergil rendered a more expansive account as an *action* for the Compitalia (*G.* 1.343–50). The Greek original may have been composed to accompany a painting, a combination attested in the House of the Epigrams¹⁰ at Pompeii (Kaibel 1103; Lausberg 1982, 210; Bergmann 2007, 76–79). Evidently this epigram, in the original Greek, was sufficiently well known for witty citizens to apply it to legislation by Domitian that was extremely unpopular (and is still not fully understood today: Levick 1982; Purcell 1985). Furthermore, calling someone a “goat” was an insult, at least in late antiquity (Opelt 1965, 234).

3.4 Context and Convention

As noted above, the mixture of the generic and the particular can make it hard to distinguish what is conventional from what is contextually specific. This problem is especially acute in the epigrams of Martial. It is debatable, for example, whether the collection known as the *Liber spectaculorum* (or *Liber de spectaculis*), in which an unspecific “Caesar” is addressed 11 times, describes actual displays performed in the amphitheater or imaginary spectacles as a vehicle for clever paradox (see Leary in this volume). The collection contains several pairs of epigrams that perform variations on a single theme – and even one triplet, on a sow that died in the arena at the moment of giving birth to a single piglet (*Spect.* 14–16). The *variatio* could suggest that these epigrams are a purely literary exercise; but the poet could equally well be advertising his virtuosity in varying his treatment of an actual – and remarkable – event (Coleman 2006, xlv–xlv). In other cases, however, it is clear that Martial is demonstrating that he can turn a standard Greek joke into Latin, as with his epigrams about doctors who became undertakers without changing their profession (1.30, 1.47, 11.54; cf. *AP* 11.257 Lucilius), and so it is legitimate to infer not that doctors did become undertakers at Rome but that the Romans, like the Greeks, made a joke out of distrust of the medical profession.¹¹

Topical poems about identifiable contemporary figures have specific social – and, sometimes, political – resonance. Martial’s social landscape is dominated by the emperor, the patron *par excellence*. The effort to understand Martial’s approach to the emperor in social and political terms led in the 1970s and 1980s to a polarizing dichotomy between interpreting these epigrams as base flattery or as covert criticism. More nuanced approaches followed. Separating Martial the historical figure from the *persona* adopted by the epigrammatist is a necessary first step, although to conceive of the Domitian of the *Epigrams* as a construct of Martial’s imagination requires all the circumstantial detail in the poems – such as the references in Book 6 to Domitian’s efforts to revive the Augustan marriage laws – to be fictitious, too, which seems implausible (Lorenz 2002, 152–62). It is helpful to think of Martial’s flattery as a “speech act,” a gesture of sincerity, however insincere the sentiments expressed (Nauta 2002, 30–31). A modern analogy might be a letter of condolence to a bereaved widow, when the gesture of sending the letter is a sincere expression of sympathy, even though social convention forces the author to say nice things about the deceased, however unpleasant he may have been.

The proportion of epigrams on “imperial” themes in Martial’s 12-book sequence rises steeply in Books 8 and 9, published between 92 and 95 CE, as is demonstrated by a table illustrating the distribution of sample categories

in the 12 numbered books (Coleman 2006, lxxx). One explanation for the surge of imperial themes in Book 8 could be that Domitian was becoming increasingly autocratic, and demanded renewed signs of loyalty; on the other hand, physical proximity may have played a role: his return from the Sarmatian campaign in January 93, for which he received an *ovatio*, may have earned him a prominent place in the book, just as he was physically present once more in the city itself (Coleman 1998, 344). Or the preponderance of imperial poems in Book 9 may indicate that Martial was competing with Statius for the emperor's attention (Henriksen 2012, xxxii).

It is notable that access to political power at court might be best achieved by securing the attention of one of the emperor's freedmen, ostensibly to extract from him a gift. In an autocratic regime, political power means the exercise of patronage, whether the goal be a lucrative position, legal protection, a tangible reward, or anything else. It is debatable whether Martial remained "indifferent" to shifts in political power (Columbo 2013, 176). Rather, the fact that under Nerva he continued to address Domitian's influential *a cubiculo*, Parthenius, may simply suggest that he had misread the apparent continuity between the Flavian regime and court life under Nerva and Trajan (Coleman 1998, 355). This continuity is also suggested by the younger Pliny's choice of Nero instead of Domitian as the archetype of the emperor who was in thrall to his freedmen, by contrast – of course – with Trajan (Plin. *Pan.* 88.1). In October 96, Martial could not have guessed that within a year Parthenius would be murdered by the Praetorian Guard (Cass. Dio 67.15.1–6).

If we possessed Book 10 of Martial's epigrams in its original form, we would know whether, as seems likely, the sharp increase in the proportion of "imperial" epigrams continued in this book, the last that Martial published in Domitian's lifetime. But we possess only the revised version that came out under Trajan, shorn, presumably, of the more outrageous compliments to Domitian.¹² In between came Book 11, published for the Saturnalia of 96 under Nerva and characterized above all by the obscenity for which Martial claims license on the basis that Nerva composed in a similar vein himself. The swing away from themes related to the emperor's power and influence is dramatic; the temperature of the new regime must have been different, and Martial had to adapt to it.

3.5 Coda: Late Antiquity

The late antique relationship between epigram, society, and political power is ripe for research (see chapters 33–37, below). The *Historia Augusta* continues the biographical tradition of quoting epigrams to illustrate the

emperors' reputation and behavior. Some relate directly to political power: six hexameter *versus* constituting the oracular responses of the priest in charge of the Delphic oracle concerning the prospects of Macrinus' son (*Pesc. Nig.* 8); an *epigramma* about the slain pretender, Aureolus, quoted in a Latin translation by *grammaticus quidam* (*Tyr. Trig.* 11.5 = IG 14.855*); *ballistia* and *saltatiunculae* (types of dancing song) composed and performed by boys in honor of Aurelian's incredible statistic of enemy slain by him single-handed in the Sarmatian campaign (*Aurel.* 6.5). The *Latin Anthology*, on the other hand, is frustratingly lacking in context. Dating and attribution are particularly fraught, as is demonstrated by a series of epigrams attributed to the younger Seneca that includes a sequence about the successful invasion of Britain by Claudius in 43, during Seneca's exile (*AL* 417–24 *SB* = 419–26 *Riese* = 28–34 *Prato*; cf. Breitenbach in this volume). If the entire sequence was composed by a later author combining allusions in Seneca's extant work with quotations from exilic poetry (chiefly by Ovid), then the sequence is of little value in illustrating the relationship between epigram and political power (Holzberg 2004).

Hints, however, emerge elsewhere that late antique epigram in both Greek and Latin could still reflect social and political circumstances: the time-honored then/now contrast in an epigram about a Temple of Venus that was demolished to fortify some city walls (*AL* 89 *SB* = 100 *Riese*) could plausibly refer to the repair of the walls of Carthage, presumed to have been built before the Vandal invasion and subsequently restored by Belisarius in 533–34 CE (Kay 2006, 94–95). Baths and bathing, key cultural features of the classical city, were persistently reflected in both Greek and Latin epigram into late antiquity and beyond (Busch 1999). The *Greek Anthology* abounds in Byzantine epigrams meditating on the transience of human fortunes. Ancient epigram mirrors the habits of society and the politics of power for more than a thousand years.

NOTES

1. Or conceivably an entirely anachronistic composition from the first century CE, not modeled on any contemporary original: for a balanced assessment of the issues, see Gordon (1983, 124–27).
2. The erasure of Antonius' name may have followed the disgrace of his grandson the triumvir: Taylor and West (1928, 21).
3. First edition: Taylor and West (1928); addenda: Broughton (1946); Dow (1951); Gordon (1986).
4. Epigrams in which the numerical value represented by each Greek letter in each line of a distich or each couplet of a quatrain added up to the same total. For a succinct account, see *FGE* 508–10.

5. For confusion between Alcaeus of Messene and the eponymous lyric poet from Mitylene, see GP 6–7.
6. The version in the *Palatine Anthology* (7.247) omits lines 3–4; either the quatrain was the original version, and Alcaeus added the couplet later to flatter Flamininus (Walbank 1942–43), or else the six-line version came first, and Alcaeus later removed the second couplet to avoid appearing to insult the Romans by naming the Aetolians before them (Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 11–12).
7. A fourth may refer to an incident not in Germany but in Egypt, depending upon conflicting readings, i.e., Πήγου vs. Νείλου (*AP* 7.741 = *GP* Crinagoras 21).
8. The sexual content of many of the epigrams coheres with Suetonius' concern to include sexual habits as a rubric for categorizing the emperors' proclivities and behavior: Krenkel (1980).
9. The standard allegation of homosexuality may not have been the main point here, although in the soldiers' chants it certainly was; rather, Calvus may have been stressing Bithynia's wealth, not Caesar's sexual deviance: Courtney (1993, 210).
10. V.1.18, in the conventional numbering by *regio*, *insula*, and entryway.
11. Barbers were similarly ridiculed as being tantamount to murderers. For epigrams mocking doctors and barbers, see Brecht (1930, 45–49).
12. Holzberg (2002) argues unconvincingly that Martial conceived his 12-book structure from the outset and that books 10 and 11 were both composed *ab initio* in the reign of Trajan. But Martial's own statement concerning the second edition of Book 10 is unambiguous (10.2.1–2), and in Book 11 he treats Nerva as unambiguously alive. The issue is discussed further by Lorenz below.

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FURTHER READING

For the development of scoptic in Hellenistic epigram, see Blomqvist (1998), and on the themes of scoptic, Brecht (1930). On the native tradition of political verse at Rome and its relation to the epigrammatic tradition, see Lausberg (1982, 392–96) and Richlin (1992, 86–96). There is no comprehensive study devoted to the popular verses quoted by biographers and historians, but on Suetonius see Gasco (1984, 563–65). For a detailed philological study demonstrating Martial's strategy in addressing imperial freedmen as a conduit to the emperor himself, see Colombo (2013); for a case study of Book 8 of Martial's epigrams as an example of the handling of political themes, Coleman (1998).

CHAPTER FOUR

Hidden Figures: The Women Who Wrote Epigrams

Laurel Bowman

While the genius of these women has been recognized before, their status as revolutionaries – as “founding mothers” in epigram – has not been sufficiently appreciated.

(Tueller 2008, 206)

4.1 Introduction

No ancient genre preserves as many female-authored poems as that of epigram. Even in epigram, very few female authors are attested by name. The four major female authors of epigram are the Hellenistic poets listed by Antipater of Thessalonica (*AP* 9.26): Erinna, Moero, Anyte, and Nossis. All of these flourished in the first generation of the development of Hellenistic epigram.¹ Each introduced critical innovations in the development of book epigram, and together they were enormously influential on the genre.

The four female Hellenistic epigram authors were widely separated in space but broadly overlapping in time. Eusebius dates Erinna to the last half of the fourth century BCE; her birthplace is generally said to be in the Eastern Mediterranean (Teos, Tenos, or Rhodes). Moero of Byzantium is generally held to have written late in the fourth century BCE. Anyte of Tegea is generally dated in the late fourth century BCE because she was imitated by mid-third century poets. Her epigrams place her primarily in the internal Peloponnese. Nossis of Locri, in southern Italy, is dated by her epitaph of the Syracusan comic poet Rhinthon to the early third century BCE.²

The Hellenistic period was unusually favorable to the production and preservation of female-authored poetry. With the exceptions of Sappho and fragments of a handful of other archaic and classical female poets, no work by female poets before the Hellenistic period survives.³ Poetry in the archaic and classical periods was largely orally composed and publicly performed. These conditions of performance posed a severe obstacle to female poets, as public speech was considered inappropriate for women except under certain restricted circumstances such as group choral performances and funeral laments. Female poets, though they may have been producing and performing poetry for other women in private, did not ordinarily give public performances, and their work, therefore, did not easily enter the public, masculine tradition of Greek poetry which preserved all that survives to the present day. Women's solo "voices" were however permitted in public inscriptions from the archaic period on, in temple dedications and in funeral inscriptions made in women's names, as long as the woman herself was not present to "perform" it.⁴

The same restrictions on public speech and public performance by women largely applied in the Hellenistic period. Hellenistic epigrams, however, as a written art form that could be composed in private and circulated (perhaps after performance to a private female audience) to the wider community in the form of a collected book, were a vehicle ideally suited for female poets. The private production, and publication in writing, of Hellenistic epigram gave female poets an opportunity for public dissemination of their work not afforded by previous genres. Public circulation in written form of privately composed poetry in effect exploited the loophole of earlier permission given for women's voices, in the form of female-authored texts, to appear in public space, in dedications and funeral epitaphs, provided the "speaker" was absent.⁵

4.2 Erinna

Erinna was the most famous of the four poets in antiquity, primarily for her epyllion "The Distaff," a lament for the death of her childhood friend Baucis. According to the *Suda* (s.v.) this poem used epic meter with a mix of Doric and Aeolic dialects, in allusion to her predecessors Homer and Sappho. She may have been a priestess of Demeter, and was said to have died at age 19, before marriage.⁶ Three epigrams were attributed to her: two epitaphs for Baucis (*AP* 7.710 and *AP* 7.712), and one (6.352) on the painting of a young woman, Agatharchis.

Attribution of all three is disputed. However, the focus on writing and voice in “the Distaff” are also found in the three epigrams, unusually given their subject matter. If these epigrams were not written by the author of “The Distaff,” the anonymous imitator was a sensitive and insightful reader of Erinna’s epyllion. These three epigrams are among the earliest Hellenistic examples of the prominence given to spoken and written language which became a common theme of later Hellenistic epigrams. *AP* 6.352 is also the first epigram (if attribution and date are correct) to use a female perspective to interrogate a work of art:⁷

Ἐξ ἀπαλᾶν χειρῶν τάδε γράμματα· λῶστε Προμαθεῦ,
 ἔντι καὶ ἄνθρωποι τὴν ὁμαλοὶ σοφίαν.
 ταύταν γοῦν ἐτύμωσ τὰν παρθένον ὅστις ἔγραψεν,
 αἱ καὺδ’ ἀν ποτέθηκ’, ἥς κ’ Ἀγαθαρχίς ὅλα.

From delicate hands these symbols; great Prometheus, there are even men equal to you with respect to skill. Indeed, whoever wrote this young woman truly, if he had added also voice to her, she would be Agatharchis entire.

In this epigram Erinna describes a work of visual art, a painting, in terms of writing and speaking. The painting is described as “symbols” or “letters” (γράμματα); the act of painting is described as ἔγραψεν (“painted,” but also “wrote”); all that is missing is the subject’s voice (αὐδᾶν).

Emphasis on language appears in earlier inscribed epigram, as for example *CEG* 173, an archaic epitaph in which a stone “stands and says” (λέγω) that “Leochos lies here”; or *CEG* 429, a classical-era epigram in which the αὐδὴ τεχνήεσσα λίθο (the “crafted voice of stone”) is commanded to “say” who set up the dedication. Early Hellenistic book epigrams rely on the conventions of inscribed archaic and classical epigram as the basis for innovation. Erinna innovates in this dedication by making the dedicated object itself, the painting of Agatharchis, “written letters,” which lack only a voice to fully become the painting’s model.

AP 6.352 also innovates in its use of a female (i.e., Erinna’s) perspective to critique a work of art. This perspective was adopted by later female poets (e.g., Anyte 9.745 and Nossis 6.353), and was also influential on later male poets, for example Theocritus, who used it in *Id.* 2, and Herodas, whose mockery in *Mim.* 4 shows by implication that the use of women’s perspective in artistic critique had become important enough in poetry to be felt as a threat.⁸

4.3 Moero

Meleager said that he included “many” epigrams by Moero of Byzantium in his *Garland* (πολλά, *AP* 4.1.5), but only two dedicatory epigrams from his initial selection survived the editorial process of later anthologists. *AP* 6.119 describes a cluster of grapes at a temple of Aphrodite, and *AP* 6.189 dedicates wooden statues to Anigrian nymphs. Besides epigram, Moero was known as the author of the longer hexameter poem “Mnemosyne,” curse poetry, and lyric. Her poetry shows evidence of an elite education, and foregrounds women’s activities and relationships. “Mnemosyne” for example is grounded in knowledge of Hesiod, Homer, and perhaps Aratus (*Ath.* 11.79–80), and is concerned with the maternal influences in Zeus’ upbringing on Crete.

Moero’s two preserved epigrams innovate on the conventions of inscribed epigram while giving precedence to women’s experience. *AP* 6.119 employs the conventions of epitaph in a dedicatory epigram:

Κεῖσαι δὴ χρυσέαν ὑπὸ παστάδα τὰν Ἀφροδίτας,
 βότρυ, Διωνύσου πληθόμενος σταγόνι·
 οὐδ’ ἔτι τοι μάτηρ ἐρατὸν περὶ κλῆμα βαλοῦσα
 φύσει ὑπὲρ κρατὸς νεκτάρεον πέταλον.

You lie under the golden colonnade of Aphrodite, grape cluster, full of the juice of Dionysus; nor any longer will your mother, having cast her lovely vine-branch around you, put forth fragrant leaves over your head.

The term ὑπόκειμαι (κεισαι ... ὑπο, “lie under”) is part of the specialized diction of inscribed epitaph, where the subject is always the deceased. The phrase οὐδ’ ἔτι, “no longer,” is also most frequently found in epitaphs, again usually describing the deceased (as “no longer” alive or participating in the activities of the living). The trope of the sorrowful separation of a mother from a beloved daughter appears frequently in inscribed epitaphs of the classical period. Here the conventional diction of epitaph and the epitaphic trope of separation of mourning mother and deceased child have been put to the service of an amusing dedicatory epigram, to express the separation of the grape cluster from the vine that bore it. The unexpected use of the theme of the mourning mother also introduces women’s perspective and emotional experience into a dedicatory epigram whose subject would not have seemed to invite it.

The epigram’s focus is on the object dedicated, the bunch of grapes, rather than the effect or interaction the object has on the observer. Early Hellenistic dedicatory epigrams (e.g., Leonidas *AP* 6.35 and 129, or Anyte *AP* 9.45)

more commonly focus on the object dedicated and the dedicator than on the observer, and in this respect Moero's epigrams are more conventional than Erinna *AP* 6.352, which is concerned with the observer's reaction to the painting.⁹

An inscribed dedicatory epigram does not need to describe extensively the dedicated object or its surroundings, which are available for view. A book epigram however must give the reader all the necessary information both to identify the poem as a dedicatory epigram and to visualize the imaginary object and its location, all without disturbing the fiction that the reader is standing before a dedicated object, reading its inscription. The necessity of description of an imaginary scene however also afforded the poet of the new genre of book epigram with intriguing opportunities to engage the reader's imagination through ambiguity, deception, and misdirection, which were not possible in inscribed epigrams displayed *in situ*.

Moero here takes advantage of this opportunity for ambiguity, in this case for confusion concerning the object described, which became a popular theme in later Hellenistic epigram. The epigram seems to address a fresh bunch of grapes, newly divided from its grieving mother, the vine. The reader, then, is to imagine herself standing in a colonnaded temple to Aphrodite, looking at a bunch of grapes. No inscribed epigram however would dedicate a fresh bunch of grapes, which would not last more than a day or two. Perhaps the reader is to imagine a painting? It is possible in dedicatory epigram to address the model of an image in the second person (e.g. Thaumareta, in Nossis *AP* 9.604). However, the use of epitaphic conventions in the epigram implies the presence of the actual body of the deceased. The reader's imagination hesitates between options, and the question is left open.¹⁰

In *AP* 6.119, Moero pioneers playful variation in the use of epigrammatic conventions, misdirection of the reader, and the introduction of women's perspective in an unexpected context, all characteristics of later Hellenistic epigram.

4.4 Anyte

Anyte of Tegea was responsible for several major innovations in the genre of epigram, all of which were popularized by later poets. She juxtaposed Homeric diction with domestic subjects, was one of the first, if not indeed the first, to compose pastoral epigram, and was the author of the earliest preserved animal epitaphs. Her influence on later poets can be seen by the direct imitations and parodies of her work by poets such as Nikias (*AP* 6.122,

AP 7.200), Callimachus (*AP* 6.121), Marcus Argentarius (*AP* 7.364), and Aristodicus of Rhodes (*AP* 7.189). Her elevation of domestic, feminine concerns in epigram helped to encourage the later emphasis on the domestic sphere in Hellenistic poetry.¹¹

Anyte's most significant innovation, from the point of view of the survival both of her work and her reputation as a poet, was a collection of her epigrams for circulation in a book under her name. This practice was adopted by later poets including Nossis, but Anyte is almost certainly the first to have made such a collection. Circulation of her epigrams in a named collection will not only have made her work better known to Hellenistic readers, but will also have made her epigrams available, securely attributed to her, to the editors of those collections which became the precursors to the *Greek Anthology*. The availability to later editors of a collection of Anyte's epigrams, under her name, will have played a major role in the preservation not only of her epigrams, but of her authorship, for later readers.¹²

4.5 Nossis

Nossis is thought to be the latest of the four female epigrammatists, flourishing in the early third century BCE. Her poetry probably followed Anyte's example in circulating as a collection under her name, of which *AP* 5.170 was the opening and *AP* 7.718 the final epigram.¹³ Only 11 of her epigrams survive, almost all epitaphs and dedications. Although Meleager appears to have known her primarily as a love poet (*AP* 4.1.9–10), only *AP* 5.170 of Nossis' surviving works has an erotic theme, which suggests that Meleager knew of more erotic epigrams by Nossis, which have not been preserved. Whether Nossis' own social status was aristocratic or courtesan (or both) is uncertain, but she was clearly well-educated and literate.¹⁴ Her work was widely influential on her Hellenistic successors.

The first audience for Nossis' work may well have been a circle of female friends. Women's behavior and relationships are given prominence in many of Nossis' epigrams. Her epigrams, like Sappho's poetry, create for the reader the image of a community of female friends who were capable of appreciating her poetry. The epigrams on artworks dedicated to Aphrodite (*AP* 9.332 on Polyarchis' statue, *AP* 9.604 on the painting of Thaumareta, and *AP* 9.605 on the painting of Kallo), for example, invite the reader to imagine that they are part of a community of friends of the model who have gone together to view the work. This focus on women's concerns and their interactions may convey an autobiographical glimpse into Nossis' world and her circle of friends, but it can be seen as simultaneously a poetic *persona*, whose

depiction of the relationships of an all-female community is designed to engage the attention and interest of a wider and predominantly male readership. This poetic strategy would be based on Sappho's successful model, with which Nossis explicitly associates herself in *AP* 7.718.¹⁵

Nossis' epigrams also claim strong associations with the predominantly masculine canonical tradition of Greek poetry. *AP* 5.170, for example not only identifies Nossis as a love poet, but stakes her claim to a place in the mainstream poetic tradition, by means of allusions to other canonical poets:

“Ἄδιον οὐδὲν ἔρωτος, ἃ δ' ὀλβια, δεύτερα πάντα
ἐστίν· ἀπὸ στόματος δ' ἔπτυσσα καὶ τὸ μέλι.”
τοῦτο λέγει Νοσσίς· τίνα δ' ἂ Κύπρις οὐκ ἐφίλασεν,
οὐκ οἶδεν κήνα γ' ἄνθεα ποῖα ῥόδα.

“Nothing is sweeter than love; everything blissful is second (to it); from my mouth I spat out even honey.” Thus says Nossis; and whom Kypris has not kissed, does not know her flowers, what roses they are.

Line 2, ἀπὸ στόματος δ' ἔπτυσσα καὶ τὸ μέλι, is a skilful allusion to Hesiod's *Theogony* (*Theog.* 81–84, 96–97), in which the Muses cause honeyed words to flow from the mouths of men they love. Nossis is claiming not only to be one of those the Muses love, but to reject that gift in preference to love itself; yet she is doing so in poetry, the gift the Muses have given her. Her preference for love over everything is again an allusion to the only female canonical poet, Sappho (*Sappho* 16); and she uses a *sphragis* to claim her words, in common with Theognis.¹⁶

Nossis *AP* 6.132 is another witty variation on a canonical predecessor, Archilochus 1:

Ἔντεα Βρέττιοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' αἰνομόρων βάλλον ὤμων,
θεινόμενοι Λοκρῶν χερσὶν ὕπ' ὠκυμάχων,
ὧν ἀρετὰν ὑμνεῦντα θεῶν ὑπ' ἀνάκτορα κεῖνται,
οὐδὲ ποθεῦντι κακῶν πάχεας, οὓς ἔλιπον.

Bruttian men threw armor from doomed shoulders, struck by the hands of swift-fighting Locrians, praising whose virtue they lie in the temple of the gods, nor do they long for the arms of the cowards whom they left.

In Archilochus 1, the shield was thrown away; in Nossis' variation, the shields of the Brettioi left them willingly, even if they were also thrown. Several common sepulchral and dedicatory motifs are also here reversed. The “longing” common to sepulchral epigrams is varied by negation; the shields do not

long for their cowardly former owners. The shields praise the virtue, not of the deceased Bruttians, but of those who dedicated them. This epigram uses and may have established the trope popular in Hellenistic epigram of weapons mourning (or otherwise) their deceased masters.¹⁷

Epigrams praising the likeness of an art object to its female subject are attributed to three of the four female epigrammatists, but Nossis further develops and varies this theme. *AP* 6.353 is a particularly innovative example of this genre.

Αὐτομέλιννα τέτυκται· ἴδ' ὡς ἀγανὸν τὸ πρόσωπον
 ἀμὲ ποτοπτάζειν μελιχίως δοκέει·
 ὡς ἐτύμως θυγάτηρ τᾷ μητέρι πάντα ποτῶκει.
 ἢ καλὸν ὅκκα πέλη τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἴσα.

Melinna herself is made: see how her gentle face seems to look kindly at us; how truly the daughter is close to her mother in everything. Indeed it's good whenever children are like their parents.

The ancient reader will have encountered *AP* 6.353 in a collection of Nossis' epigrams, which included several other epigrams praising the similarity of paintings to their models, or their model's characters (*AP* 9.604 on Thaumareta, *AP* 9.605 on Kallo, *AP* 6.354 on Sabaethis). The effect of *AP* 6.353 depends on subversion of the expectations these create. The first two lines give the reader the impression that a painting of Melinna is being described: *Αὐτομέλιννα τέτυκται*. However, the epigram does not mention an "image" or "painting," and the last two lines can be read to imply that the epigram describes not Melinna's painting, but her baby, who closely resembles her mother. The phrase *ἀμὲ ποτοπτάζειν μελιχίως δοκέει* (line 2) is not in this interpretation describing how the painting's eyes seem to follow the viewer, but how the baby is looking in the viewer's direction with the unfocused gaze of infancy. In a collection of Nossis' poems, this is a witticism; the reader will only belatedly realize that after reading three epigrams describing paintings, this one is describing an actual child. This playful confusion regarding the object described in the epigram is satirized by Leonidas of Tarentum (*AP* 6.355) and Callimachus (*AP* 9.507), and possibly influenced Asclepiades (*AP* 12.75).¹⁸

AP 7.718, the concluding poem of Nossis' collection, links her directly with Sappho:

ὦ ξεῖν', εἰ τί γε πλεῖς ποτὶ καλλίχορον Μυτιλάναν,
 τὰν Σαπφῶ χαρίτων ἄνθος ἐναυσαμέναν,
 εἰπεῖν, ὡς Μοῦσαισι φίλαν τήνᾳ τε Λοκρὶς γὰ
 τίκτεν ἴσαν ὅτι θ' οἱ τοῦνομα Νοσσίς· ἴθι.

O stranger, if you are sailing to Mytilene of the beautiful dances, the one that kindled Sappho, flower of the Graces, say that the Locrian land bore one dear to the Muses and equal to her, and that her name was Nossis; go.

This epigram is again composed in imitation of Simonides' famous epigram on the Spartan dead (*AP* 7.249). Both begin with Ω χεῖν; the infinitive εἰπεῖν is used in place of ἀγγεῖν, and the last word "go" emphasizes the point that the most important information in the epitaph is the passer-by's destination – Mytilene, or Sparta.¹⁹ Innovations on sepulchral epigrams further emphasize the connection with Sappho. Epitaphs for women in the *Greek Anthology* usually tell the name of the woman, the location of her home, and who mourns. This epigram replaces the location of her home with her spiritual home, Mytilene, and replaces the names of her grieving family with the Muses, to whom she was dear. This is Nossis' epitaph of herself as a poet, dear to the Muses, and closely associated with Sappho. Nossis' poetic *persona* represents her as Sappho's successor, writing initially for a circle of female friends, but directing her work ultimately towards a wider readership, in which aim, judging by her influence on later poets, she was successful.

4.6 Survival

Why did so many female-authored epigrams from the Hellenistic era survive to our day, compared, at least, to how little women's work has been preserved from other periods and genres of poetry?

We must first acknowledge that random chance is the single most important factor governing the survival of any work written in antiquity. So little work by any ancient author has been preserved to our day that the primary characteristic shared by every surviving text is simple luck. However, some factors will increase a text's "luck", and the foremost of these is circulation in many copies.

Any factor that increased the number of copies of a work in circulation in antiquity increased its chances of survival to the present day. Canonical texts – that is, texts of high cultural value, which were considered part of a formal education – circulated in more copies than any other, and were on that account most likely to survive.

Poets could use the widespread knowledge and high cultural esteem of canonical texts to boost the popularity and perceived literary value of their own works, by associating their work with a canonical predecessor through stylistic similarity, direct reference, or innovation. Engagement with a canonical

text could be used to increase the reader's respect for the new work, by establishing it as a participant in the same literary universe as the canonical text. At the same time, it increased the reader's pleasure in the new text, by guiding their interpretation. Innovation on previous works, within limits, was partly for these reasons highly valued, particularly in the Hellenistic era. The poetic strategy of engaging with a canonical predecessor, by increasing the popularity and literary esteem of the work, would also have been likely to increase the number of copies of the work in circulation.

Texts circulating in higher numbers were, finally, more likely to be influential on later authors, if only for reasons of simple availability. Influence on later authors could in turn increase a work's popularity, and thus the number of copies in circulation.²⁰

From the original pool of all works written in antiquity, canonical texts, texts that engaged with canonical works, texts innovating on previous works, and texts that influenced later authors are, in summary, those most likely to be preserved to the present day. Female-authored Hellenistic epigrams exhibit all of these features except canonicity.

The Hellenistic female epigrammatic poets, enabled by a literary culture in which works were composed and circulated in writing, employed all the strategies available to them to increase the popularity and literary status of their work among Hellenistic readers. All engaged with canonical texts. Anyte was called "the female Homer" (θῆλυν Ὅμηρον, *AP* 9.26); Erinna used epic meter and Sapphic dialect; Nossis explicitly claimed association with Sappho, and alluded to Hesiod and Archilochus; Moero displayed detailed knowledge of Hesiod and the epic tradition.

All were innovative. All four of the female epigrammatists wrote in the first generation of the genre of Hellenistic epigram. In some crucial ways their innovations on the genre of inscribed epigrams can be said to have created it. It was not female poets alone who recognized the possibilities of adapting the characteristics of the various forms of inscribed epigram to a book form that followed the conventions of inscriptions, but employed them for different purposes. Female poets were however certainly among the first to do so.

Insofar as their work helped to invent a genre which became very popular among the poets who followed them, they were highly influential. The conceit of "book-published" epigrams using the conventions of inscriptional epigram for a literary purpose was widely adopted by later (male) epigrammatists. All four gave priority to women's perspectives and domestic concerns, encouraging the widespread acceptance of feminine and domestic concerns as suitable subjects for poetry in the Hellenistic period. As individuals they were equally influential: Anyte created the animal epitaph and was among the first to write pastoral poetry; Nossis' reworking of the conventions of epitaph for epigram

and playful re-engagement with lyric poets, like Moero's creation of an ambiguous object for the reader's imagined gaze, were popular among later poets.

Female-authored poetry, like male-authored poetry, is more likely to have survived if it satisfied one or more of these four criteria. Female-authored poetry's chances of survival were however further enhanced if it was also composed in a genre in which it was acceptable for women's voices to be heard (or seen) in public – choral lyric, lament, dedications, and funerary inscriptions. Lament, dedication, and funeral inscriptions are all suitable to epigram.

We do not know how many poems by other Hellenistic female epigrammatists are lost, nor how many epigrams originally existed from the poets whose work still survives. We can fairly assume that the editors of the *Greek Anthology* did not include every epigram they had access to. The successive editors' selection criteria are unknown, but will naturally have governed which female-authored epigrams were included.²¹ It is probably significant that female-authored epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* are confined to the deictic, funerary, and dedicatory genres, with a single amatory epigram by Nossis, though she was apparently known in antiquity for her love poetry.²² It is not unreasonable to suppose that this selection is at least partly the result of editorial decision. If epigrams by women were written in other genres, they were not included in the *Greek Anthology*.

Perhaps the single most important innovation introduced by a female poet, from the perspective of increasing the survivability of the female-authored epigrams, was the practice, pioneered by Anyte of Tegea and followed by Nossis of Locri, of circulating a collection of epigrams under the author's name. This single innovation greatly increased the likelihood that the original editors of what is now the *Greek Anthology* would have to hand not only a set of a female epigrammatists' work, but one securely attributed to its author.

Hellenistic epigram, as a genre, was thus extraordinarily well-suited to the preservation of female-authored poetry, in circumstances of production, in preservation in author-named collections, in the suitability of subject matter for public female voice, and in the fact that some of the earliest and most influential adapters of inscriptional poetry to book form were female. All of these characteristics increased the likelihood that the work of female authors would survive to our day.

4.7 Conclusion

The Hellenistic female authors of epigram whose work remains to us were highly innovative in their subject matter, point of view, and adaptations of archaic and classical conventions of inscribed epigram to suit the new medium

and subject matter of Hellenistic epigram. These innovations were profoundly influential on the later male authors whose work has been preserved. Why more epigrams by female authors were not preserved throughout the rest of the Hellenistic and Roman periods can only be guessed. One possibility can be found in the shift from the “open” economy of the Hellenistic period, which encouraged innovation and contribution from a variety of competing sources, to the “closed” economy of the later Roman Empire, which encouraged uniformity in culture, intellectual activity, and art, and discouraged diversity in its participants.²³ In such an intellectual climate, female contributors, and representatives of other subaltern groups, will have found it harder to gain entrance. We must be grateful for what work has survived.²⁴

NOTES

1. Three early epigrams (*AP* 6.269, *AP* 7.489, and *AP* 7.505) attributed to Sappho are clearly Hellenistic, and so cannot be hers (Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 597). Two monumental epigrams from Roman Egypt were written by the Hadrianic poet Julia Balbilla. For discussion of Julia Balbilla see most recently Rosenmeyer (2010). Women may have of course authored many of the surviving unattributed epigrams. Female authorship of unattributed epigrams whose speaker (mourner or dedicator) is female cannot however be assumed; when authorship of an epigram is known, the author and speaker are rarely the same (Tueller 2008, 52–53). This discussion is therefore confined to those epigrams attributed in antiquity to female authors.
2. See Skinner (2005) for general discussion of dates. Skinner herself sets Moero a half-century later, overlapping with her son Homerus Tragicus. For Rhinthon’s date see Suda (s.v.). Anyte was imitated by Mnasalces and Nicias in the early to mid-third century BCE.
3. On public performance of archaic and classical poetry, see, e.g., Gentili (1988); on public performances by female groups, Calame (1997); on preservation of women’s poetry in a public masculine tradition, Bowman (2004). All of the archaic and classical female poets whose work has been preserved probably composed works for female choirs: see Lardinois (1996) and Stehle (1997).
4. Women’s “voice” is publicly displayed in inscribed epigrams whenever a woman is identified as the mourner or dedicator, although female authorship of these inscriptions is not implied: see Tueller (2008, 52–55).
5. On female-authored dedications and epitaphs as a permissible form of public “performance” by women, see Stehle (1997, 114–18). On prior female “performance audience” for Nossis’ epigrams, before public circulation as a collection, see Skinner (1991).
6. See Barnard (1978, 208) on her possible role as priestess of Demeter, and Suda, s.v., on her death, unmarried, at 19, and the dialects of *The Distaff*. On her use

of dialect to connect her work to Sappho see Snyder (1990, 87). West argues that Erinna was the pen name of an anonymous male poet, on the grounds that an uneducated young woman could not possibly have produced such a sophisticated work (West 1977). Pomeroy however demonstrates that Hellenistic women had greater opportunities for education than West recognizes (Pomeroy 1978). *AP* 11.322 mocks grammarians who “boast of their Erinna,” which shows her fame in antiquity.

7. West attributes 6.352 to Nossis (West 1977, 115). On the prominence of voice and writing in Erinna’s epigrams, see Manwell (2005) and Tueller (2008, 141–45); in “The Distaff,” see Stehle (2001). See especially Skinner (2001) on the adoption of the female perspective by later poets.
8. See Tueller (2008, 57) on Hellenistic use of archaic and classical conventions, and Tueller (2008, 150) for discussion of *CEG* 173 and *CEG* 429. On later use of women’s perspective see Skinner (2001), and Bowman (1998) on Theocritus and Herodas’ reception of Nossis.
9. See Skinner (2005) for recent discussion of Moero’s work; Skinner (2005, 102) for Moero’s focus on the object rather than the viewer; Tueller (2008, 46–48) for the specialized diction of inscribed epitaph; Tueller (2008, 95 n. 1) on the “no longer” theme; Stehle (2001, 181–85) on the trope of mother–daughter separation in late classical epitaphs; and Tueller (2008, 162) on Moero’s repurposing of epitaphic convention.
10. See Skinner (2005) on Moero’s focus on the object described, rather than the viewer’s reaction; Tueller (2008, 58–64) on the adaptation of inscribed convention and description for Hellenistic epigram; Tueller (2008, 155–65) on the Hellenistic theme of confusion regarding the object described; Tueller (2008, 162) on the implications of epitaphic convention in *AP* 6.119.
11. For a thorough introduction to Anyte’s work, see the article by Ellen Greene in this volume. On her use of Homer see Geoghegan (1979) and Werner (1994). On her influence on the development of pastoral epigram and animal epitaphs see Luck (1954). On the influence of Anyte and the other female epigrammatists in making the feminine and domestic spheres acceptable subjects for poetry in the Hellenistic period, see Skinner (2001). On her influence on later poets including Theocritus see especially Snyder (1990, 72–76), and see also Webster (1964, 63) on her influence on Callimachus. See Murray and Rowland (2007) on gendered voices in Hellenistic epigram.
12. On Anyte’s collection of her epigrams into a named collection see Gutzwiller (1993). On Nossis’ circulation of her works in a named collection see Skinner (1991).
13. On Nossis’ collection of epigrams see Skinner (1991) and Gutzwiller (1997, 74–88).
14. On Nossis’ missing erotic epigrams, see Snyder (1990, 78). For an overview of the discussion of the status of women generally and of Nossis in particular at Locris see Bowman (2004, 17). On Nossis as a prostitute see Barnard (1978, 210–11).

15. On Nossis' community and original audience see especially Skinner (1991, 29–30); on her association with Sappho see Skinner (1989) and Bowman (1998).
16. On Nossis and Hesiod, see Bowman (1998) and Cavallini (1981). On Nossis and Sappho, see Bowman (1998) and Skinner (1989).
17. On innovations on sepulchral conventions see Tueller (2008, 23). See Skinner (1991), Bowman (1998, 34) on allusions in *AP* 6.132 to Archilochus, as well as Anacreon and Alcaeus, and discussion of the “mourning weapons” trope in, e.g., Leonidas *AP* 6.131, Mnasilces *AP* 6.125, and Hegesippus 6.124.
18. I am indebted for this interpretation to Tueller (2008, 169–74).
19. For close analysis of innovations on the conventions of epigram in *AP* 7.818 see Tueller (2008, 64).
20. On canon formation see Aiken (1986), de Jean (1988), and Russ (1983). See Kolodny (1985, 153–56) for this approach to the self-perpetuation of literary canons, and Bowman (1998, 29–30) for its application to Nossis and Sappho.
21. For the composition of the *Greek Anthology*, see Cameron (1993).
22. See Garland of Meleager (*AP* 4.1.12).
23. On “open” Hellenistic vs. “closed” Roman imperial economy, see especially Keyser (2013).
24. The author would like to dedicate this chapter to the hidden figures in her own life, her grandmothers Adeline and Grace, and her mother Marjorie.

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Masculine and the Feminine in Epigram

Lindsay Watson

5.1 Introduction

Of all the practitioners of Greek and Roman epigram it is the genre's finest exponent, the Roman poet Martial (ca. 38/41–104 CE), who has most to say on issues of masculinity and femininity. Accordingly he will be our lodestar in what follows. Attention is also paid to other important Latin epigrammatists, primarily Catullus and the *Carmina Priapea*, and the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic *Garland of Meleager* and *Garland of Philip*, which form the core of our corpus of Greek literary epigram, the so-called *Palatine* and *Planudean Anthologies*. Likewise considered is the Greek epigrammatist Lucillius, Martial's near-contemporary. For reasons of space this survey is necessarily selective in its choice of authors and topics for discussion.¹

The survey which follows is synchronic rather than diachronic, because satiric epigram, the main focus of this chapter, adopts a socially conservative ethos, replicating long-established viewpoints regarding gender-related issues rather than breaking new ideological ground. In particular, the picture of the female sex gained from epigram is stereotypical and simplistic. It is a truism that one cannot form a realistic picture of women's lived existence in ancient Greece and Rome, largely reliant as we are on male-authored texts where our information is passed through the distorting lens of masculine biases and preconceptions: indeed, as Grazia Battisti (1996, 26–27) has observed, even in texts which adopt a notionally apologist stance towards

women, the discourse is premised on the widespread notion of womanly weakness, *infirmitas muliebris sexus*, the presumption that women are naturally subject to physical, emotional, and moral infirmity (Dixon 2001, 73–88). And these difficulties are signally magnified in a genre such as epigram which, given its trademark brevity, can offer no more than a brief snapshot – making inevitably for reductiveness and one-dimensionality of perspective. Further, since so much of ancient epigram is scoptic in tone and plays unashamedly to male prejudices about women, the genre has a vested interest in representing these in the worst possible light, a tendency which reaches its apogee in Martial.

Next, in regard to perceptions of the masculine in epigram, it is crucial to bear in mind, with Gleason (1995, 55–81) and Williams (2010, ch. 5), that in the agonistic societies of Greece and Rome, masculinity is a *performance*, staged in order to uphold the social, moral, and rhetorical standing of an individual before the hypercritical eyes of his peers, who are always ready to mark him down: it was a mask which need not correspond *in toto* or even in part to the actuality of that individual's existence, and was in no small measure predicated upon concealment of real or perceived shortcomings in the sexual or ethical arena. So while epigram's construction of women is openly articulated (and essentializing), by contrast masculinity is defined almost exclusively by *inference*, that is, by reference to its inverse, viz. males who play the feminine role in sexual intercourse or adopt a female lifestyle more generally. In short, much of epigram's treatment of men, at least in scoptic vein, is about peeling away the facade of pretended masculinity and exposing the epicene tendencies which lie beneath. This is a particular preoccupation of Martial, whose targets are however invented stock figures: conversely, when Catullus attacks males on the grounds of effeminacy, some of the victims at least are real. Behind such verbal assaults lay an implicit premise: that any male who stumbled sexually, and in particular lapsed into erotic femininity, was freighted with a whole host of vices of which sexual malfeasance was only the most obvious signifier, making him ripe for the most uninhibited attacks (Corbeill 1997, 99–128; Skinner 2005, 211).

A further preliminary point is intertwined with the preceding: that the ancient sexual grid was organized on an entirely different basis from that prevailing in the Western world of today, where, crudely speaking, we operate with the contrastive pair homosexual–heterosexual,² predicated in part on the belief that sexual orientation is a matter of biological determinism. Current thinking however, propagated in Anglophone scholarship by the so-called social constructionists (notably Winkler 1990; Williams 2010) is that this binarism must be replaced with one more true to Greek and Roman sexual mores: a paradigm – not without its critics³ – according to which the

active or insertive partner in intercourse plays the masculine role, the passive or receptive party the feminine one. And onto this schema is mapped a hierarchical power-relationship (Skinner 2005, 19; Williams 2010, 18–19), since the receptive parties were, typically, social inferiors of the male – boys, women, and slaves – with the consequence that sex becomes an act of assertive masculine subjugation. Accordingly, it need not entail any compromise of masculinity as defined in antiquity, when in epigram as elsewhere men are seen pursuing same-sex couplings with boys in parallel with heterosexual/marital relations – indeed, when a person displays a preference or even an exclusive taste for partners of one sex, this is seen as distinctly anomalous (Parker 1997, 55; Williams 2010, 187–88). Conversely, when a male is the receptive partner in either oral or anal intercourse, pleasuring his mate, this represents a radical abnegation of his masculinity (Gleason 1995, 65). Both the scenarios just outlined (penetrative sex with women and boys, feminization by sexual passivity) receive an extensive airing in epigram.

5.2 Femininity in Epigram

Greek epigram does not always view issues of gender and sexuality in the same way as its Roman counterpart. Arguably, nowhere is the difference more starkly on view than in the respective stances of the two corpora to the female body. To be sure, there exist Greek epigrams where disappointed lovers tabulate with tendentious *Schadenfreude* the physical deterioration of one-time proud *belles*. But in general Greek epigram strikes a far more appreciative attitude to the female body than its Latin cousin. Hence its taste for the so-called “catalogue of charms,” notable for the lingering voluptuousness of the male gaze, as in a well-known epigram by Philodemus (*AP* 5.132), or the still more lushly sensuous and elegantly voyeuristic pieces by Rufinus (? first century CE) on the naked charms of various *hetairai*, such as *AP* 5.35:

I judged the bottoms of three women, for they themselves chose me to do so, baring the lightning-gleam of their naked limbs. And one, marked with rounded dimples, had buttocks which bloomed with a white softness to touch. When the second parted her legs, her snow-white flesh became red, ruddier than a crimson rose, but the calm surface of the third's bottom was creased by a soundless wave, as she deliberately made her delicate skin to quiver. If he who judged the goddesses [Paris] had seen these bottoms, no longer would he have wished even to look upon the former ones.

There is virtually nothing comparable to the above in Latin epigram: far from celebrating *εὐπρυγία* as Rufinus does, Martial mocks (11.99) an over-endowed

woman “for the twin Symplegades of<her>bum” and discounts (11.100) a pygally challenged one “from whose arse a spearhead projects.” Instead, Roman epigrammatists take an unremittingly negative stance towards the female form: an inverted catalogue of charms at Mart. 3.53

Et voltu poteram tuo carere
 et collo manibusque cruribusque
 et mammis natibusque clunibusque,
 et ne singula persequi laborem,
 tota te poteram, Chloe, carere. 5

I could do without your face and neck and hands and legs and breasts and buttocks and haunch, and, not to go through each feature individually, I could do without you in your entirety, Chloe.

encapsulates the trend in miniature. But often the depreciatory language is far more colorful, ranging from the gratuitous sneer of *femineo barathro*, “the woman’s abyss” (Mart. 3.81.1) to the drastic crudities of, e.g., *Priap.* 46, Mart. 10.90, and Martial Book 11 more generally. A particular focus of displeasure, indeed disgust, is women’s genitalia (Richlin 1984).⁴ The attitude of distaste is crystallized in attacks, in Martial and the *Carmina Priapea*, upon the physical deterioration of superannuated females, routinely expressed in the most graphic terms. Perhaps the most notorious is Mart. 3.93 on the meaningfully named Vetustilla (“Cronelette”), where the poet engages in a piecemeal anatomical deconstruction of his target, who is eager to marry (*nupturire*) although now fantastically old, so that “only a funeral torch can properly enter that cunt of yours”: a body part described with an even more repellent physicality in Mart. 3.72.5–6 and *Priap.* 12.10–15.

Several points arise out of the foregoing, the first being that Latin epigram could never countenance the idea, often expressed in Greek epigram (albeit in a spirit of paradox), that aging women can be attractive (*AP* 5.13, 48, 62, 258): in the former, aged females are *ipso facto* repulsive and their unseasonable prolongation of sexual activity an affront to nature (Bremmer 1987; Watson 1994, 70–71). Second, Greek epigram, when it has occasion to speak of the female form or of sexual intercourse with women, does so in language that is decorous – poetic, allusive, metaphorical, and circumlocutory: in a similar context, Latin is free with primary obscenities such as *cun-nus*, “cunt,” and *futuo*, “fuck,” often painting a most drastic picture of the bodily realities of sex.⁵ Of course, the scoptic tone of much of Latin epigram helps to explain the phenomenon, as does the idea, insisted upon by Martial (1 *praef.*, 11.20) that crude and explicit language is a defining feature of the Latin genre. For all that, the difference in register here between Greek and

Roman epigram seems ultimately to speak to the extreme aggression that characterizes the derisive treatment of female sexuality by Martial and Roman poets more generally (Richlin 1992). Third, there is a stark discrepancy in tone between Martial's poems on women as sexual beings and his numerous pieces on boy-love (this last, aside from his own *epigrammata* and Catullus' on Juventius, is not a major theme of Latin epigram, in marked contrast to Greek epigram). If Martial pictures himself having sex with women, this is figured as a straightforward physical transaction: cf. 2.31, 9.32, 9.67, 11.104, and the absurd 7.18, where he complains of his bed-partner's *poppyismata cunni*, "fanny farts." But in the epigrams professing love for boys, the element of *explicit* sexuality is occluded almost to the point of evanescence,⁶ something that is certainly not the case in Greek pederastic epigram (e.g., *AP* 12.6, 7, 37, 208). Martial's tone is, rather, idealizing, romanticized, and allusive, as in his series on kissing Diadumenus (3.65, 5.46, 6.34), which overtly evoke the *basia*-poems of Catullus, or 4.42 on the ideal *puer*:

Si quis forte mihi possit praestare roganti,
 audi, quem puerum, Flacce, rogare velim.
 Niliacis primum puer hic nascatur in oris.
 nequitas tellus scit dare nulla magis.
 sit nive candidior: namque in Mareotide fusca 5
 pulchrior est quanto rarior iste color.
 lumina sideribus certent mollesque flagellent
 colla comae: tortas non amo, Flacce, comas.
 frons brevis atque modus leviter sit naribus uncis,
 Paestanis rubeant aemula labra rosis. 10
 saepe et nolentem cogat nolitque volentem,
 liberior domino saepe sit ille suo;
 et timeat pueros, excludat saepe puellas;
 vir reliquis, uni sit puer ille mihi.

If someone perchance could give me what I ask, hear Flaccus, what sort of boy I would want to ask for. In the first place, let this boy be born in the region of the Nile: no land knows better how to produce naughty ways. Let him be whiter than snow: for in dusky Mareotis that skin color is more beautiful in proportion to its rarity. Let his eyes vie with the stars and let soft tresses brush his neck. I have no liking, Flaccus, for curly hair. Let his brow be low and his nose slightly aquiline and not too large. Let his lips be red enough to rival the roses of Paestum. Let him compel me when I am unwilling and refuse me when I'm in the mood; let him often make freer than his master; and let him fear boys and often shut out girls: let him be a man to all others, a boy to me alone.

In sum, while it would be injudicious to subscribe to the biographical literalism of Sullivan (1991, 202, 191), who imputed to Martial a “pervasive fear of female sexuality” and a “predominantly pederastic orientation,” it is safe to say that boys do receive an eminently kinder and more appreciative press in his *Epigrams* than do women; and that, when the speaker of 12.75 avers “I prefer the caprice, haughtiness and querulous disdain of beautiful slave boys to a cool million in dowry,” he is striking an attitude that is more or less consistently maintained throughout the corpus.

A deep-rooted conviction that women were somehow “other” (Gleason 1995, 60; Skinner 1997, 8), the emotional and biological antithesis of men, plus a longstanding tradition of literary misogyny (see Watson and Watson 2014, 26–35) came together in classical antiquity to impute to females a host of vices to which they were purportedly subject (Watson 2008, 273–75 with nn. 29–44). In launching attacks upon (mostly invented) female characters, Greek and Roman epigram does not avail itself of the full range of stock complaints against women such as we find in the epic-length dissuasion against marriage in Juvenal’s sixth *Satire*. But it does draw on quite a few misogynistic stereotypes. A favorite was the accusation that women were unable to control their appetite for wine, with its unstated implication that they could not hold in check their emotional and physical appetites more generally – so called *impotentia muliebris*. The charge of bibulousness is summed up in verse two of an anonymous epigram, “but the woman, being a woman through and through, overcome by wine” (*AP* 11.298). The stereotype leaves its imprint in Hellenistic art and poetry, epigram included, where there are several fictitious epitaphs for female toppers, e.g. *AP* 7.457 (Ariston). Latin epigram equally utilizes the stock figure of the female dipsomaniac.⁷

Of particular note is Mart. 1.87, “lest you be scented malodorously of yesterday’s wine, Fescennia, you extravagantly devour Cosmus’ pastilles. That breakfast of yours besmears the teeth, but is no barrier when a belch comes back up from the depths of the intestinal pit.” Here, in an original combination, Martial runs together the theme of female bibulousness with another favorite of misogynistic writing – offensive female smells. A notable epigrammatic instance of the latter is Lucilius *AP* 11.239, “Not the Chimaera in Homer emitted so foul a smell, nor the fire-breathing herd of bulls in fable, nor all [the women] of Lemnos, nor the excrement of the Harpies, nor the putrefying foot of Philoctetes: so that by universal accord, Telesilla, you surpass Chimaeras, putrescent sores, bulls, birds, and the Lemnian women,” a poem imitated in Mart. 4.4, on hyper-stinky Bassa, who reappears in a briefer and more successful epigram at the close of the same book (87), where her habit of cuddling babies is revealed as a subterfuge to mask her inveterate farting.⁸

Leaving aside a few stock complaints against women which receive only brief mention, garrulity, exercise of domestic tyranny, and nit-picking pedantry,⁹ we turn now to two misogynistic motifs which are extremely widespread in epigram: the randy old woman, and νοθοκαλλοσύνη, the attempt to impart a counterfeit beauty to long-vanished charms: topics which combine in an unholy triad a sneering dismissiveness towards elderly females based on their erotic discountability, the accusation that women are congenitally self-unaware when it comes to their looks, and a conviction that females – of every age – are obsessed with sex. All three attitudes are on display in brief squib of Martial (7.75),

Vis futui gratis, cum sis deformis anusque.
res perridicula est: vis dare nec dare vis.

You want to be fucked for nothing, although you are ugly and an old woman.
It's quite ridiculous. You want to give, but not to give,

where *dare* puns on the idea of “giving” erotic access and “giving” money in return, the male speaker being only prepared to accede to sex with this *sibilla decrepita* in return for cash down. Equally cruel is AP 11.408, by the second century CE satirist Lucian, “You dye your hair, but you will never dye your old age, or smooth out the wrinkles in your cheeks. So don’t plaster over all your face with white lead so that you have a mask, and not a mug. For it won’t do any good. Why are you being so crazy? Never will rouge and white lead make a Hecuba into a Helen” or Lucillius AP 11.310, “You bought tresses, rouge, honey, wax, and teeth. For the same expense you could have bought a face,” an idea which finds echoes in Martial (cf. 12.23, 1.72.3–4).

The reputation of Martial has suffered due to his obscenity (Watson and Watson 2015): on Holzberg’s reckoning (1986, 203–4) there are 192 epigrams on the subject of sex out of 1172 in books 1–12, 16 percent in all. But if we add into the equation others which, even if not explicitly sexual in content, deal with or touch upon amatory matters more broadly defined, the percentage rises markedly: for example, a little over 25 percent in *Epigrams* 1, of all Martial’s books arguably the most representative in terms of subject-matter. And even the notionally “clean” books 5 and 8, which rule out explicit content in deference to the emperor Domitian’s moral sensibilities, contain a good deal of material on amatory entanglements of one sort or another. There is thus abundant scope for Martial to explore the supposed sexual lives and tastes of both men and women in all their eclectic and polymorphous diversity. But his primary focus, or rather target, is women. To a degree unusual among even the humbler poetic genres,

Martial defines women almost exclusively in terms of their sexuality or erotic capital (generally the lack thereof). Females are congenitally unfaithful, nymphomaniacs almost all: Lydia tells an impotent husband that she will die without sex (11.71); a wife continues her affair with a lover even after his face has been grotesquely mutilated by her jealous husband (2.83, 3.85); Plutia's desire is so great that she engages in sex even after her death (*hoc tandem sita prurit in sepulchro / calvo Plutia cum Melanthione*, 10.67.6–7, "Plutia, laid to rest at last in this tomb, itches with lust alongside bald Melanthio"). Mothers, stepmothers, and sisters do not balk at incest (2.4, 4.16, 12.20; cf. Catull. 88–91). The faithfully married poetess Sulpicia wrote in frank terms of her sex life with her husband (10.35, 10.38), and even the most austere of women love the *mentula*, "cock" (9.40.4–5; cf. also 1.35.3–5). Straight-laced Roman matrons read the naughty last third of Book 3 despite having been explicitly warned off (3.68, 3.86). And morally unimpeachable women react with erotic arousal to the still more explicit Book 11 (11.16).¹⁰

Particularly revealing of Martial's comic-satiric presumption that all women, even the most severely respectable, are sex-obsessed (*sine fine prurientes / vernis passeribus salaciores*, "Endlessly lustful, more wanton than sparrows in springtime," as *Priap.* 26.4–5 puts it), is a mock epitaph for a morally impeccable Roman matron (10.63), which it is instructive to compare with the very similar *AP* 7.224, "I, Callicratiea, having borne nine and twenty children, did not witness the death of even one, whether boy or girl. I lived to the age of one hundred and five, and I never laid a trembling hand on a staff." Martial's poem, 10.63, reads:

Marmora parva quidem, sed non cessura, viator,
 Mausoli saxis pyramidumque legis.
 bis mea Romano spectata est vita Tarento
 et nihil extremos perdidit ante rogos:
 quinque dedit pueros, totidem mihi Iuno puellas, 5
 cluserunt omnes lumina nostra manus.
 contigit et thalami mihi gloria rara fuitque
 una pudicitiae mentula nota meae

Passer-by, the marble tomb whose inscription you read is small, yet not inferior to the Mausoleum or the pyramids. At two Secular Games my life was held up to scrutiny and found exemplary, and was in no way diminished up to the day of my death. Juno granted me five boys and as many girls: the hands of all of them closed my eyes. Furthermore, I attained rare glory in marriage and my chastity knew but one cock.

There is no need to tabulate here the homologies between the two pieces or to probe the implausibility of the women's claims (see Watson and Watson 2003, 350–53). My concern is with the surprise ending of Martial's epigram. Instead of saying that she was *univira*, married to only one man – the most exemplary form of matronal virtue – his speaker expresses the same idea in far more earthy terms, using a basic obscenity, *mentula*. Thus Martial wickedly implies that this exemplary wife and mother is a distinctly sexual creature – perhaps also that her exceptional fecundity did not result from merely lying back and thinking of Rome?

Why does Martial offer such a relentlessly negative picture of female sexuality? On the one hand, there is the widespread perception that female desire was stronger than male desire, that women are physiologically predisposed to sexual incontinence (Watson 2003, 388) – a belief which several times in Book 6 Martial opportunistically ties in to attacks on *matronae* who flout Domitian's reaffirmation of the Augustan laws regulating marriage and adultery. On the other, he is simply playing more generally to masculine prejudices and preconceptions about the opposite sex; hence, for example, the tired misogynist joke that one's wife is better dead than alive (4.24, 10.43: cf. *AP* 11.375). In all this, he is writing for a laugh and not, as was once thought, in a spirit of moral outrage: this, at least is the general consensus of recent scholarship (Watson and Watson 2015).

Amidst all this it may surprise that there are, occasionally, admirable women in Martial – exemplary wives (4.13, 11.53), patronesses (7.21, 23, 10.64, 12.21), whom it made sense to eulogize, and one or two others who are accorded the status of honorary men, either for a courage which belies their sex (1.13 Arria, 1.42 Porcia) or their masculine intellect (7.69.6 *tam non femineum ... sapit*, “so unwomanly is her judgment”). But they are few and far between and frankly less interesting than his gallery of sexual libertines and matrimonial chancers: few nowadays will rhapsodize, as was once the case, over Martial's insufferably sanctimonious Arria.

5.3 Masculinity in Epigram

Turning now to issues of masculinity in epigram, we may begin with Catull. 16, where Catullus menaces Furius and Aurelius with bugging and irritating them (that is, inserting his penis into their mouths) for daring to suggest that the poet was a *mollis vir*, an effeminate, because he had written of many thousands of kisses given to Lesbia and Juventius: the idea being that, by showing such an immoderate interest in things sexual, he was

behaving like a woman rather than a real man (Edwards 1993, 81–84). Adopting the aggressively phallic persona typical of Latin epigram and iambic (Richlin 1992), Catullus threatens, in a kind of sexual *lex talionis* (law of tit for tat), that he will feminize his attackers by penetrating them in two orifices. For, according to Greek and Roman sexual protocols, to engage in penetration was to play the masculine role, to be penetrated was to play the feminine part.

The point here is that Furius and Aurelius are mature males, for whom to be sodomized (or irrumated) represents a humiliating compromise of their masculinity. By contrast there is nothing objectionable to the Greek and Roman mind about sodomizing boys – we hear little of irrumating them¹¹ – provided that they were of the appropriate social class, viz. slaves or prostitutes (Williams 2010). Indeed, when in 12.96 his “wife” offers Martial anal sex to stop him being unfaithful with his young male slaves, he declines on the grounds that a boy’s anus is better designed for male sexual pleasure than the identical female orifice (lines 9–12):

Non eadem res est: Chiam volo, nolo mariscam:
ne dubites quae sit Chia, marisca tua est.
Scire suos fines matrona et femina debet:
cede sua pueris, utere parte tua.

It’s not the same thing: I want a Chian fig, not a large one. And to leave you in no doubt which is the Chian, yours is the large one.¹² A wife or any other woman ought to know her limits. Leave to boys their part and make use of your own [sc. *cunno*].¹³

Similarly, epigrams in Book 12 of the *Anthologia Palatina*, dedicated to ped-erastic themes, do not merely celebrate the beauty of boys until they have grown a beard (when they become both unattractive and sexually off-limits), but may trumpet quite openly the anatomical advantages of a male partner on the cusp of puberty. An instance is 12.7 (Strato): “there is no sphincter in a maiden, nor a straightforward kiss, nor a natural fragrance to the skin, nor that sweet erotic talk or limpid glance, and when she’s being taught, she’s worse. And they are all cold behind. And a greater problem still is that there’s no place to put your wandering hand.”

This said, when it comes to issues of masculinity in epigram, the male speaker, when not adopting as often a crassly phallogocentric stance which objectifies women and boys as receptacles for male sexual desire, is much concerned with unmasking those whose masculinity is nothing more than a pretense, a façade cloaking feminizing sexual tendencies which sees them

play the submissive, i.e., receptive or pleasuring role in intercourse. Epigram, that is, sets itself the task of policing the sexually normative, and is free with insulting labels for perceived deviants (Skinner 2005, 19) – a pattern to the fore in Martial, who often represents individuals as addicted to one specific form of erotic perversion.

Foremost among these is the *cinaedus*. The term originally referred to a dancer in a style which involved suggestively wiggling the buttocks, but came to designate a male who played the passive role during coition (Williams 2010, 193–97); in juristic parlance, he *muliebria patiebatur*, “submitted to womanish things” (Richlin 1993, 558). The shift of meaning was facilitated by the *cinaedi*’s practice of shimmying their haunches as a signifier of their sexuality (Mart. 3.95.13; Juv. 2.21), mimicking the gyrations of the *cinaedi*-dancers. There has been intense debate about the status of the *cinaedus*. Is he a scare-figure, a fictional construct into whom is poured all that is the antithesis of the virile Roman male (Williams 2010, 196, echoing Winkler 1990, 45)? Or does he, for all his stereotypicality, have an underpinning in material reality (Corbeill 1997)? Can one infer from the figure of the *cinaedus* the existence of a male homosexual subculture in ancient Rome (Richlin 1993) – an idea bolstered by polemical accounts of gay marriages at Rome (Williams 2010, app. 2)? Be this as it may, the Romans were very clear about what a *cinaedus* actually was – primarily, a male whose erotic preference was for being anally penetrated by another male: see in particular Catull. 33, Mart. 6.37, 9.63, and 12.16, each of which explicitly equates being a *cinaedus* with a liking for being sodomized. Since as noted this entailed adopting the passive or female role in intercourse (cf. *feminea venus* in Cael. Aurel. *Chron.* 4.9.137, and the insulting descriptor *femina* attached to one such person in the pseudo-Vergilian *Catalepton* 13), such men were stigmatized oxymoronically as *molles viri*, as a type of gender deviant (cf. Mart. 3.73.4–5):

Mollem credere te virum volebam,
sed rumor negat esse te cinaedum.

I was willing to call you an effeminate man, but rumor denies that you are a queen.

In other words, you are something worse. Here being a *cinaedus* and a practitioner of oral sex (the “something worse”) are regarded as distinct, but it is usually taken for granted that the tastes of the *cinaedus* also ran to a second receptive form of sexual activity, fellation, as is evident from Mart. 6.50, where the poet jokes about the impure mouth of Telesinus, who services *cinaedi*, or a well-known Pompeian graffito, *CIL* 4.1825, *Cosmus Equit[ae]s*

agnus cinaedus et fellator est suris apertis, “Cosmus the knight is a great queen and sucker with open legs,” which suggestively joins being sodomized/a *cinaedus* with passive-oral-genital activity, a pairing replicated in two barbs by the Elder Cato (Corbeil 1997, 113–14). As Martial 3.73 implies, in the hierarchy of Roman invective, for a man to engage in oral sex was more degrading than to be buggered (cf. Mart. 2.28, 2.47, 12.35), a “crime” (Catull. 88.7–8) or a “vice” (Mart. 2.89).

To be a *cinaedus* was not just to play a feminine, “unnatural” (Sen. *Ep.* 122.7; Richlin 1993, 533 n. 25) role in intercourse. It might equally entail the wholesale expropriation of female ways; for example, modulating one’s voice so that it became “as caressing as a woman’s” (Sen. *Controv.* 1, *praef.* 8), wearing brightly colored clothing and depilating the body or primping oneself, as in an oft-quoted attack of Scipio Aemilianus upon P. Sulpicius Galus for his effeminacy (Gell. *NA* 6.12.5).¹⁴ This was overtly to advertise one’s sexual orientation, as we might put it nowadays, or, in the words of Juvenal, to be “a professed queer” (*professus obscenum*, 6.01–2). Figures such as this populate the pages of satire and Roman political invective. Epigram by contrast is more interested in outing the crypto-*cinaedus* and in laying bare the hypocrisy of persons who affect an old-fashioned, hyper-masculine style (“hairier than thou”: Gleason 1995, 74), while actually doing the opposite. Examples are *AP* 11.155 (Lucillius), Mart. 1.24 and 1.96.4–13:

Amator ille tristium lacernarum
 et baeticatus atque leucophaeatus,
 qui coccinatos non putat viros esse
 amethystinasque mulierum vocat vestes,
 nativa laudet, habeat et licet semper 5
 fuscis colores, galbinos habet mores.
 Rogabit unde suspicer virum mollem.
 Una lavamur: aspicit nihil sursum,
 sed spectat oculis devorantibus draucos
 nec otiosis mentulas videt labris. 10

That lover of gloomy cloaks, clad in Baetic wool or ash-white, who thinks people who wear scarlet are not real men and calls violet-colored garments women’s clothes, though he praises undyed stuff and always is clad in somber colors – has green morals. He’ll ask how I suspect him of being an effeminate. We bathe together: he never looks up, but casts his eyes over the athletes with a ravenous gaze and moves his lips as he looks at their cocks.

In this epigram, which brings together in a single poem both the overt and the concealed effeminate, the diagnosis of cinaedic tendencies is based on

autopsy, but sometimes epigram's self-appointed role of moral detective can involve claiming a privileged insight into an individual's most secret proclivities, as in Mart. 2.36.5–6:

Nunc sunt crura pilis et sunt tibi pectora saetis
horrida: sed mens est, Pannyche, volsa tibi.

As it is, your legs are rough with hairs and your chest with bristles: but your *mind*, Pannychus, is depilated.

The concealment in which the crypto-*cinaedi* of Martial and the *Greek Anthology* engage is generically determined: that is, these must be made to hide their proclivities in order that scoptic epigram can go about its task of mocking and exposing moral corruption. But underlying the actions of these fictitious creations is a real social imperative. For, as Gleason (1995, 55–81) and Corbeill (1997) have shown, if one can label a political opponent a *molliis vir*, an effeminate, this legitimizes the inference that he hosts a raft of other vices which collectively render him unsuitable to hold public office: a pattern famously seen in Catullus 57, where the poet, after stigmatizing Caesar and Mamurra as *cinaedi* and *pathici*, sexual passives, broadens the attack to include financial profligacy and “voracious adultery,” charges amplified in poem 29 to include gambling and gluttony, so that it is only to be expected that Caesar (along with Pompey) “should have ruined everything” (Catull. 29.24).

The blurring of sexual boundaries that we see here, whereby one could be a *cinaedus* yet at the same time an adulterer, a *moechocinaedus*, as Lucilius 1058 Marx puts it, segues neatly into another figure who must also appear to us quite paradoxical, the “effeminate” cunnilinctor. The categorization of cunnilinctores as *molles* is made clear by Mart. 2.84:

Mollis erat facilisque viris Poeantius heros:
vulnera sic Paridis dicitur ulta Venus.
Cur lingit cunnum Siculus Sertorius, hoc est:
‡ab hoc‡ occisus, Rufe, videtur Eryx.

The hero Philoctetes was effeminate and complaisant to men. That was how Venus avenged the wounds he inflicted on Paris. This is why Sicilian Sertorius licks a cunt. It appears that Eryx was killed by him.

Mart. 3.96 and 7.67.14–17 similarly brand *cunnilinctus* as unmanly, because it involves the man pleasuring and being subservient to the female (cf. Mart.

9.80, 9.92.11, Auson. *Epigr.* 82–87).¹⁵ In the scale of effeminacy, cunnilinctus ranks highest (worse than being a *cinaedus*, Mart. 2.28, 4.43), worse than fellatio (Galen 12.249 Kühn; Lowe 2013, 346–47). It supposedly caused disease (Mart. 1.77, 11.85), on the grounds that it polluted the tongue (Obermayer 1998, 214–31). Martial 11.61 describes the practice in terms so extreme that it would be not unreasonable to infer a deep sense of antipathy towards it either on his part, or that of the Romans more generally: certainly the numerous Greek epigrams on the topic treat the subject with considerable literary sophistication and much more levity, for instance *AP* 11.108, “Conon is two cubits tall, his wife four. When their feet are on a level in bed, reckon where Conon’s lips go.”¹⁶

There is one final type of gender-bender which surfaces in a few (mainly Roman)¹⁷ epigrams: women who engage in same sex-relations¹⁸ – *tribades* as they were called, from Gk. *tribein* to “rub” the vulvas together, or, as Martial puts it (1.90.7), *inter se geminos audes committere cunnos*, “you dare to join together twin cunts.” What Bassa, Martial’s addressee, and her sexual sibling Philaenis (7.67, 7.70) do is, he says, a monstrous inversion of gender norms (1.90.8 *prodigiosa*, 1.90.9 *monstrum*): for, apart from aping all kinds of masculine activities (7.67), they, in defiance of female physiology, usurp the male role in intercourse, penetrating boys and girls (7.67.1–3), and “fucking” (*fututor* 1.90.6, *futuis* 7.70.2) their partners, with, it seems, the aid of the hypertrophied clitoris that such women (and over-sexed woman more generally) were held to possess (Parker 1997, 59, Watson on Hor. *Epod.* 5.41). Hence the oft-quoted complaint of the Younger Seneca (*Ep.* 95.21) about the women of his day, *libidine vero ne maribus quidem cedunt, pati natae ... adeo perversum commentae genus inpudicitiae viros ineunt*, “in lust indeed they are quite the equal of males, though born to play the submissive role in coition ... indeed devising an unnatural form of unchastity, they enter men.”

I note by way of conclusion two matters which call for further investigation. First, it would be helpful to know more about what Suetonius calls *commercium mutui stupri* (*Calig.* 36.1), reciprocal buggery by mature males, as in Catull. 57: why is there an almost complete silence in the literature about the active partner in such sodomitically reciprocal relationships? Second, one would like to know how Martial’s female readers reacted to being pigeonholed as sex-obsessed. With amusement or outrage? Were they more open-minded than the body of male-authored, prescriptive writings on womanly *pudicitia* would have us believe (Watson 2005)?

NOTES

1. Omitting, e.g., the conventional dichotomy of *matrona* vs. whore, most of antiquity's stock sexual slurs (cf. Williams 2010, 64), the linking of oral sex to bad breath. Little can be said here of later Roman epigrammatists.
2. Our notion of "bisexuality" is likewise premised upon the existence of these two polarities.
3. E.g., Obermayer (1998, 1–16), Davidson (2001), Verstraete (2010), Oliver (2015, 283 n. 6).
4. See particularly Mart. 11.21 and *Priap.* 46.5–10, repellent descriptions of εὐρυκυσθία: contrast Ar. *Lys.* 1158 "I have never seen a more beautiful cunt."
5. Particularly graphic are Mart. 11.61 and *Priap.* 46.8–10.
6. Exceptions 11.43.1–2 and 11.58.
7. Catull. 27.3–4, Mart. 1.87, 5.4, also 7.67.9–10, 12.65.9, Auson. *Epigr.* 21.
8. Other Martialian epigrams on smelly women: 6.93, 9.62.
9. Mart. 9.29.5–8; Mart. 8.12, 9.80; Mart. 11.19.
10. For similar accusations that modest women hypocritically conceal a lively interest in sex, cf. *Priap.* 8 and 66.
11. An exception: Mart. 2.61.
12. A Chian fig was a tangy, prized type, a *marisca* a large and inferior sort. There is a play on *fici*, "figs," in its alternative sense of "piles" caused by anal intercourse.
13. Similarly Martial 11.43 claims that sodomy with a woman is not the same as sodomy with a boy.
14. For the external markers of the *cinaedus* see Richlin (1993, 542 and 551 n. 69).
15. Further Clarke (1998, plate 12 with discussion 223–25).
16. Conversely, the Greek comic poet Aristophanes describes cunnilingus in terms of utter revulsion (*Eq.* 1284–89).
17. The only Greek epigram on the subject is the decorously allusive *AP* 5.207 (Asclepiades).
18. In general on this topic see Hallett (1997) and Boehringer (2007).

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CHAPTER SIX

Obscenity in Epigram

Bret Mulligan

Gone are the days of expurgated editions and bowdlerized translations eliding or attenuating the scandalously blunt words of ancient epigrammatists. More than 20 years have passed since Reckford praised the advent of a “decent scholarship of indecency,” a revolution in how we discuss the rough and raunchy poetry of Greco-Roman antiquity (1996, 312). Obscenity now matters for scholars. But it always mattered for epigram, whose development and reception have been shaped by attitudes towards obscenity. Yet we confront twin problems when considering obscenity in epigram: the latent prudery of academic discourse; and the impossibility of defining exactly the constituents and boundaries of obscenity, especially as it functioned in the distant past. Concerning the first problem, we must adopt Martial’s stance: let no Cato pick up this essay. The second problem is harder to negotiate. Obscenity seems to demand binary judgment: a word or work is or is not obscene. But in practice obscenity is “an oddly plastic category of discrimination” (Dunton-Downer 1998, 19) that operates along a spectrum from lexical or primary obscenities – i.e., those words that are always and only obscene – to those words and expressions that may or may not be obscene depending on context. To study obscenity in epigram, therefore, we must begin with how and why Hellenistic epigram, Catullus, Martial, and later epigrammatists deploy lexical obscenities. But since obscenity takes many forms, we must also consider the ill-defined boundaries of epigrammatic obscenity by glancing at innuendo, cacemphaton,

euphemism, suggestive ellipsis, winking metaphor, and the full panoply of devices by which authors gesture towards obscene parts and behaviors. The material is copious and divergent, and the task is fucking hard; but courage, here we go.

6.1 Obscenity in Ancient Greece and Rome

Obscenities were paradoxical utterances in ancient Greece and Rome. Capable of evoking shock or shame, obscenity also possessed salutary power (Henderson 1975, 13–17; Adams 1982, 4–6). Whether on the Athenian stage, during the mimes of Rome’s Floralia, in the scurrilous taunts of the iambographers, or in bawdy verses lobbed at triumphing generals and happy grooms, obscenity could promote fertility, stigmatize outsiders, avert the evil eye, and forge community. For Greeks and Romans, obscenity meant the use of taboo or euphemistic terms to represent sexual and execratory organs and activities – in short, obscenity stated in public what should only be done in private (Cic. *Off.* 1.127). Obscenity helped delineate the hierarchy of literary genres: at home in graffiti and magical writings; present in escalating degrees in the “maculate” genres of satire, comedy, epigram, iambos, and mime; but (almost) entirely absent from the loftier genres. Romans never uttered obscenities as mere explicatives (e.g., “no fucking way”) and Greeks, although they might apply words for oral or anal sex in this way (“suck off!”), avoided metaphorical uses of the genitalia and excretion (e.g., “you little shit”). Obscenity had power and obscene words were not to be spoken or written haphazardly.

Despite the similarities between Greek and Roman obscene utterances, obscenity possessed different force in the two cultures. For the Greeks, who notoriously lacked a word for the obscene, words for sexual and scatological things and actions provoked αἰδώς (“appropriate shame”). Inappropriate obscenity could embarrass the speaker just as pointed obscenity could strip modesty from the target of aggressive speech. But because obscenity itself was not polluting, mere contact with obscenity was not risky (Henderson 1975, 2–9). In contrast, Romans (and some moderns) deemed taboo utterances filthy and polluting. Since contact with the taboo could stain speaker and hearer alike, obscenity possessed additional social power and required social monitoring. So Roman authors were more invested in defining what qualified as obscene, justifying its use, and separating themselves from potential contamination when they employed obscenity, lest the perpetually censorious Romans suppose that one’s debased language exposed a debased character (Richlin 1992, 2–13; Sullivan 1991, 64–72).

6.2 Hellenistic Epigram

Epigram may have become a quintessentially “maculate” genre but lexical obscenities are vanishingly rare in early epigram. The late Hellenistic poet Philodemus provides the sole lexically obscene Hellenistic epigram in the *Greek Anthology* (5.126).¹ Why, Philodemus wonders, would his nervous target pay five talents to “fuck” (βινεῖ, 2) an ugly woman once, while he himself pays a mere five drachmas to “fuck” (βινῶ, 4) the beautiful Lysanasse 12 times? His target must be an adulterer who deserves to lose his testicles (τοὺς ... διδύμους, “the twins,” 6). Philodemus does not wield obscenity to stain or revile; the narrator is as invested in boasting of his good deal as in condemning his target’s suspicious behavior. Instead obscenity contributes to the epigram’s bawdy eroticism, which complements the poem’s rough meter and diction. That Planudes omitted Philodemus’ poem from his anthology cautions us against overgeneralizing from the paucity of obscenity in Hellenistic epigram, which could be an artifact of bowdlerizing compilation rather than a true representative of epigrammatic practice by Hellenistic authors. Indeed in *P.Oxy.* 3724, which preserves the incipits of ca. 175 epigrams, including many by Philodemus, we find traces of other obscene poems, some of which begin with a lexical obscenity (ὁ πρότερον στύων, “he who once had a hard-on ...”, ii.16) or a hapax that promises an obscene situation (ταύτας ὁ τρικίναιδος, “these (women) the triple-catamite ...”, ii.29).

If lexical obscenities were rare in Hellenistic epigrams, these poems did titillate through ribald description. Automedon offers soft-core praise of an Asian dancer and her “lascivious postures” as she “licks, tickles, gropes, and mounts” an old man’s wrinkly “worn-down knob” (5.129.1–2, 7, Tueller trans.). Dioscorides could be even more explicit. He enjoins the reader to “turn your partner around and enjoy her rosy buttocks, practicing boy-sex” (5.54); sex with Doris is described in graphic detail, “her crimson parts quivering like leaves in the wind while she bounced astride me until my white strength (λευκὸν μένος) spilled from us both” (5.55; cf. Archil. 196A.35 and see Harder in this volume). What these poems lack in lexical obscenity they make up for in near-pornographic detail and evocative euphemism. Philodemus deploys similar anatomical detail as he counts off from head to toe the erotic body parts of an uncouth Oscan named Flora (5.132). Philodemus’ avoidance of obscene terminology tips to the comedic in the first half of the poem. He praises her sides, buttocks, and pubic area with un-erotic terms (ὦ γλουτῶν, ὦ κτενός, ὦ λαγόνων, 2), before a burst of passion (μαίνομαι!, 4) leads him to remember her erotic skills: “Oh most lascivious movements (κατατεχνοτάτου κινήματος)! Oh outstanding tonguings (γλωττισμῶν)! Oh – slay me! – her exclamations!” (5–6).

If a Hellenistic epigrammatist wanted to describe taboo or scandalous behavior, he was more inclined to reach for the recondite pun than a naked obscenity. For example, a charge of performing cunnilingus lies just beneath the surface in Crates' accusation that the Homerist Euphorion preferred the gloss-filled doggerel of Choerilus – i.e., Euphorion was a real “thigh-guy” (ὁ-μήρος) who liked to tongue “Piggie,” aka shaved female genitalia (11.218). Likewise, Philodemus constructs an astrological pun (Anticrates doesn't know if he's an Aries, a Gemini, or a Pisces) to accuse the omnisexual Anticrates of being a stud, a pathic (he goes both ways), and a cunnilinctor (11.318). Readers of Hellenistic epigrams need to be alive to suggestive metaphor and sly innuendo: a pig is rarely just a pig or a fig a fig (e.g., 16.240–41). For Hellenistic epigrammatists, obscenity – whether explicit or encoded – offered fleeting moments of transgressive jest and ribald titillation. Yet it was never a foundational attribute of the genre. Romans endowed epigram with its obscene sting.

6.3 Catullus

Early Latin literary epigram followed the example of its Hellenistic models in minimizing lexical and thematic obscenity – or at least the paltry remains of Catullus, Aedituus, Porcius and their ilk preserve no evidence to the contrary. Catullus, however, merged Hellenistic and Roman traditions to infuse epigram with the aggressive persona and obscene language of archaic iambs.² That obscenity plays a vital role in Catullus' poetics would seem undeniable (Lateiner 1977; Richlin 1992, 144–56; Skinner 1992, 2; Fitzgerald 1995, 64–86; Lorenz 2012), although this truth was often suppressed through expurgation and minimized through bowdlerization and critical slight of hand in more prudish times (Trimble 2012).

Catullus' polymetrics and elegiacs possess a similar density of lexical obscenity and evince a shared “aesthetic of obscenity” in their treatment of explicit sexual or scatological material (Lateiner 1977, 279). Many of Catullus' lexical obscenities appear in both sections of his corpus: *culus*, *futuo*, *ilia*, *irrumo*, *mentula*, *moechus*, and *pathicus*. Some of the more charged obscenities appear only in the polymetrics (*fello*, *pedico*, *pedo*, *verpa*); but a gross slang word for intercourse and one of the most emotive primary obscenities appear only in the elegiacs (*perdepso*, 74.3; *cunnus*, 97.8). Catullus will introduce a poem with a screaming obscenity (16.1, *pedicabo*), redirect a charmingly benign poem in a rude direction with an obscene neologism (*fututiones*, “fuckatations,” 32.8), degrade a scoptic target with escalating lexical and thematic obscenity (33 and 97), and affect closure with a vivid

and emotive sexual metaphor (56, 58, and 88). Unlike Philodemus' rough epigram, however, it is precisely in Catullus' filthiest images and most aggressive obscenities that his epigrams achieve their greatest stylistic elegance. Thus, dissonant "juxtaposition of obscenity (bad taste) and neat composition (good taste)" emerge an essential feature of Catullan *urbanitas* (Gowers 1993, 243). This penetration of an aesthetically refined framework by aggressive, colloquial language becomes a signature feature of later epigram.

While obscenity appears in Catullus' erotic and scoptic polymetrica, obscenity in the elegiacs degrades hated figures, who are often targeted by multiple epigrams. The incestuous Gellius "reams" his aunt (*perdepsuit*, 74.3) and threatens to irrumate his uncle (*irrumet*, 5; cf. 89). Victor's "ruptured groin" (*rupta ... / ilia*) and lips "stained with milked-semen" (80.7–8) confirm the rumor that Gellius is a fellator. Poem 88 combines and escalates these strains of invective: Gellius sleeps with sister, mother, and uncle – sexual atrocities worse than auto-fellation. The series of poems against Mentula – the same Mamurra whom Catullus reviles in several obscene polymetrica – transforms Catullus' rival into the embodiment of male sexual aggression; yet Mentula is impotent before the Muses (105) and liable to be cuckolded in the absurdist formulation of 94 (*mentula moechatur*). At the close of the series Catullus enervates the potency of Mamurra's obscene nickname by restoring *mentula* as a common noun, complete with a recherché Ennian flourish: *mentula magna minax* (115.8; cf. *Ann. fr.* 620 Skutsch).

Two of Catullus' most obscene poems are solitary attacks on that familiar scoptic target: the disgusting man with an *os impurum*, an "unclean mouth." Rotten Victus' mouth is so indiscriminate in speech (and presumably other activities) that he would "lick ass" (*culos lingere*, 98.4) or the shit-caked boots of a peasant farmer. The sustained sexual, scatological, and urinal degradation of Aemilius, whose mouth smells worse than his ass (97.1–4), includes perhaps "the most disgusting line in Latin poetry" (Fitzgerald 2013, 73):

besides, that habitual grin of his yawns as wide as a pissing mule's cunt in (the) heat (*diffissus in aestu / meientis mulae cunnus*) ... if any woman touches *him*, do we think that *she* would not lick the ass (*culum lingere*) of a diseased hang-man? (97.7–8, 11–12)

The visuals are gobsmacking; the vocabulary the coarsest imaginable. Yet the poem displays the same aesthetic deftness and formal control as Catullus' other poems. The hexameters are mostly chaste; but undercut, sabotaged, and defiled by their vulgar pentameters. The only exception is v. 9, when an obscene half-line – "this one fucks (*futuit*) many girls" – introduces the condemnation of Aemilius' (worse) *aesthetic* failure: "he pretends he's classy" (*venustum*).

Obscenity first intrudes into Catullus' collection as currently constituted in poem 6. The reader is rapidly transported away from slender volumes, chirping sparrows, and mourning cupids into a leering description of the sight, sound, and smell of Flavius' bed. But when Catullus cites Flavius' "fucked out" appearance as evidence of his nocturnal rigors (*ecfututa*, 13), the obscenity shocks precisely because the euphemistic description of sex in lines 7–12 – all perfume, wrinkled pillows, and creaking bedposts – misleads us into thinking that the poem will avoid the crude reality of sex. *Ecfututa* reveals what would normally be left unsaid, violating taboo and charging the poem with an iambic posture that lays Flavius and his anonymous *scortum* bare before the reader (Uden 2005). Catullus' first obscene coinage then echoes throughout the rest of the polymetrica – *diffutata* (29.13), *fututiones* (32.8), *confutuere* (37.5), *defututa* (41.1) – an iterative marker of the stark contrast that define his hybrid style. Catullus' obscenity, if we can resist the temptation to simply wave it away, demands that we keep a foot in earthy reality.

When *ecfututa* bursts into poem 6, obscenity intrudes between the first two erotic poems of the corpus (5 and 7). Both poems are passionate yet demure, concerned with reckoning the number of kisses between Catullus and Lesbia – and in preventing malignant onlookers from interpreting this knowledge. It was the misinterpretation of kiss-poems that provoked Catullus' most notorious obscene poem: 16. Aurelius and Furius committed the biographical fallacy, reckoning Catullus "less than a man" (13) because they read Catullus' "many thousands of kisses" (12). For this error, the pair are subjected to iambic reviling, denounced as sexual deviants (*pathice ... cinaede*, 2), and threatened with sexual violence (*pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo*, 1 and 16). Yet Catullus' command of language allows him to deploy obscene language to titillate his friends and degrade his enemies without being polluted or losing his status as a *pius poeta* (5; Fitzgerald 1995, 62–63). Catullus' ability to wield obscenity without contamination works with and against an opposite drive, in which "many of the so-called touchstones of Catullan aesthetics are used ironically to describe disgusting things"; e.g., Egantius' teeth are urine-soaked yet polished (39.20, *expolitor*), an incestuous man is *tenuis* (89.1), farts are *levis* (54.3; with Gowers 1993, 243). At the same time, Catullus repeatedly implicates censorious readers in the prurient and possibly polluting effects of obscene verse. For example, in 59 Rufa the *matrona* is also a graveyard whore who fellates Rufus (her brother?). The poem's opening mimics a common type of graffito (e.g., CIL 4.2421, *Rufa ... bene felas* or CIL 4.1427, *Salvia felat Antioc(h)um Luscu(m)*). The graveyard context, by thoroughly degrading Rufa and her johns, fabricates a maximally derogatory epitaph for the putative *matrona*. But when Catullus reminds his readers that

the sight of Rufa is familiar (*saepe quam ... vidistis*, 2–3), they are implicated in the polluted world of the epigram (cf., *CIL* 4.4008: *pedicatur qui legit*). Just so poem 16 cautions readers that they must relinquish claims to moral superiority else they too be “fucked over” by his text” (Selden 1992, 488).

Catullus’ free use of explicit obscenity makes the reader take notice of those moments in which an obscenity is suppressed, elided, or curiously absent. Silence on what Mucilla’s lovers were accustomed to do (113.1–2) or the euphemistic characterization of “big Naso going down” (112) suggest the maximum depravity of the acts. What are we to think when Catullus denounces Marrucinus Asinus working his left hand beneath the table (12)? Marrucinus was only stealing a napkin. But in poems like this Catullus plays with chaste and obscene reading, teasing the obscene but delivering the mundane (Lorenz 2012, 85–86). Conversely naked obscenity authorizes the reader to suspect that unclean behavior may lurk in chaste verse. Fontaine has suggested that the escalating obscenity of the *liber* and Catullus’ too-impassioned defense of his poetry in poem 16 retroactively signal a bilingual cacemphaton in poem 5, whose anodyne opening (*vivamus, mea Lesbia...*), if translated into Greek (ζῶμεν Λέσβια ...) and rearranged, yields Λεσβιά-ζῶεν or “let’s have fellatio” (Fontaine 2008). Obscenity might lurk in unexpected places for readers capable of bringing it to light.

The ability of biased (or informed) re-reading to generate obscene interpretations of seemingly chaste material contributes to one of the most contentious questions of Catullan interpretation: whether Catullus’ *passer* is just a *passer* or the flaccid penis of the impotent poet (poems 2–3). The question roiled Humanist readers of Catullus in the fifteenth century and has provoked a series of charges and retorts since the 1970s. But it was Martial – Catullus’ greatest and most idiosyncratic Roman reader – who “nudged Lesbia’s ambiguously chaste pet towards obscenity” as part of his consistent project to remake Catullus’ short poems into Martialian epigrams and Catullus into a Martialian epigrammatist (Hinds 2007, 115).

6.4 Martial

Of all ancient epigrammatists it is Martial whose reputation and poetics are most closely tied to obscenity – this despite the fact that there is little objectionable in the vast majority of his epigrams (Roberts 2015). Sullivan reckoned that of the 1172 epigrams in the 12 *libri* a mere 86 would cause “a Victorian amateur [to] blush to offer in a literal English translation” (Sullivan 1979, 288–89). Ker, the editor of the first Martial Loeb, put the estimate somewhat higher (one in four poems), leading him to bowdlerize many

dozens of translations and to substitute Graglia's eighteenth-century Italian translation for 44 "wholly impossible" epigrams. One of these "impossible" epigrams will suffice to give a sense of Martial's flamboyant lexical and thematic obscenity (7.67):

Philaenis the Lesbian sodomizes (*pedicat*) boys
and fiercer than a husband's rod (*tentigene*)
drills (*dolat*) eleven girls every day.
Bikini-clad she plays with the heavy ball,
gets sandy, and with a flick of the wrist
spins weights that would tax a strongman.
Filthy from the decayed wrestling floor,
she takes a pounding from an oiled trainer.
She doesn't dine or recline until
she vomits up seven pints of neat wine
which she thinks it decent to revisit
after she's gobbled up sixteen meaty clumps.
And then when it's time to indulge her lust
she doesn't give blowjobs (*fellat*) – insufficiently macho –
but simply guzzles girls' middles.
May the gods help you, Philaenis,
who think it manly to lick cunt (*cunnum lingere*).

Such epigrams are not for everyone. In the next epigram, Martial warns that his "Latin Muses" should not be recommended to the censorious father-in-law of Instantius Rufus. Yet Martial's obscenity was much more than pandering "filler" to attract eyeballs, promote a guffaw, and goose sales (Sullivan 1979, 291). It furnished a crucial tool for Martial's project to hone Latin epigram into a coherent genre with a distinguished pedigree separate from its more demure Greek predecessors. Obscenity powers Martial's reconstruction of Catullus – and to a lesser extent Ovid – into Martalian epigrammatists (Hinds 2007) and provides a means to differentiate and structure his crowded *libri*. Martial's smut, like that of Catullus, had a programmatic purpose.

Martial bears a good deal of the responsibility for his salacious reputation. If Catullus only rarely deigned to justify his statistically more obscene verse, Martial repeatedly emphasizes the obscene character of his (only sometimes) obscene epigrams. He justifies his obscenity and even condemns chaste poets who avoid obscenity and censorious readers who would rebuke him and his poetry. The seeds of Martial's defense of epigrammatic obscenity are sown in the introduction to his epigrammatic project. Martial claims he will not target individuals but society itself, a battle that requires undiluted speech (*lascivam verborum veritatem*). Through sly syllogism and an appeal to the

authority of former epigrammatists – Catullus receives pride of place – Martial stakes the claim that epigrammatic speech requires frank speech (*id est epigrammaton linguam*). But Martial presses further: those who object to obscenity are but prudes who would prefer “that Latin cannot be spoken on any page.” Here and elsewhere, Martial appropriates for his poetry the protections and power of ritual obscenity (cf. mime, 8 *praef.*; the triumph 7.8; the Saturnalia, 11.2, 11.15). Martial’s frank speech therefore carries no risk of staining his character or that of his reader. A few epigrams into Book 1, Martial reiterates this point, reminding Domitian of the absolute division between poetry and character: his “text may be salacious but his life is virtuous” (*lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba*, 1.4.8). If epigrammatic obscenity does not pollute, even a censorious emperor can permit a little “harmless fun” (1.4.7).

Having gone to considerable lengths to justify his obscenity and to prepare the reader for its onslaught, Martial nevertheless deploys it strategically – the first 33 poems of Book 1 are chaste. Postponing obscenity is not in itself unusual for Martial: explicit obscenity appears on average around the twentieth poem of his *libri* and only two books contain explicit obscenity within their first ten poems: Book 11 – a Saturnalian celebration following Domitian’s death in which more than four in every ten poems contains a lexical obscenity or an obscene theme – and the idiosyncratic Book 9, where poems of shocking obscenity (9.2, 9.4) alternate with lavish praise of Domitian. Martial finally unleashes an obscenity at the end of 1.34, a poem addressed to Lesbia that is deeply implicated in Martial’s refashioning of Catullus as his prototypical epigrammatist. Martial’s Lesbia is an exhibitionist, who gets her kicks by misbehaving in full view of the public without even a prostitute’s professional discretion. The poem ends by juxtaposing Lesbia’s name with the book’s first obscenity: a suitably Catullan *futui* (10). *Futuo* is Martial’s most frequent obscenity, appearing 49 times (61 if one includes related nouns).³ Yet the introduction of what Martial has claimed as a natural feature of epigram leads to yet another self-reflective (and obscene) defense of obscene epigram. A pedantic critic named Cornelius – a name perhaps chosen to recall Catullus’ dedicatee – has complained that Martial’s poems are *parum severos* (1.35.1) and unsuitable for the classroom. Martial casts his defense in sexual terms: his *libelli* “cannot please without the prick” (*mentula*, 5), just like a husband would be unable to please his wife without a *mentula* (4). What Catullus claimed as personal license, Martial converts into an iron law for successful epigram:

this law (*lex haec*) has been laid down for joking verses: they cannot please unless they excite their audience sexually (*nisi pruriant*). (1.35.10–11; cf. Catull. 16.8–9)

Martial concludes his *apologia* with a plea for the prudish reader to spare his poetry from castration (*nec castrare velis meos libellos*, 14), since “there is nothing more shameful than a Priapus who has been turned into a castrated priest” (15). For Martial, the *mentula* is not only a metaphor for the obscene language that spices up his verse: he figures his poetry as a phallus with all that organ’s aggressive, sexual, and apotropaic power (Williams 2002). Still, obscenity is absent from the next epigram, a tale of noble brothers (although there is an unseemly backstory of financial chicanery). It is only in 1.37 that obscenity, again the final word of the poem, appears without apology: Bassa shifts in a golden chamber pot (*cacas*, 2), an apt metaphor for obscene epigram’s mingling of the pure and the unclean, the beautiful and ugly, the valuable and the worthless. Hereafter Martial makes no further defense of obscenity in the book. He only boasts that “this book is mine” (*meus est ... libellus*, 1.38.2), the same claim he would reiterate ten years later near the joyous beginning of his obscenity-laden Book 11 (*iste liber meus est*, 11.2.8).

Martial published his first book of epigrams the year after public-morality-minded Domitian assumed the censorship *in perpetuum*. It is no surprise, then, that Martial often exploits obscenity in traditional criticisms of deviancy. Even so there were limits. He avoids frank speech in books 5 and 8, both dedicated to Domitian. Men, who “delight in bolder naughtiness and naked wit,” are instructed to read one of his “four wanton books” (*lascivos ... quattuor libellos*, 5.2.3–5), while Domitian can read Book 5 “without a blush” (7–8). The absence of naked obscenity, however, does not mean Martial avoids salacious themes or imagery. Prostitutes and pathics are mocked. Obscene situations are suggested by their rejections: slutty girls from Cadiz give lap dances to guests (5.78.26–28); there are Greek puns (a eunuch named Didymus, aka “Mr. Testicles,” 5.41). But these typical themes are not described with typical frankness.

If Martial teases with a purpose in Book 1, Book 3 demonstrates how the deployment and withholding of obscenity play a crucial role in Martial’s poetic strategy (Mulligan 2014). Without warning, explicit obscenity is absent. Only two-thirds of the way through the book does Martial reveal that the omission has been an intentional tactic when he declares that he will no longer write chaste poems for *matronae* but obscene verse for his own amusement (*mihi*, 3.68.2). As Richlin observes, such “poems and warnings addressed to *matronae* serve as teasing come-ons for the chaste” that focus our attention “on the border between chaste and unchaste thoughts and behavior” (1992, 11–12). Martial thus reclaims his license for ribald speech, which he has asserted is the epigrammatist’s prerogative – and indeed obligation. Yet Martial continues to tease. He refrains from sexual obscenity in this poem, referring to the phallus with three elaborate periphrases for Priapus

(3.68.8–10). Only in the next poem does obscenity – and the *mentula* – appear in a veiled criticism of chaste epigrams. In the guise of praising Cosconius – “there is no cock (*mentula*) in your poems” (3.69.2) – Martial implicitly condemns him as a dull, unpopular writer, while Martial’s obscene epigrams are read throughout Rome (5–6, 8). Obscenity then bursts forth in the first line of 3.71 (*mentula* ... *culus*) before the bravura denunciation of Saufeia in 3.72, in which nearly every line contains a vulgarity or obscenity. The *mentula* that Martial has promised to reintroduce into his poetry provides a symbol for the whole range of explicit obscenity and frank speech that Martial claims is an essential aspect of legitimate Latin epigram (Hallett 1996, 323–26).

6.5 Later Greek and Latin Epigram

The most enduring subgenre of obscene epigram was the *Priapea*: short poems about or in the voice of the titular, ithyphallic god (Richlin 1992, 116–27). Most Hellenistic *Priapea* are pious, although a few do mention, euphemistically, Priapus’ engorged phallus (e.g., 16.236). Later Greek *Priapea* often depict Priapus as a rustic watchman, whose boorish threats to pedicate thieves are typically euphemistic (e.g., 16.240–41): the only naked obscenity occurs when Priapus laments that his endowment falls short of Cimon’s πείος (“cock”, 11.224). Of quite different tone are the roughly 100 Latin *Priapea*, of which 80 appear in a single (perhaps authorial) collection dating to the first century CE: the *Carmina Priapea* (see O’Connor in this volume). Nearly half of these poems contain lexical obscenities or vivid threats of pedication; less than a dozen lack obscenity. Like Martial, the author(s) of the *Carmina Priapea* warns the reader of his impending obscenity (*Priap.* 1, 2) and justifies his frank speech by appeal to the behavior of his earthy yet divine subject:

Priapus, let me die if I am not appalled
to use indecent words that may *obscene* be called.
But, if you, shameless god, your *testicles* display,
then *prick* along with *cunt* I well may say. (*Priap.* 29, trans. Parker)

The god too rejects euphemism (*Priap.* 3), but justifies his aggressive obscenity on the grounds of his rustic rudeness. If Martial wants his reader to believe that reality and tradition compel his obscenity, the rustic Muse of the *Carmina Priapea* claims ignorance about the distinction between chaste and obscene speech. When Priapus first speaks, he rejects euphemism and

innuendo as alien to “speaking good Latin” (*Latine / dicere, Priap.* 3.9–10). Yet he does so in a recondite poem rife with allusion and mythological reference. Again we see an author’s systematic effort to fuse crude language with the stylistic and aesthetic refinement of elite Roman Hellenism.

Imperial Greek epigram admits obscenity with somewhat greater frequency than its Hellenistic predecessors. Yet the number of obscene poems remains small and even bawdier authors like Lucilius, Nicarchus, and Strato prefer euphemism and metaphor to lexical obscenity. Even the comparatively indecorous Books 11 and 12 of the *Greek Anthology* contain a mere 19 lexical obscenities. For most authors, the *Anthology* preserves but a single obscene epigram, although this certainly understates their obscenity, as they are invariably naughtier on papyrus (e.g., *P.Oxy.* 4502; Nisbet 2003, 82). Nicarchus, however, stands apart for the extent, diversity, and intensity of his lexical and metaphorical obscenity. His obscene coinages recall the flamboyant neologisms in Catullus’ polymetrics (e.g., ξενοκυσθαπάτη, “dalliance with strange cunt,” 11.7.4). Nicarchus alone writes the gross obscenity πορδή (“fart”) – and that four times in a travesty of philosophical reasoning that sees fart crowned king (11.395). The same louche spirit animates Nicarchus’ obscene solution to the Sphinx’s riddle (ἀ[νὴρ] παθικός, “a catamite”, *P.Oxy.* 4502.30–37; cf. Strato’s riddle of the all-male threesome in 11.225). Three of Nicarchus’ epigrams assail their targets in obscene terms for having mouths that are indistinguishable from their posteriors: e.g., Theodorus ought to label which is which for when he speaks he seems to fart (βδέιν, 11.241.4; cf. 11.242, 11.415). Nicarchus can also deftly lob a culminating obscenity to clarify a (barely) ambiguous metaphor, as when he praises a drunken old sex-fiend who “clings, scratches ... and enjoys anal” (παθικεύεται, 11.73.7; cf. 5.38).

Later Greek epigrammatists will on occasion employ obscenity to invigorate a closural twist, as when Antiphanes degrades the *carpe diem* topos by reminding his reader that in old age “you would pay 10 *minae* for a hard-on” (στύσεις, 10.100.6). But more common is the early introduction of a lexical obscenity to establish an epigram’s animating tension. When Cillactor launches his obscene denunciation of prostitution by declaring “fucking is sweet” (Ἄδὺ τὸ βινεῖν ἐστὶ, 5.29.1), he reanimates a gnomic topos (e.g., 5.170, “nothing is sweeter than love”; cf. Strato 12.2.5). Strato, a Hadrianic author best known for his pederastic epigrams, uses this same strategy to great effect in the three of his poems that contain lexical obscenities. In 12.240, a primary obscenity (πέος, “cock”) enables an aged Strato to contrast his priapic lust for pederasty with his senile inability to act on that desire. An obscene contrast underpins Strato’s praise of pederasty in 12.245: while “every brute animal fucks” (βινεῖ), only rational men have

freed themselves from subservience to women through pederasty (πυγίζειν, 3). With pederasty elevated to the defining feature of rational humanity, it need not be concealed in metaphor or periphrasis. Strato affects a similar move in 12.6, when he observes that “asshole and gold” (πρωκτὸς καὶ χρυσὸς) have the same numerical value. The shocking initial obscenity and its unexpected association with the purest metal generates the humor, which is reinforced by the pompous description of the mundane act of counting in the poem’s conclusion (cf. Bassa’s golden chamber pot, Mart. 1.37).

Euphemistic epigrams can be quite baroque, with lofty language degraded through contact with innuendo and slang. In 5.105 Menophila is famed among sluts (μαχλάσι) because “her heaven can hold within it both the Dog and the Twins” (i.e., her mouth can accommodate both penis and testicles). Nicarchus warns Demonax, who “lives in Phoenicia and is thigh-nourished although not born from Semele,” not to indulge his tongue since “the pig has terrible thorns” – i.e. the pudendum is unshaved (11.329). Rufinus edges close to the pornographic in two parodies of the Judgment of Paris. In keeping with the lesser claims of epigram, Rufinus judges their “rumps” (πυγὰς, 5.35.1) and determines which possessed the “best pussy” (κρείσσονα μηρίονην, 5.36.2). Each poem opens with marginal lexical obscenities that introduce a series of leering descriptions: “the treasure between Rhodope’s thighs gleamed like a rose bush cleft by a gentle zephyr; Rhodoclea’s was like glass, its wet surface like a temple statue newly carved” (5.36.5–8, trans. Tueller). Several epigrams tackle the lewd spectacle of the so-called *triporneia*, in which a woman is penetrated by three men simultaneously (Richlin 1992, 130–32). When the ironically named Tudicius Gallus has Lyde advertise her capacities while servicing three men (5.49), the poem plays on the epigrammatic convention of the poem giving voice to what must otherwise be silent, since irrumated Lyde cannot speak. Nicarchus provides the most intricate epigrammatic realization of the *triporneia*, with a 12-line description of how he and two friends divided up an old woman named Aristodike. A sustained travesty of the division of the cosmos in Hom. *Il.* 15.187–93, the epigram’s “high stakes and no-nonsense tone ... make Nikarkhos’ smutty and irreverent pastiche doubly audacious” (Nisbet 2003, 84).

If Martial dreamed of redefining Latin epigram in his image, his triumph would have to wait. Latin epigram in late antiquity treads more closely to the genre-blurring tradition of Latin nugatory poetry and Hellenistic epigram than the iambic verve of Martalian (or Nicarchan) obscenity, even as Christianity transformed attitudes towards sex and sexuality as well as literary and ritual obscenity (Shanzer 2006, 179). Claudian (c. 370–404 CE) pens a solitary obscene epigram in which he wonders why Curetius “licks cunt” (*cunnum lambere*, *Carm. min.* 44.8), a poem closely modeled on Martial’s

attack on the fellator Gaurus (2.89). Like Claudian, the anonymous author of the Vandal epigrammatic *liber* (AL 78–188 SB) deploys a single obscenity in a lampoon of a good lawyer who has sex with his mare (*asiduo pene futuror*, 137.8). But obscenity plays no systematic role in his collection. Ennodius (c. 474–521 CE) inveighs against the usual suspects – old women and homosexuals – and his squib about Boethius’ floppy “sword” is justly famous (339 Vogel). But innuendo does the heavy lifting here, not obscenity.

Ausonius (c. 310–c. 395 CE) invites comparisons with Martial by apologizing for the trivial nature of his epigrams in language that alludes to Martial’s defense of epigrammatic obscenity (*Epigr.* 1). Yet Ausonius’ obscenity is transient and ornamental, an homage to a past master, not an integral component of his epigrammatic practice. When Ausonius attacked Eunus the Syrian for practicing cunnilingus, his six-epigram series contains a single lexical obscenity and that as part of a Greek pun on “cunt and costs” (*dum κύσθον κόστονque putas*, 82.5). *Epigr.* 74 ridicules Castor as a *fellator* (3) whose inability to bed men drives him to perform cunnilingus on his wife. *Epigr.* 75 vividly describes the “obscene love” (2) of an elaborate *triporneia* that scarcely satisfies the lust of Crispa, who *deglubit, fellat, molitur* in every orifice (7). This epigram, which may have been a *titulus* for a shockingly explicit painting, mingles primary obscenity and mythological travesty.

Very different are the scurrilous epigrams of the Vandal epigrammatist Luxorius (see Wasyl in this volume). Sprinkled among his ecphrases and epideictic epigrams, we find a stable of Martilian characters: a sex-crazed, virginal crone (AL 296 SB), a gout-ridden man who imagines himself a legend with big-bottomed women (*clune puellas*, AL 303.1 SB), a profligate catamite and a man who prostitutes his own wife (AL 316–17 SB), and Follonia, who urinates as she drinks (AL 358 SB; the language is chaste, the visual graphically Catullan). In glyconics he reviles a lawyer who loses cases because “you do not wish anything good to be entrusted to your mouth instead of your ass” (*podici*, AL 290.11 SB). A sexually reserved hermaphroditic girl is condemned because she fails to “offer a cunt” (*cunnum*, AL 312.5 SB). He pleads with Lucinus – a drunken, impotent, adulterer – that he “might not fuck anymore” (*ne futuas ... numquam ut futuas*, AL 292.5–7 SB). Luxorius declared his intention to “play with an easy morality” (AL 282.23 SB) in a Martilian mode. Mission accomplished.

It is Maximianus (ca. sixth century CE) who sings our valediction. His fifth elegy recounts a lovers’ spat between the impotent narrator and his lover, a vivacious Constantinopolitan prostitute. Despite the explicit subject matter, the wizened narrator studiously avoids obscenity even when discussing his failure to perform. But in the elegy’s central panel, the prostitute opens her lament by repeatedly addressing the narrator’s *mentula* (5.87), a stunning

violation of elegiac decorum by a character the genre often relegates to silence. Just as Catullus' *ecfutata* ruptured the decorum of his nugatory *liber*, the embedded priapic exhortation by Maximianus' unchaste interlocutor has spoken what would be left in silence. But Maximianus was a last flicker. The barbed tongue of obscene Latin epigram would hold its silence until its rollicking reanimation by Pontano, Panormita, and the other lascivious Humanist epigrammatists (Gaisser 2007).

NOTES

1. Citations for Greek epigrams refer to the *Greek Anthology*, unless otherwise stated.
2. The fragments of Catullus' contemporary, Calvus, display a similar openness to obscenity: e.g., calling Nicomedes the *pedicator Caesaris* (FLP C. Licinius Calvus 17) and reviling Pompey as a pathic (18).
3. Other notable obscenities in Martial: *moechus* (29 times), *cunnus* (29) *cinaedus* (22), *pedicare* (18), *culus* (17), *fello* and *fellator* (15), *caco* (6), *verpa/us* (6; 4 in a single poem), *irrumo* (5), and *mingo/meio* (4).

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CHAPTER SEVEN

The Meters of Epigram: Elegy and Its Rivals

Llewelyn Morgan

7.1 Beginnings

The default meter of ancient epigram, at least from the fifth century BCE (Cameron 1993, 1, and cf. Day in this volume), was the elegiac couplet, a form quintessentially suited to the core epigrammatic demand for brevity: unlike stichic (continuous) hexameters, elegiacs are always threatening to bring the poetic composition to an abrupt halt (Heinze 1919, 75–76; Fantuzzi 2002, 94–96). A more obvious contributory factor was the dominance that elegiacs had achieved in inscriptional epitaphs and dedications: until about the middle of the sixth century BCE, as West (1974, 2 and 19) explains, the preferred meter had been hexameters, after which iambic trimeters and elegiacs started to appear, with the latter before long becoming the standard form. This preference for elegiacs is in turn no doubt partly explained by what has recently been argued was a longstanding association of the meter with threnody (Aloni 2001; Yatromanolakis 2001).

7.2 Elegiacs and Alternatives

At any rate, in the heyday of Greek epigram the preference for elegiacs was overwhelming. Meleager's *Garland* of about 100 BCE was almost exclusively elegiac, and thereby both reflected a perception of the metrical

proprieties of the genre and made its own contribution to enforcing the convention. Representatively, Cameron (1993, 14) cites Meleager's selection from the oeuvre of Alcaeus of Messene, whose invectives in elegiacs appear, but not those in iambics. An important source of epigrams in unusual meters (mostly from the third century BCE) is Book 13 of the *Anthologia Palatina*, which contains 31 epigrams with lemmata identifying the meter, but these probably found their way into Cephalas' compilation (the forerunner of *Anthologia Palatina*) from a metrical treatise of some kind (Cameron 1993, 14, 137–45). Nevertheless, “up till and including the third century BCE a variety of other (often mixed) meters were occasionally employed both for the literary and the inscriptional epigram, sometimes to accommodate intractable proper names (as occasionally in the archaic period), more often simply for the sake of virtuosity” (Cameron 1993, 13). On the strains placed upon metrical form by the accommodation of names, see Page (1981, 19) and Courtney (1995, 23).

The only alternative to elegiacs found in remotely significant numbers in the Hellenistic epigram anthologies is the iambic trimeter: in the *Garland of Meleager* (c. 100 BCE) that amounts to seven poems, and in the *Garland of Philip* (first century CE) twenty-three. A much larger proportion of Palladas' fourth-century collection is in iambics, but thereafter, as Cameron (1970, 121) shows, iambics disappear, and though the pre-eminence of elegiacs is indeed threatened in the late empire, the threat comes from stichic hexameters. If Meleager's practice implies a view of the form an epigram should properly take, we may be justified in seeking reasons over and above sheer variety or display for the choice of iambics. A possible example of purposive choice is GP Leonidas 79 (Stob. *Flor.* 4.52.28), which versifies a saying of Bion of Borysthenes, a popular philosopher known for his demotic style, and does so in iambics, a humbler metrical form that Aristotle famously described as “the most speakable of the meters” (μάλιστα ... λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων, Arist. *Poet.* 1449a.24–25; cf. *Rh.* 1408b.33–34, ὁ δ' ἱαμβὸς αὐτῇ ἐστὶν ἢ λέξις ἢ τῶν πολλῶν, “the iambic is the speech of the many”). But clearer evidence that iambics were perceived to possess a different ethos from elegiacs is provided by examples of metrical synkrisis, poems on the same topic but in different meters – and different styles, as if meter dictated the character of poetry it contained. The elegiac AP 7.353 of Antipater of Sidon is a paraphrase of Leonidas of Tarentum (AP 7.455), in iambic trimeters, and might easily be read as an exercise in “correcting” the anomalous form of the original epigram: Leonidas was both comparatively free in his use of iambics, and something of a chronicler of the common man (Gow and Page 1965, vol. 1, xxxviii n. 1; see Klooster in this volume).

Τῆς πολίης τόδε σῆμα Μαρωνίδος, ἥς ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
 γλυπτὴν ἐκ πέτρης αὐτὸς ὄρᾳς κύλικα.
 ἡ δὲ φιλάκρητος καὶ ἀειλαλος οὐκ ἐπὶ τέκνοις
 μύρεται, οὐ τεκέων ἀκτεάνῳ πατέρι·
 ἐν δὲ τόδ' αἰάζει καὶ ὑπ' ἡρίον, ὅττι τὸ Βάκχου 5
 ἄρμενον οὐ βάκχου πλήρες ἔπεστι τάφῳ.

This is the grave of grey-haired Maronis, on whose tomb
 you see for yourself a drinking cup carved from stone.
 Lover of wine unmixed, never silent, it is not for her children
 she mourns, nor for the destitute father of her children:
 This alone she bewails even in the grave, that the Winegod's
 vessel on her tomb is not full of wine.

Μαρωνίς ἡ φίλοινος, ἡ πίθων σποδός,
 ἐνταῦθα κεῖται γρήϋς, ἥς ὑπὲρ τάφου
 γνωστὸν πρόκειται πᾶσιν Ἀττικὴ κύλιξ.
 στένει δὲ καὶ γὰς νέρθεν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τέκνων,
 οὐδ' ἄνδρός, οὓς λέλοιπεν ἐνδεεῖς βίου· 5
 ἐν δ' ἀντὶ πάντων, οὐνεχ' ἡ κύλιξ κενή.

Old Maronis, the wine lover, drainer of winejars,
 Lies here, and over her grave is set
 an Athenian wine cup, recognizable to all.
 Even under the earth she groans, not for her children,
 nor for her husband, though she has left them destitute.
 All she grieves is that the cup is empty.

Elegiacs, as Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004, 34) explain, were “differentiated from iambs by a greater elevation of form, guaranteed above all by the hexameter’s association with the epic.” (In turn the pentameter that followed every elegiac hexameter established a clear separation between elegy and epic.) Certainly Antipater’s elegiac poem seems to go out of its way to raise the register of Leonidas’ epitaph for the old soak Maronis, in word choice and in complexity of thought. Antipater substitutes the poetic τεκέων for Leonidas’ τέκνων, τὸ Βάκχου ἄρμενον (“unusual in the sing.,” Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 57) for the *kylīx*, σῆμα and τύμβος where Leonidas had the plain τάφος, the rare ἀκτεάνος for ἐνδεής βίου, and so on. The punchline represented by Maronis’ single regret, that she has nothing to drink, is probably more effective as well as more succinct in the iambs, ἡ κύλιξ κενή, but it is transformed into a much more elaborate conceit in the elegiacs. Overall the iambs approximate, in diction and word order, to everyday speech, while

the elegiacs self-consciously strive for an artificial, poetic status. We will encounter similar exercises in metrical definition, although generally matching elegiacs against hendecasyllables, in Latin epigram.

Another example of “meaningful” trimeters, identified by Gow and Page (1965, vol. 2, 532) is *AP* 7.405 of Philip, an epitaph for the iambographer Hipponax in a meter he favored, although it is worth adding that when Alcaeus and Leonidas tackle the same topos (*AP* 7.536 and 7.408), they do so in elegiacs. Philip’s poem references the metrical length most associated with Hipponax at line 6 by describing him as σκάζουσι μέτροις ὀρθὰ τοξεύσας ἔπη, “he who shot straight words in limping meter.” The scazon, choliambic or limping iambic was a variation on the iambic trimeter which substituted a spondee for the final iamb, and was thus felt to limp; Hipponax was considered its inventor. *AP* 13.3, ascribed to Theocritus (= Theoc. *Epigr.* 19 and 21), appropriately adopts the scazon for Hipponax, while 7.664 on Archilochus, the pioneer of iambic poetry, uses a three-line stanza consisting of an archilochian followed by an iambic trimeter and a catalectic iambic trimeter (a truncated trimeter): this combination, while otherwise unattested, has the look of a system that Archilochus himself might well have used. *AP* 7.345, attributed to Aeschylus, is an intriguing example of the possibilities and pitfalls of reading significance into metrical choice, an “epitaph” of Philaenis in her own voice disputing her authorship of a famous sex manual. The poem is again in scazons, and Gow and Page (1965, vol. 2, 3–4) are sufficiently alert to the choice of meter to wonder whether they amount to a hint that the poem is less a defense of Philaenis than an attack on Polycrates of Athens, to whom the poem attributes the real authorship of the obscene literature. Another approach might be to wonder whether a voice speaking in the disreputable form of the limping iambic, misshapen to embody the moral dubiousness of the iambic persona as well as iambus’s targets (West 1974, 30; Morgan 2010, 117, 125–26), cannot but undermine the respectability of the voice it carries. How innocent is the highly conventional metaphor of sleep for death, κεκοιμήμαι (line 2), in Philaenis’ voice, as the line limps to its conclusion?

An arresting example of exotic meter in an inscribed epigram is *AP* 13.28 by Antigenes, probably from the early fifth century and originally on a commemorative tripod (*FGE* 11). The meter is most unusual, a greater archilochian line followed by anceps-cretic-anceps+alcaic decasyllable (the last line of an alcaic stanza), and Page persuasively reads it as making a virtue of a necessity, accommodating a series of names but also in the process creating a meter appropriate to the commemoration of a victory in a dithyrambic competition: the poem’s language and dialect are similarly “in the style of the Dithyramb.”

7.3 Elegiacs, the Default Norm

Turning at length to the most popular meter for epigram, elegiacs, the hexameter which begins every elegiac couplet is in general rather more strictly handled than in stichic hexameters: for example, *spondeiazontes*, lines with a spondee in the fifth foot, are rare, as are lines without a caesura in the third foot (West 1982, 157). Within that larger tradition of elegiac poetry, epigrammatic elegiacs have their own character, and the elegiac style of Greek epigram is succinctly and accessibly described by Magnelli (2007, 179–83), and by Sens (2011, lxxx–xc) and Fantuzzi (2002) in the process of characterizing the metrical practice of more narrowly defined parts of the genre; Gow and Page (1965, vol. 1, xxxvii–xliv) have a detailed account of the Garlands of Philip and Meleager. In very general terms, the hexameters and elegiacs of Greek epigram betray the influence of Callimachus, and the high refinement he brought to versification. Modern accounts habitually cite the various “laws” that define Callimachus’ preferences (named after the scholars that identified them, thus, for example, Meyer’s First, Second, and Third Laws, formulated by Wilhelm Meyer), and plot epigrammatic practice in relation to them. There is no scope for that here, but the important point is that, while the epigrammatists fall short of Callimachus’ “rigor” – and these “laws” were anyway less laws than “principi ‘construttivi’ dettati dalla sensibilità euritmica” (Fantuzzi 2002, 84) – epigrammatic hexameters were composed in line with a Hellenistic commitment to regularizing the cola into which the verse has always tended to resolve itself, and thus maximizing the harmony of the line: to illustrate the restrictions this brought to the form, West (1982, 197) handily offers the first line of the *Iliad* as a mnemonic for Meyer’s three laws, since in μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος “ἄειδε breaks the first, θεὰ the second, and Πηληϊάδεω the third.” Similarly, while Homer allowed his verse to adopt all 32 possible permutations of the line, Callimachus restricted himself to 20, and in his epigrams to 10, of which 5 schemes account for 90 percent of his output (Fantuzzi 2002, 79–80). Asclepiades employs 13, Leonidas 15, the Posidippus poems known before *P.Mil.Vogl.* 13, and the *P.Mil.Vogl.* poems 14, all strongly favoring their five most prominent schemes, although Leonidas, already noted as metrically adventurous, is in this respect also a slight outlier (Hopkinson 1988, 245; Fantuzzi 2002, 81). An easily appreciated effect of Hellenistic refinement is the more dactylic quality of the hexameter, in the prevalence of dactylic feet, the restriction of spondees to certain feet, and the rarity of three consecutive spondees.

Features of epigrammatic style can be genre-defining. Sens (2011, lxxx–lxxxi) highlights the greater prevalence of one prosodical feature, Attic correption (where a combination of a mute and a liquid consonant *fails* to lengthen a

preceding short syllable), in epigram than in contemporary elegy, a seemingly deliberate contradiction of general Hellenistic poetic practice, and a colloquial touch (Fantuzzi 2002, 94). The general strictness of versification naturally makes irregularities stand out the more, and a license such as Callimachus' at *Epigr.* 41.1 Pf. (*AP* 12.73.1), where there is elision between hexameter and pentameter, is clearly designed to match the high emotion of the passage.

Magnelli (2007, 181–83) also develops an important diachronic perspective. The respect of epigrammatists for Callimachus' "fastidious" rules of composition varies over time, with stricter versification in the second century BCE than the third, but then with Meleager at the end of the second century a metrical style that is in some respects strikingly loose, to the point of violating Hermann's Bridge (the avoidance of word break after a trochee in the fourth foot), the most hard-and-fast convention of the Greek hexameter, from Homer onwards. Yet in matters of prosody (his avoidance of elision, for example, or his favoring of naturally long syllables before the caesura of the pentameter) Meleager is extremely strict. This pattern, Magnelli suggests, persists into later Greek epigram, and may reflect, not carelessness or a lack of expertise, but a changing conception of what constituted metrical refinement.

Of the second element of the elegiac couplet, the misnamed dactylic pentameter, which as West (1982, 44 n. 41) says, "does not contain five of anything," less needs to be said as usage is quite consistent: Sens (2011, lxxxviii–lxxxix) has a useful account of Asclepiades' practice in the context of the wider tradition. A strong convention of the form, in Greek and Latin, is that, while the two dactyls of the first half of the line may either or both be contracted into spondees, those in the second half of the line must remain dactyls. Another convention is that the pentameter is a parasitic form, only properly to be found attached to the hexameter in an elegiac couplet. The poem that opens Book 13 of *Anthologia Palatina*, a book, as we discovered earlier, devoted to metrical peculiarities, challenges both those conventions (Magnelli 2007, 179):

Χαῖρε, θεὰ Παφίη· σὴν γὰρ αἰεὶ δύναιμι
 κάλλος τ' ἀθάνατον καὶ σέβας ἱμερόεν
 πάντες τιμῶσιν θνατοὶ ἐφαμέριοι
 ἐν πᾶσιν μύθοις ἔργοισιν τε καλοῖς·
 πάντῃ γὰρ πᾶσιν σὴν δηλοῖς τιμὴν. 5

Hail, goddess of Paphos! For your power
 and immortal beauty and lovely majesty
 all short-lived mortals honor without cease
 by all fine words and deeds:
 for everywhere and to all you manifest your dignity.

This hymn to Aphrodite is composed of five pentameters, itself a highly anomalous form. As the poem proceeds, the lines display progressive contraction, starting with the first half of the line and then, from line 4, with the second half where, as just noted, contraction was avoided. The last line thus consists entirely of long syllables. It is a pleasingly mischievous exercise from a technical point of view, the license of composing in stichic pentameters compounded, after a satisfyingly conventional pause from lines 1–3, by the unconscionable contractions of the dactyls in the second hemistich. But we are left with something of a disconnect between what is quite a formal hymn to the goddess and the metrical virtuosity of its vehicle. Do we need to find any further rationale for the metrical trope? Perhaps the metrical license might support the poem's portrait of a goddess whose influence is universally felt in human life – ἀεί, πάντες, πᾶσιν, πάντῃ, πᾶσιν – the Paphian goddess overwhelming metrical convention as comprehensively as she does mortal hearts. Or is the metrical play its own justification?

7.4 Rome

In Latin epigram too elegiacs represent the dominant form: Aulus Gellius (*NA* 19.9.10–14) suggests a thriving culture of literary elegiac epigrams in Latin based on Hellenistic models some time before Catullus (Courtney 1993, 70). But if we can treat the career of Martial as the heyday of Roman epigram, its metrical culture was significantly more diverse than the Greek. The reason might be stated as the influence of Catullus, but the comparative breadth of meters employed in Latin epigram also reflects the broader concerns of the form compared to Hellenistic epigram, and the prominence within Latin epigram of iambo-satirical and political themes. Citroni (1996) is a stimulating survey of the whole history of Latin epigram, including a number of observations on its meter.

In Rome the credit for the introduction of the elegiac couplet, as for that of the dactylic hexameter, at least if we are to believe Isidore (*Etym.* 1.39.15), lay with Q. Ennius. The pre-existing meter of public commemoration was the saturnian, still today a topic of debate among metricians (Mercado 2012, 40–53). The transition from saturnians to elegiacs can be illustrated by the epitaphs in the Tomb of the Scipios, where five metrical epitaphs dating between about 240 BCE and 130 BCE are all in saturnians bar the last. Following the necessarily speculative but generally accepted identifications of Coarelli (1972, 82–97), between those of L. Scipio and P. Scipio (ca. 180–70 and 180–65 BCE, respectively), in saturnians, and that of Cn. Scipio Hispanus (ca. 130 BCE) in elegiacs, elite commemoration has adopted Greek

form. Numerous examples of pre-Ennian epigrams in saturnians survive (Courtney 1995, 1A–1B); evidence of saturnian composition later is slim but intriguing: the courteous epitaph of Marcus Caecilius on the Appian Way (*CLE* 11 = *CIL* 1².1202 = 6.13696, cf. 34072 = *ILS* 8121 = *ILLRP* 970) probably falls into the transitional phase of 175–35 BCE (Courtney 1995, 214), and if so may have combined a Greek-style address to the passer-by with saturnians capable in their day of reinforcing an impression of old-fashioned dignity:

Hoc est factum monumentum Maarco Caicilio.
 Hospes, gratum est quom apud meas restitistei seedes.
 Bene rem geras et valeas, dormias sine qura.

This is the memorial that was made for Marcus Caecilius.
 Thank you, stranger, for stopping at my resting place.
 May you have success and health. May you sleep without care.

In the case of the epitaph for Cn. Naevius preserved at Gellius *NA* 1.24, we are clearly dealing with a literary revival of the form appropriate to the author of a saturnian epic on the First Punic War, but the meter lends further piquancy to the concluding assertion that with Naevius' death, "They forgot at Rome how to speak Latin" (*obliti sunt Romae loquier lingua Latina*), the metrical vehicle also suggesting a native medium of expression now lost.

In Latin, as in Greek, the elegiac couplet went through a process of refinement, eventuating, in the case of elegiacs as also in hendecasyllables, in a less flexible metrical style that is felt by some to verge on the monotonous. In his account of the Latin elegiac couplet Raven (1965, 103–9) talks of Catullus' "uncouth" pentameters, which show no advance on those of Ennius or the early epigrammatists, and at the other extreme of the "depressing rigidity" (Raven's uncharitable formulation again) of Ovid's practice at the close of the pentameter. In actual fact the examples of Catullan roughness that Raven cites are, while unthinkable in later, Augustan (or Flavian) verse, clearly designed to be expressive: Catullus 73.6, *quam modo qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit* ("than he who considered me his one and only friend") uses a slew of elisions to express hurt and outrage at a friend's betrayal; while 77.4, an elision across the generally inviolable central caesura of the pentameter, again seems to represent through the curtailment of *eripuisti* the theft that Catullus had sustained at the hands of his faithless friend. It is worth adding that the more restrictive the practice of versification, the more significance attaches to violations, and that observation certainly applies to later elegiacs and hendecasyllables.

A general tendency in the history of Latin elegiacs was to reinforce the “natural” autonomy of the elegiac couplet: in Catullus one still finds close semantic coordination between couplets, as at 65.10–11 (though this is not an epigram). In Ovid, also not an epigrammatist but the major influence on Latin elegiacs, enjambment between couplets is extremely rare, and at the same time the pentameter ends almost invariably with a disyllabic word, and a disyllabic word Ovid does his best to make “colorless,” as Kenney puts it (Kenney and Clausen 1982, 455). “The effect, by throwing the verbal interest back into the body of the verse, is to make each couplet even more autonomous than its metrical nature already dictates.” But as we have anticipated, the stricter the metrical convention, the more impact attaches to a departure from it. Martial’s pentameters follow Ovid’s closely, but do fairly regularly depart from the disyllabic rule: the variety of endings that Martial allows himself, as Watson and Watson say, “gives his couplets a stronger ending than those of Augustan verse,” that is, fulfill the characteristically epigrammatic need of giving point to a punchline (Watson and Watson 2003, 27). Mart. 2.81, for example, is an attack on Zoilus, a jumped-up former slave who features in a cycle of epigrams. No matter how impressive Zoilus’ litter, since it belongs to Zoilus, it is never better than a *sandapila*, a poor man’s bier: the couplet ends with the point, *sandapila est*, and those two words are combined into a single four-syllable sound unit, *sandapilast*. Another violation of normal practice is the “isocolic” pentameter, “its two halves being identical in both meter and word shape” (Williams 2004, 49). This was apparently experienced as a facile jingle, and avoided. But in a text like Martial 2.7, where it is precisely the superficiality of Attalus’ talent that is the target, the preciousness of an isocolic pentameter is perfectly deployed: *bellus es arte lyrae, bellus es arte pilae*, “you’re accomplished in the art of the lyre, and accomplished in the art of the ball.” As in Greek elegiacs, the elegiac hexameter is more strictly realized, again notably with more rigid rules for the central caesura and line ending, and an avoidance of elision (Raven 1965, 104–5).

To a degree perhaps even greater than Hellenistic poetry, Roman epigram is self-conscious about its metrical choices. One of the few surviving poems of an epigrammatist celebrated in antiquity, the Augustan poet Domitius Marsus, plays extensively on a perception of the elegiac couplet as the (potentially awkward) matching of two different metrical lengths (*FPL* Domitius Marsus 7; fr. 5 Fogazza).

Te quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle,
 mors iuvenem campos misit ad Elysios,
 ne foret aut elegis molles qui fleret amores
 aut caneret forti regia bella pede.

You too, Tibullus, inequitable death sent as Vergil's comrade
 young to the Elysian Fields,
 lest any live to weep soft loves in elegiacs,
 or to sing of royal wars in vigorous rhythm.

As we have seen in relation to Greek elegy, the opening hexameter established a relationship with epic that raised elegy above the level of iambics, and thus opened the way for creative differentiation of elegiac and iambic epigram. In this poem Marsus exploits the epic associations of the hexameter, and the humbler status of the pentameter, to support his lament for Tibullus as dead too soon, his death at the same time as a much older poet, Vergil, represented as a kind of cosmic injustice. This exquisite little poem is deeply concerned with inequity, and uses the divergent elements of the second stanza to reinforce his point, conveying imbalance through the metrical vehicle by setting Tibullus' *elegiac* achievements in the "epic" hexameter, and Vergil's achievements in *epic* in the non-epic pentameter. In the process Marsus illustrates how rich a resource sheer metrical form offers the composer of a highly abbreviated poetic medium like the epigram.

7.5 Some Roman Alternatives to Elegiacs

Catullus' short poetry was composed partly in elegiacs: what survived in the Verona codex may even preserve some outline of ancient collections of Catullus' poetry, whether issued by the poet himself or others. At any rate the so-called "polymetrics" in a range of lyric and iambic meters at 1–60 and the shorter elegiac poems at 69–116 might plausibly be understood to reflect separate collections distinguished by meter: Butrica (2007, 19–24) is a recent discussion of the question, and see Holzberg in this volume. The character of the elegiac poems, even as they tackle topics common to the polymetrics, has been felt, to use Lyne's terms (1980, 43), to be more reflective and analytical, the polymetrics more "poems that artistically enact life." This analysis should not be pushed too far, but does support suspicions that the metrical shape of a poem *mattered*, and that elegiacs were felt to represent a higher form, somewhat further removed from the mundane. A related question is whether Catullus and his contemporaries considered short poems in hendecasyllables or iambic lengths actually to be *epigrammata* (on this topic see at greater length Citroni in this volume). The evidence for ancient nomenclature gathered by Butrica (2007) suggests that *epigramma* more comfortably denoted a short poem in elegiacs. But Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 4.14),

while preferring a title no more elaborate than *Hendecasyllabi* for his hendecasyllabic poems (a title we find associated with Catullus' poetry, as well), countenances other names: *sive epigrammata sive idyllia sive eclogas sive, ut multi, poematia seu quod aliud vocare malueris, licebit voces*, "you may call them epigrams, idylls, eclogues, little poems (the popular choice), or whatever else you like." What is certainly true is that Catullus had his own impact on what was considered epigram, and by the end of the first century CE, the evidence here being Martial rather than Pliny, short poems in hendecasyllables and scazons, especially, could feature unproblematically in a collection of self-professed epigrams. This is not to say that an epigram in a non-elegiac meter could not continue to derive an extra charge from its still mildly unconventional meter, of course, and we will consider evidence of that shortly.

Aside from the overtly lyric forms Catullus employs (sapphics in 11 and 51, glyconic combinations in 17 and 34, and the greater asclepiad in 30) in the "polymetrics," his choice of meters encompasses some iambic lengths (a tetrameter in 25, "pure" trimeters in 4 and 29, normal trimeters in 52 and scazons) and above all hendecasyllables. It is no coincidence that Catullus' broad metrical preference in his short poems, elegiacs (48) followed by hendecasyllables (44) and scazons (8), is that also of Martial (75% elegiacs, 20% hendecasyllables, 6% choliambics; there are 12 poems in other meters). The collection of poems known as *Catalepton*, though of unclear origin, similarly reflects Catullus' tastes in their range of meters. Martial is explicit about his dominant models in epigram, on the Roman side at least, and it is always Catullus first (Howell 1980, 99–100). But in fact we can see that Catullus' taste in meters was shared by his contemporaries: C. Licinius Calvus' fragmentary epigrams yield elegiacs, hendecasyllables, and scazons, the latter in what may be a one-line epigram (it leaves little unsaid), though it is generally assumed to be the first line of something longer, *Sardi Tigelli putidum caput venit* (FPL C. Licinius Calvus 3; Hollis 2007, 79–81); Siedschlag (1977, 131 and n. 13) collects examples of single-line epigrams within an excellent short account of the entire history of epigrammatic meter. The range of meters employed by C. Helvius Cinna is also comparable to Catullus and Calvus (Hollis 2007, 6). But it is the hendecasyllable, properly the phalaecean hendecasyllable, which was the greatest metrical contribution of Catullus and his fellow "New Poets," an obscure meter before its vogue in first-century Rome – its connection to the early Hellenistic epigrammatist Phalaecus especially obscure (Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 459) – but thereafter mainstream: representatively, hendecasyllables are the most common meter in the *Priapea*, composed sometime between the death of Catullus and the death of Martial (see

O'Connor in this volume for the dating of the collection), and much favored also by C. Maecenas.

Like the elegiac couplet, hendecasyllables and choliambics undergo refinement. The Flavian hendecasyllable is a much more restrictive form than the Catullan, with an invariably spondaic opening, very little elision, and a strong preference for a fifth- or sixth-syllable caesura which, in the nature of things, makes the placement of the caesura in the Flavian hendecasyllabic potentially highly expressive (Raven 1965, 139–40; Watson and Watson 2003, 28; Morgan 2010, 57–59). As a vehicle for epigram, what a hendecasyllable might lack in point, compared to the balance and counterpoint of an elegiac couplet, it could compensate for in brevity. Mart. 6.24 extends to seven whole words, and delivers a good punch line, even if its point is disputed (Grewing 1997, ad loc.; Heil 2002, 309–10; Morgan 2014). In the limping iambic, choliambic or scazon, Catullus' preference, under the influence of Callimachus, was already for an iambus in the fifth foot, which might be felt to emphasize the disruption of the final spondee. All later choliambics, Martial's included, maintain that restriction, and also a preference for spondees in the first and third feet, but in Martial's scazons there is more resolution in the first four feet (two metra) than in Catullus, yielding (in contrast to the hendecasyllable) a much more varied line (Raven 1965, 62; Watson and Watson 2003, 29).

As in Greek epigram, it is sometimes possible to see why Martial has chosen not to set a poem in elegiacs. Later hendecasyllables seem capable of evoking Catullus; and as *versus minuti*, implicitly contrasted with the *versus longi* of dactylic hexameters (Plin. *Ep.* 4.27.4; Morgan 2010, 55 n. 23), they can contribute a suggestion of diminutiveness. Martial 4.14 illustrates this iconic potential of the form. It is an invitation to Silius Italicus to read Martial's epigrams that evokes the atmosphere of the Saturnalia, a festival seemingly most congenial to hendecasyllabic compositions, and positions Martial as a Catullus to Silius' Vergil – in the process implicitly contrasting hendecasyllables with hexameters, and establishing the deferential stance of the hendecasyllabic “voice” (11–14):

Nec torva lege fronte, sed remissa
lascivis madidos iocis libellos.
Sic forsan tener ausus est Catullus
magno mittere Passerem Maroni.

And do not read my little books, steeped
in naughty jokes, with grim brow but relaxed.
So perhaps tender Catullus ventured
to send his “Sparrow” to great Maro.

An example of a deliberative choice of choliambics is Martial 1.10,

Petit Gemellus nuptias Maronillae
et cupit et instat et precatur et donat.
Adeone pulchra est? Immo foedius nil est.
Quid ergo in illa petitur et placet? Tussit.

Gemellus seeks Maronilla's hand in marriage:
he is keen and insistent, he begs and gives her gifts.
Is she so beautiful? On the contrary, she could not be uglier.
So what is he after in her? What does he find attractive? Her cough.

Martial uses resolution in lines 2 and 4 to convey Gemellus' enthusiastic pursuit of Maronilla, introducing dactylic feet to reinforce the description of energetic activity in *cupit* and *petitur*. But at the end of the poem, the punch line *tussit* exploits the characteristic feature of the scazon, the concluding spondee. This metrical "limp" seemed to attract descriptions of physical infirmity. Martial's play is indebted to Catullus 44, which makes extensive use of the choliambic line to dramatize a cough: the effect is well explained by Vine (2009). But it is not always so easy to discern a rationale in Martial's choice of meter. Why, as Watson and Watson (2003, 29) wonder, are there two eulogies for the emperor Domitian in scazons at 9.1 and 5? In the case of 9.1, at least, it may simply be to do with Martial's wish to fit the name "Domitianus" into the verse (Henriksén 2012, 14, and see below).

As we saw in Greek epigram, an established exercise was to treat the same topic in different meters. Watson (2006, 296–97) nicely analyzes the comparison Martial establishes between 1.12 and 1.82, both concerning "Regulus' narrow escape from a collapsing portico:

The elegiac 1.12 is serious in tone with an accompanying elevation of linguistic and stylistic register. Poem 1.82 [in hendecasyllables] is more intimate and informal, especially in the direct address to Regulus (9–11), while the image of the portico waiting for Regulus to pass under it before collapsing is perhaps meant to amuse.

As for the longstanding issue of intractable names, in Martial 9.11–13 the impossibility of setting in verse the name of Earinus (a sequence of short syllables), Domitian's favorite, becomes the poetic theme. A further point at 9.11.10–11, though, is that, although elegiacs and hendecasyllables do not admit tribrachs, scazons do (Henriksén 2012, 14–15). When Martial says that *nomen nobile, molle, delicatum / versu dicere non rudi volebam*, "I wanted

to put that noble, soft and delicate name into polished verse,” he is surely also suggesting that neither Earinus’ name nor his person should be sullied by treatment in the rough Hipponactean form.

In inscriptional verse elegiacs are common, alongside hexameters and iambic senarii (trimeters), although the competence in versification is not of course consistent. A nice example of a meaningful choice of meter is Courtney (1995, no. 106 = *CLE* 39 = *CIL* 4.768 (cf. 1030 and p.196) = *ILS* 6438d) where a *dissignator*, theater usher, responds to a graffito encouraging the electorate to vote for (his namesake) M. Epidius Sabinus as duumvir in Pompeii in a metrical form (senarius), and with a gesture (*cum plausu*), befitting his theatrical profession: *Sabinus dissignator cum plausu facit*, “Sabinus the usher votes for him with applause.” The (plausibly authentic) epitaph for Pacuvius preserved by Gellius alongside more literary exercises for Naevius and Plautus (1.24) is also, appropriately for a playwright, in senarii, although senarii were a common epigrammatic form at this early stage (Courtney 1995, 46–47, and note his conclusions from the similarity between no. 19 and Pacuvius’ epitaph).

In Martial meter is also a structural factor, consecutive poems in the less common hendecasyllables or scazons being rare. Siedschlag (1977, 129–32) speculates that there may have been a convention, to which Martial is indebted, of salting occasional metrical exotica or novelties among the main meters of a book: the evidence is strongest in late antiquity. What is not in doubt is that an unusual meter draws attention to itself. Martial 1.49 is the first of four poems in Martial’s corpus in the meter of the first ten of Horace’s Epodes, and in turn the meter of the first of Archilochus’ *Epodes* in their Hellenistic edition (Morgan 2010, 159–60). Horace’s second *Epode* is an obvious point of reference for Martial’s poem, a celebration of the rustic life shorn of Horace’s ironizing coda. Martial 6.64 is a 32-line poem in continuous hexameters, the extreme anomalousness of which (in form and length) Martial is careful to underline in the following poem. In themselves the hexameters of 6.64 seem to suggest the genre of satire (Grewing 1997, ad loc.), but like satire the poem measures itself against another hexametrical form, epic, in its grandiose outrage.

A standout meter even among the alternative meters is that of 3.29, another attack on the fictional arriviste Zoilus,

has cum gemina compede dedicat catenas
Saturne, tibi Zoilus, anulos priores.

These chains with their twin fetters Zoilus
dedicates to you, Saturn, the rings he *used* to wear.

The meter is sotadeans, and Martial's choice has long been recognized as couching a supposed dedication by Zoilus in a form that implies he is, like the originator of the meter, Sotades, a *cinaedus*. That analysis scratches the surface of a richly countercultural metrical form, which brings to its poetry more than just a sexual identity. Sotades and the sotadean represented the negation of all that might conversely be represented by respectable, dactylic meters (Morgan 2010, 40–48). But what provokes the reader to explore the semiotics of the sotadean, and to appreciate the full implications of a poem so shaped, is precisely its isolation in a book which is, with the exception of a trimeter/dimeter system at 3.14, entirely made up of elegiacs, hendecasyllables, and limping iambs.

In epigram after Martial, both choliambics and hendecasyllables became rare: Ausonius has the only example, among prominent epigrammatists, and only Luxorius uses hendecasyllables (Siedschlag 1977, 128–29). Late antiquity, in Latin as in Greek, saw the growth in popularity of continuous hexameters, prominent also in inscriptional epigrams, which we will recall is where this story all began.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

Epigram in Epic and Greek Tragedy: Generic Interactions

Martin T. Dinter

The epigrammatic genre is most certainly well aware of the theater (Fantuzzi 2007) and the heritage of epic (Harder 2007). Rather than combing the extensive ancient epigram corpus for epic and dramatic morsels, however, I shall suggest a different viewpoint from which to survey the interaction of the epigrammatic with the epic and the dramatic genres. The first part of this chapter will look at epi(c)gram, that is epigrams embedded or evoked in the epic corpus. The second part will contemplate how drama and Greek tragedy in particular thematizes epigram.

8.1 Epi(c)gram

In a self-commentary passage Homer has Hector imagine the tomb of a (so far) unknown soldier.

καί ποτέ τις εἶπῃσι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων
...
ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος
ὃν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ.
ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται.
(Hom. *Il.* 7.89–91)

Then one day some future traveller [...] will say: "This is the monument of some great warrior of an earlier day who was killed in action by glorious Hector": That is what he will say, and my fame will never die. (trans. Rieu)

These lines have been interpreted as the earliest example of a funerary epigram in literature, and feature similarities to early military epitaphs.¹ Inscriptions are thought of as precursors of epigram, and indeed in later times epigraphic pretensions continue to form an important feature of the literary genre.² Nevertheless these Homeric lines belong to the "prehistory of the genre," for this epic is not yet aware of a self-conscious genre of epigram (Fantuzzi and Hunter 2002, 392–93). In fact it qualifies as a pre-epigram in a double sense: prior to the literary genre; and prior to the deceased.

Ruth Scodel has referred to Hector's words as an anti-epitaph "since it excludes precisely the information most essential to the genre, the name of the dead man" (Scodel 1992, 59). However, this might not be without purpose as this unrealistic "oral epitaph" (De Jong 1987, 77) thereby defines the formula for epic glory: X will die to increase the glory of Y. Subsequently epitaphic gestures and epigrammatic moments become part of the epic tradition and are recognized as such by Homer's epic successors.

One of the prime epitaphic moments in the *Iliad* is Achilles' boast over the dead Iphition, which reminds one of what will later be called an epitaph (Reinhardt 1961, 430).

κεῖσαι Ὀτρυντεΐδῃ πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν·
 ἐνθάδε τοι θάνατος, γενεὴ δέ τοι ἔστ' ἐπὶ λίμνῃ
 Γυγαίῃ, ὅθι τοι τέμενος πατρώϊόν ἐστιν
 Ὕλλῳ ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντι καὶ Ἑρμῷ δινήεντι.
 (Hom. *Il.* 20.389–92)

Lie there, Otrynteus' son, most terrifying of all men.
 Here is your death, but your generation was by the lake waters
 of Gyge, where is the allotted land of your fathers
 by fish-swarming Hyllös and the whirling waters of Hermos.
 (trans. Lattimore)

Just a few lines earlier, Iphition has been introduced to the reader in verses that contain his name, patronymic, epithet, genealogy, homeland, and manner of dying (*Il.* 20.382–87), all the information an epitaph would usually transmit to the reader. In this way, Iphition, whose name translates as "honored for his might," is set up as a worthy opponent to Achilles and draped in the familiar social and geographical finery of epitaphic epigram. Achilles' boast then, by accentuating and amplifying certain motifs from when Iphition is

first introduced, sums up Iphition in death; the geographical details help to conjure up a soldier's loss of life "far from home" and his leaving behind his "bereaved parents." Both motifs will feature prominently in subsequent funerary epigram.³ By displaying parts of the victim's personality and family, "they increase the killer's *kleos* by showing how their deed has ramifications far beyond the battlefield. A whole chain of social life is ended by the prowess of the victor" (Hunter 1993, 43). We may thus see Achilles' words as an oral epitaph, a reading out of Iphition's imaginary tombstone inscription that writes him out of the epic plot with a distinctively epitaphic gesture. Moreover, this "epigram" is also microcosmic of the whole of the *Iliad*: it fulfills the literary function of monumentalizing both a minor and a major hero and simultaneously showcasing the epic's "death for glory" formula, which forms part of the epic code.

That Vergil read the *Iliad* conscious of the epigrammatic genre is shown by his reworking of Achilles' boast over Iphition as an epitaph for Aeolus in the *Aeneid* (12.542–47):

Te quoque Laurentes viderunt, Aeole, campi
 oppetere et late terram consternere tergo.
 Occidis, Argivae quem non potuere phalanges
 sternere nec Priami regnorum eversor Achilles; 545
 hic tibi mortis erant metae, domus alta sub Ida,
 Lyrnesi domus alta, solo Laurente sepulcrum.

You too, Aeolus, the Laurentine plains saw fall, and your back covers a broad measure of their ground. The Greek battalions could not bring you down, nor could Achilles who overturned the kingdom of Priam, but here you lie. This was the finishing line of your life. Your home was in the hills below Mount Ida, a home in the hills of Lyrnesus, but your grave is in Laurentine soil. (trans. adapted from West)

Richard Thomas (1998, 218) comments on this passage: "The Virgilian adaption [*sic*] reconfigures the Homeric speech of Achilles in the direction of epitaph, with the poet (not the character) apostrophizing the dead Aeolus, just as the epigrammatic voice does, and with the final couplet studiously imitating the elegiac couplet, and drawing attention with *sepulcrum* to the genre it is incorporating." Vergil provides an epitaphic frame for this passage (*te quoque* + *sepulcrum*), embedded into which we find acknowledgment of Vergil's literary model Homer, as Achilles features prominently (*Aen.* 12.545).⁴ In addition, there is also a distinctive steering towards Italy indicated by a second framing of the passage with *Laurentes/Laurente*. When combined, these two frames signal that Aeolus, having fled his Trojan homeland, will find his

final home – that is, his tomb – in Italy. Aeolus thus becomes part and parcel of the undoing of the Trojans’ “Trojan-ness,” and his death serves Vergil’s construction of Roman identity. In this way, Vergil incorporates the literary, monumentalizing function of Iliadic “epigram” and folds this in with the nationalistic, Roman-oriented aims of the *Aeneid*.

Post-Vergilian epicists continue to develop these epigrammatic tendencies. Accordingly, Philip Hardie has shown how Ovid’s “little *Aeneid*” plays with the range of topoi in sepulchral epigram.⁵ Moreover, Lucan studs his historical epic with epitaphs and epitaphic gestures, culminating in the tomb inscription of Pompey the Great: *hic situs est Magnus* (“Here lies Magnus,” 8.793), which prompts the authorial voice to showcase the epic’s obsession with death and burial in a substantial outburst listing all the achievements which ought to be inscribed on Pompey’s tombstone (8.793–822). We also find this sepulchral drive in minor figures such as Marcia, Cato’s former wife and now wife-to-be (again), who appears on the epic stage with the sole mission of securing her lasting reputation as manifested in her tombstone inscription. As a result, she casts an epitaphic shadow over her renewed union with Cato from the very beginning, as all she asks for is to be a female shadow of a great name. In addition, Marcia’s epitaphic appearance has a telling significance for Lucan’s *Bellum Civile* on the broader level: it is symptomatic of a world of civil war in which the epic code has been suspended. No glory can be won in a battle of brothers against brothers. All there is left to remember is individual virtue instead of military valor.⁶ Post-Neronian epic such as Valerius Flaccus’ *Argonautica* employ both epigrammatic poetics in that they feature a densely allusive style that places high demands on the reader and also look back and relate to the Homeric/Vergilian tradition of epi(c)gram (Dinter 2009). While I can but point to a small number of examples due to constraints of space, I have nevertheless been able to exemplify the workings of epi(c)gram, that is how epic and epigram interact.⁷

8.2 Tragedy and Epigram

The second half of this chapter will focus on epigram and drama and examine how tragedy and epigram interact. By concentrating on epigrammatic moments in tragedy I set out once again to explore the pre-history of epigram, that is the time prior to the literary genre of epigram. Accordingly I will consider how tragedy has drawn inspiration from verse inscriptions and by incorporating these may have smoothed the way for literary epigram.⁸ In turn, when incorporating tragic references Hellenistic and early imperial epigrams usually provide either an epigrammatically condensed literary

cameo of a well-known situation or offer an aetiology for the remains of the past as two examples shall illustrate.⁹

Πένθιμον ἡνίκα πατρὶ Πολυξείνης ὑμέναιον
 ἤγυσεν ὀγκωτοῦ Πύρρος ὕπερθε τάφου,
 ὥδε πολυκλαῦτοιο κόμας λακίσασα καρήνου
 Κισσηΐς τεκέων κλαῦσε φόνους Ἑκάβη·
 πρόσθε μὲν ἀξονίοις φθιτὸν εἵρυσας Ἑκτορα δεσμοῖς, 5
 νῦν δὲ Πολυξείνης αἶμα δέχῃ φθίμενος·
 Αἰακίδη, τί τοσοῦτον ἐμὴν ὠδύσσαι νηδύν;
 παισὶν ἔφυσ γὰρ ἐμοῖς ἥπιος οὐδὲ νέκυς.
 (Statilius Flaccus d. 43 BCE (?), *AP* 9.117)

When Pyrrhus (Neoptolemos) on his father's high-piled tomb celebrated in his honor the mournful wedding of Polyxena [i.e. sacrificed her on the tomb of Achilles], thus did Cissean Hecuba bewail the murder of her children, tearing the hair from her tear-worn head: "Once did you drag Hector tied to your chariot wheels, and now even though you are dead do you accept the blood of Polyxena. Achilles, why is your wrath so sore against the fruit of my womb? Not even in death are you gentle to my children." (trans. adapted from Paton)

This epigram serves to illustrate the persistence of Achilles' hatred through an imaginative remark by Hecuba, which reads as if taken from the homonymous tragedy. Epigram thus picks up a well-known story from the epic cycle and elaborates a particularly tragic moment. At the same time, in true epigrammatic fashion, it highlights the paradox of Achilles' epic wrath continuing well beyond his death (see Harder 2007, 424–25).

In the next example, tragedy has turned into reality and thus functions as aetiology for a funeral mound:

Παίδων Μηδείης οὗτος τάφος, οὓς ὁ πυρίπνους
 ζᾶλος τῶν Γλαύκης θῦμ' ἐποίησε γάμων,
 οἷς αἰεὶ πέμπει μείλιγματα Σισυφὶς αἶα,
 μητρὸς ἀμείλικτον θυμὸν ἱλασκομένα.
 (Gaetulicus, *AP* 7.354)

This is the tomb of Medea's children, whom her burning jealousy made the victims of Glauce's wedding. To them the Corinthian land regularly sends peace-offerings, propitiating their mother's implacable soul. (trans. adapted from Paton)

Here epigram manifests tragedy in that it lends truth to the story tragedy transmits. Whilst spinning out the high profile story of Medea's murder of

her children, this epigram is concerned with the social reality behind tragedy: the tombs that remain and what might be written upon them.

Just as epigram finds occasion to supplement tragedy, so on many occasions tragedy itself finds ways to spell out and comment on what has been told often in a less personalized fashion in epic. For tragedy takes time to single out one family or persona from the epic masses and follows its fate, usually to a deadly end. As we will see, these casualties are then often referred to and commemorated with (pre-)epitaphs.

In Walsh's definition of Hellenistic Greek funerary epigram, "Epitaphs normally tell us at least three things about a corpse. In order of importance these are name, father's name, and homeland" (Walsh 1991, 88). Indeed, we will find typical funerary inscriptions embedded in tragedy. However, as information such as name, father's name, and homeland of the deceased is often already supplied in the course of the play, and therefore not necessarily repeated in those passages which I will consider to contain epitaphic gestures, I will also direct my attention to another less formalist feature of epitaph. For in the cases in which these lines go beyond basic information the obituaries are nevertheless confined to a length that forces both poet and reader to concentrate on single details or motifs. As Walsh defines it: "to win a reading, epitaph strives to lend motive to the information it transmits" (Walsh 1991, 78). Thus in the second half of this section I will widen my search and look for motives, markers of the categories in which the dead or soon-to-be-dead are placed (Rossi 2001, 13).

First let me begin my examination from a slightly different perspective by discussing two examples from the subgenre of dedicatory epigram embedded in tragedy. One might expect this to be a strongly formalized division of epigram that follows strict conventions, as the topos of dedication offers a rather narrow choice for variation. For in contrast to epitaph, dedicational epigram does not necessarily set out to rouse pity or empathy. However, we occasionally find instances that display the ambition to link the thanks and honor offered to the gods with self-memorialization:

Τάσδε γ' Ἀθαναίαι δρα[χμὰ]ς Φανάριστος ἔθηκε
 Ἦραι τε, ὥς καὶ κείνος ἔχοι κλέφος ἀπθιτον αἰεὶ.
 (SEG 15.351)

These [spits] Phanaristus offered to Athena and Hera,
 that he too might possess unperishing fame forever.

What is more, in this inscription "the donor desires what a Homeric hero desires" (Friedländer and Hoffleit 1948, 48) and enhances this point by

tapping into Homeric vocabulary with the expression κλέος ἄφθιτον which stems from an archetypal moment of epic: Achilles' decision to choose eternal fame over a long life.¹⁰ Clearly this hexameter inscription has its (unexpected) poetic moments.

Having looked briefly at the poetics of actual inscriptions I turn now to “poetic inscriptions,” that is epigrams embedded in tragedy. For already very close to the birth of tragedy as defined for us by textual transmission we find verses whose “language resembles that found in actual dedications of the spoils of war.”¹¹ One might even imagine a slight sense of amusement amongst the audience when confronted with this obviously anachronistic yet studiously contemporaneous inscription.¹²

Τροίαν ἑλόντες δὴ ποτ' Ἀργείων στόλος
θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα
δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαῖον γάνος.
(Aesch. *Ag.* 577–79)

After taking Troy once did the Argive host
nail up these spoils to the gods of Greece,
an ancient glory for their shrines.
(trans. Lloyd-Jones)

This imaginary inscription spoken by a messenger recounting the end of the Trojan War sets the standard for how this war ought to be remembered: a great military deed producing glorious victors. This dedication with its generalized features – it does not commemorate an individual leader's name but instead includes the entire army (Ἀργείων στόλος) – is universally applicable all over Greece (τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα δόμοις). It thus self-fashions a foil for reception against which the ill-fated house of Atreus will be measured. The inscriptional form and voice also exudes an authority that deems further and more specific examples unnecessary for illustrating both the merits and expectations of those returning home.¹³ Furthermore, the audience finds that the messenger anticipates the response to his boastful claim already – he prescribes praise.¹⁴

What is more, in two articles Froma Zeitlin has pointed to the “Motif of the Corrupted Sacrifice in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*” (Zeitlin 1965 and 1966), which spans its threads through the texture of the entire trilogy but is of particular prominence in the *Agamemnon* where it encompasses references to the slaughter of Thyestes' children and Iphigenia's sacrifice (*Ag.* 248, 1417) and culminates in the description of Agamemnon's murder in sacrificial terms by Clytemnestra (*Ag.* 1384–87, 1433, 1504; Zeitlin 1965, 473).

When looking back onto the embedded dedicational inscription from this perspective we may recognize a second important function it fulfills, that of a model for dedication – for proper and befitting interaction with the gods. It thus contrasts starkly with the imagery of tainted sacrifice that runs through the play. Compressed into the shortest and thereby also most economic form possible – that of a dedicatory epigram – the “inscription” contributes to the discourse on order and disorder that underlies this tragedy. That the house of Atreus, the all-important *oikos*, is deeply disturbed and has seen generations of mutual slaughter amongst its members is illustrated once more by comparison with the norm. For this house will be famous not so much for the military deeds of its male leader as for his ignominious end by the hand of his own wife.

A different example showcasing the power and poetics of embedded dedicatory inscriptions is found in Euripides’ *Phoenissae* in a passionate speech delivered by Jocasta in an attempt to dissuade her son Eteocles from waging war against his brother and his hometown Thebes:

καὶ σκύλα γράψεις πῶς ἐπ’ Ἰνάχου ῥοαῖς;
 Θήβας πυρώσας τάσδε Πολυνείκης θεοῖς
 ἀσπίδας ἔθηκε; μήποτ’, ὦ τέκνον, κλέος
 τοιόνδε σοι γένοιθ’ ὑφ’ Ἑλλήνων λαβεῖν.

(Eur. *Phoen.* 574–77)

What will you inscribe on the spoils by the streams of Inachus? “Having set fire to Thebes Polynices dedicates these shields to the gods?” Never, my son, may you win fame like this from the Greeks! (trans. Kovacs)

Again we are confronted with the paradigm of sacrifice set against an extraordinary transgression of what constitutes the norm. For by boiling down the situation to a social context, by actually asking her son how he would live and deal with the situations that could arise from this war, Jocasta succeeds in pointing out Eteocles’ foolishness. And she wisely does so by referring to the most logical first step after a victory, sacrifice and the dedication of spoils. Thus her rhetoric is so surprisingly persuasive precisely because she finds it a poignant and short vehicle – a dedicatory inscription. Moreover, with this imaginary inscription, which by featuring ἔθηκε, the most frequently employed verb form in this context, displays epitaphic pretensions,¹⁵ Jocasta demonstratively transgresses the narrative time frame of this tragedy. For frequently tragedies provide aetiologies of lasting institutions. In this case, the lasting feature is the inscription, which Jocasta cites in order to prevent the *aition* from occurring in the first place. In a genre

where doom is habitually brought about within the span of a day this inscription proclaims that in its strife for eternity it might well outlast most of the tragedy's protagonists. Accordingly it is linked directly to Eteocles' κλέος ("fame") – a term which, if we take tragedy's tendency to connect a persona's name and nature into regard, is vital to Eteocles' character.¹⁶ Here within one epigrammatic verse his case would remain embalmed for the passer-by to judge – and that this judgment will not be to his advantage is beyond doubt. What is more, this passage is a pointed reworking of lines from Amphiaraus' speech to Polynices in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* (580–84):

ἦ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλές,
καλὸν τ' ἀκοῦσαι καὶ λέγειν μεθυστέροις,
πόλιν πατρώαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς
πορθεῖν, στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβεβληκότα;

Do acts like this really win divine favor? Is his noble to tell and hear of in later times? That your father's town and its native gods be sacked by your foreign invading force? (trans. adapted from Dawson)

In order to outdo Aeschylus, Euripides serves up his tragic conflict in a nutshell and thus puts even more emphasis on the paradox of the situation. He uses the form of a dedicatory inscription on the one hand for pointedly stressing the social dimensions of this conflict and on the other for connecting it with the (epic) theme of κλέος, that functions as an underlying motivation for much of the plot. Moreover, Euripides with this mock-inscription creates a forerunner to the witty and pointed creations of the Hellenistic epigrammatists, with their abundance of usually sepulchral epigrams on figures from the mythological past.

In addition to these examples modeled on dedicatory inscriptions we will find that tragedy also employs sepulchral epigram. A characteristic feature of Greek sepulchral epigram is the epigrammatic voice, which addresses the passer-by and competes for his attention – often either the voice of the deceased or of the tomb itself has to be understood as the subject of the epitaph. If it succeeds in capturing an audience, the inscription – according to ancient reading practices – is read out aloud: thus the name of the deceased sounds and is thereby commemorated. This convention finds its reflection in some fifth century epigrams, which are fashioned as dialogues (Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 306–28). This concept of epitaph as oral comment on the deceased is spelt out by the Iliadic example quoted above in which Hector envisages his epitaphic presence. We also find it incorporated into a tragedy

which imagines a passer-by responding to the tomb of Alcestis after she has died voluntarily in place of her husband:

καί τις δοχμίαν κέλευθον
 ἐμβαίνων τόδ' ἐρεῖ·
 αὐτα ποτὲ προύθαν' ἀνδρός,
 νῦν δ' ἔστι μάκαιρα δαίμων·
 χαῖρ', ὦ πότνι', εὖ δὲ δοίης.
 τοῖα νιν προσερούσι φήμα.
 (Eur. *Alc.* 1000–5)

Someone walking a winding path past her tomb shall say, “This woman died instead of her husband, and now she is a blessed divinity. Greetings, Lady, and grant us your blessing!” With such words will they address her. (trans. adapted from Kovacs)

These lines play consciously with the generic convention that a sepulchral inscription is read out by a passer-by.¹⁷ Here both vocabulary and structure of this passage strongly remind one of verse inscriptions and almost grant the passage the features of an embedded epitaph.¹⁸ Moreover, even though the form of this epitaph is more conventional and less pointed than that of my previous example, this passage encapsulates many of the tragedy’s main issues. Alcestis having died wins fame and is revered. She is thus emphatically portrayed as having done the right thing – by bravely accepting death she wins eternal life as a “blessed divinity” – at least in the opinion of the chorus (*Alc.* 995–99). Furthermore, the epitaphic appearance of the chorus’s judgment casts their statement into a more formal medium, as they realize the epitaphic potential of their story. When read from a rhetorical perspective, the epitaphic formula of their utterance lends support to their claim that Alcestis’ virtue will be remembered.

In contrast Alcestis’ husband Admetus must realize that through his cowardice when facing death he has brought disgrace upon himself. Thus after fashioning himself as tired of life, hardly enduring to live on at all now that all joy has departed together with his wife, Admetus – not unlike the chorus on Alcestis’ part – imagines a response prompted by his appearance:

ἐρεῖ δέ μ' ὅστις ἐχθρὸς ὧν κυρεῖ τάδε·
 ἰδοῦ τὸν αἰσχροῦς ζῶνθ', ὃς οὐκ ἔτλη θανεῖν
 ἀλλ' ἦν ἔγημεν ἀντιδοὺς ἀψυχία
 πέφευγεν Ἀΐδην· κᾶτ' ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ;
 (Eur. *Alc.* 954–57)

And anyone who is my enemy will say, “Look at this man who lives on in disgrace! He failed in courage to die but in cowardice escaped death by giving his wife in his place. And after that can we think him a man?” (trans. adapted from Kovacs)

Constituting the climax of Admetus’ complaint this passage clearly corresponds in its function to Alcestis’ epitaph and forms part of a contrasting diptych: for pointedly Admetus *lives* in disgrace, whilst his wife in contrast is hailed for having *died* with virtue. By acting out the epitaphic voice and employing its potential as a lasting moral judgment for both the dead and would-be-deceased, Euripides enhances the conflict of his tragedy as he points to the social implications of Admetus’ cowardice: in the end he has lost his wife and achieved nothing.

My final example of sepulchral epigram embedded in tragedy may well be seen as smoothing the way for what was to become the literary genre of epigram. In Euripides’ *Trojan Women*, a tragedy set after the fall of Troy, Hecuba when facing the dead body of her grandchild Astyanax, bursts into a vehement lament and states the reasons why the Greeks have killed the little boy. As Hecuba throughout the play displays awareness that she is part of a wider story, which will be told for long even after her death (*Tro.* 1244–45), she perceives Astyanax’s death in a larger context, and interprets it as a key-event revealing the Greeks’ cowardice. Hence she imagines an epitaph for the murdered child as it might be fashioned in the future:

τί καί ποτε
γράψειεν ἄν σε μουσσοποιὸς ἐν τάφῳ;
τὸν παῖδα τόνδ’ ἔκτειναν Ἀργεῖοί ποτε
δείσαντες; αἰσχρὸν τοῦπίγραμμά γ’ Ἑλλάδι.
(Eur. *Tro.* 1188–91)

What could a poet write upon your tomb? “This child once upon a time the Argives killed – in terror?” This epitaph brings disgrace upon Greece. (trans. adapted from Kovacs)

If we imagine this verse inscribed on a tombstone, the enjambment introducing the final δείσαντες would have an even more striking effect than in theatrical performance. Moreover, the fact that the name of the murdered, Astyanax, is missing – it is easily conjured up from the context – emphasizes that the function of this epitaph lies as much in pointing to and memorializing the unheroic deed of the Greek army as in preserving the boy’s memory. Yet again we find an inscription that models a reputation, as was the case above with Eteocles; here epigrammatic comments on epic κλέος showcase

the pinnacle of Hecuba's rhetoric and pathos. What is more, Puelma in his survey of the history of the word ἐπίγραμμα points to this passage as our first instance of this word denoting a poetic work of fiction that nevertheless is based on models from reality, i.e., this passage provides a forerunner for what will later become the genre of Hellenistic literary epigram (Puelma 1996, 124). Its paradoxical structure of remembering *nefas* opens up ways for the poignant and often witty approaches of later epigram authors to the genre of tragedy.

However, Hecuba could never have imagined her grandson's name featuring in vain, abused in one of Strato's epigrams, where Astyanax' name is placed in a sexual context:

Ἐχθὲς ἔχων ἀνὰ νύκτα Φιλόστρατον, οὐκ ἐδυνήθην,
 κείνου, πῶς εἶπω; πάντα παρασχομένον.
 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μηκέτ' ἔχοιτε φίλοι φίλον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πύργου
 ῥίψατ', ἐπεὶ λίην Ἀστυάναξ γέγονα.
 (Strato, *AP* 12.11)

Yesterday, I spent the night with Philostratus, but was incapable, even though he (how shall I say it?) made every possible offer. No longer, my friends, count me your friend, but throw me off a tower as I have become too much of an Astyanax. (trans. adapted from Paton)

The pun here is on “Asty-” which is etymologized as a privative combined with στύειν (“make erect”), and thus turns Astyanax into a euphemism for impotence. Additionally, the well-versed reader may also detect a possible play on πύργος (tower) and πυγή (buttocks; see Floridi 2007, ad loc.).

As we have seen, epitaphs, i.e., verse inscriptions, have inspired tragedy and they have been imitated, incorporated, and employed by tragedy with its own agenda to great effect. Simultaneously, however, tragedy also releases its own epitaphic hybrids, seemingly realistic, unrealistic epitaphs which go on to exude their influence on subsequent generations of epigram writers as exemplified by the epigrams by Statilius and Gaetulius quoted above.

However, a further aspect of this cross-fertilization remains to be examined. In the final part of this chapter I now move on to discuss which tragic imagery, *topoi*, and motifs have made their way to form the standard repertoire of sepulchral epigram.

Just before Hecuba's lament culminates in Astyanax' epitaph, she remembers that her grandson used to joke:

Ὡ μῆτερ, ἡῦδας, ἥ πολὺν σοι βοστρύχων
 πλόκαμον κεροῦμαι πρὸς τάφον θ' ὀμηλίκων
 κώμους ἐπάξω, φίλα διδούς προσφθέγματα.
 σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔμ', ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σὲ τὸν νεώτερον,
 γραῦς ἄπολις ἄτεκνος, ἄθλιον θάπτω νεκρόν.

(Eur. *Tro.* 1182–86)

“Grandmother, I shall cut a great lock of curls for you and bring my friends and companions along to your tomb and speak dear words of farewell!” Now you are not burying me but I am burying you, the younger of us, I an old woman city- and childless, you an unlucky corpse. (trans. adapted from Kovacs)

Most strikingly we find here the obvious counterpart to Hecuba’s epitaphic utterance over Astyanax’ dead body: he promises to formulate many an oral epitaph standing at her grave and bearing offerings. Due to the reverse of fortune Hecuba will have to fulfill in the end both duties at his tomb – by composing an epitaph and employing Hector’s shield for his son’s funeral. The entire tragic scene is very much arranged around these two epitaphic utterances. For it derives much of its pathos from the fact that under normal circumstances the grandchild ought to be burying the grandmother and not the other way round. We witness a dramatization of this paradox when the play spells out the social implications of this war-torn world and actually depicts the old burying the young.

In an example by Diotimus we find this idea embalmed in an epigram, which stresses the “point” of the mother burying her son by delaying μήτηρ until the end of line 3 and through contrasting word order in line four.

Τί πλέον εἰς ὠδῖνα πονεῖν, τί δὲ τέκνα τεκέσθαι;
 μὴ τέκοι, εἰ μέλλει παιδὸς ὄρᾱν θάνατον.
 ἡθέω γὰρ σῆμα Βιάνορι χεύατο μήτηρ·
 ἔπρεπε δ' ἐκ **παιδὸς μητέρα** τοῦδε τυχεῖν.

(Diotimos, *AP* 7.261)

Why labor in childbirth and bring forth children if she who gives birth is to see them dead! So his mother built the tomb for young Bianor, whilst he should have done this for his mother.¹⁹ (trans. adapted from Paton)

Indeed Lattimore in his study of themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs dedicates a section to the lament of parents who are forced to bury a child who should by rights have buried them and provides numerous examples (Lattimore 1942, 187–91).

A further motif prominent in both tragedy and epigram is that of the virgin bride married to Hades, a young girl who meets premature death rather than entering womanhood and marriage.²⁰ The epitaph of Phrasicleia which also relates a claim for κλέος (now famous through Jesper Svenbro's study) dates already from the sixth century BCE:

Σῆμα Φρασικλείας· κόρη κεκλή[σο]μαι αἰεί,
ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα.
(IG 1³.1261)

The grave of Phrasicleia; I shall be called maiden forever; for I received this name from the gods instead of marriage.

This motif is most prominently evoked by Sophocles' Antigone who loses her life in burying her brother:

ἀλλὰ μ' ὁ παγκοίτας Ἄϊδας ζῶσαν ἄγει
τὰν Ἀχέροντος
ἀκτάν, οὐθ' ὑμεναίων ἐγκληρον, οὐτ' ἐπὶ νύμφειός
πῶ μέ τις ὕμνος ὕμνησεν, ἀλλ' Ἀχέροντι νυμφεύσω.
(Soph. *Ant.* 810–13)

Hades who lulls all to sleep is taking me, while still living, to the shore of Acheron, without the wedding that was my due, and no song has been sung for me at my marriage. (trans. adapted from Lloyd-Jones)

Again Lattimore (1942, 192–94) points to a number of examples from the literary tradition which take up this particular motif (*AP* 7.182 Meleager; see *AP* 7.183–88 for further examples).

There remains to gesture briefly to the most fundamentally epitaphic project in the tragic corpus: *Oedipus at Colonus*, Sophocles' final work put on stage after his death by his grandson. Here tragedy arguably serves as epitaph for both the poet and its main character (Soph. *OC* 1611–19). In turn then the end of the era of Athens' great tragedians spawns a series of Hellenistic epigrammatic reactions (see Fantuzzi 2007, 487–95 on *AP* 7.411 on Aeschylus and *AP* 7.37 on Sophocles).

However cursory and selective my short survey, it strongly supports the argument that epigrammatic material has found its way into both epic and tragedy and that at the same time epic and tragedy have provided inspiration for the epigrammatic genre. The versatility of epigram allows it to interact with and react to a multitude of genres and simultaneously makes epigram an essential part of the matrix of ancient culture.

NOTES

1. See [Plut.] *De Hom.* 2.215 (ed. Kindstrand), Skiadas (1972, 61–66) and the discussion of Luck, Raubitschek and Pfohl in Raubitschek (1968, 33); Thomas (1998, 206). One wonders if Homer might have known inscribed epigrams. It seems noteworthy in this context that the earliest known inscribed verses (?8th century BCE) are in hexameters: *CEG* 1.432, 454.
2. Rossi (2001) demonstrates this in detail: 6–9 on votive, 9–13 on funerary epigrams.
3. See Dinter (2005, 155) for a comparison of the Iliadic motifs made out by Griffin (1980, 106–42), and the epitaphic ones listed by Rossi (2001, 12–13), and Lattimore (1942, 184–94, 199–201).
4. See Horsfall (2000) on *Aen.* 7.1, with extensive bibliography on the Greek and Latin epitaphic tradition of *te/tu quoque*.
5. *Met.* 12, the book of *Fama*, spans the whole range from the small but lovingly tended cenotaph of the still-living Aesacus (*Met.* 12.1–3) to an epic obituary for Achilles that makes the whole world his tomb (*Met.* 12.612–19); see Hardie (2002, 85–86). See also Phaethon's epitaph *Met.* 2.327–28.
6. Dinter (2012, 82–88) discusses epitaphic gestures in Lucan.
7. For the *Aeneid*'s discourse on dedicatory epigram see Dinter (2005, 162–64).
8. However, as the epic cycle and tragedy have much of their personnel in common we cannot always clearly discern when reading the *Anthologia Palatina* if its epigrams look back to the former genre, the latter, or indeed either.
9. To cite but a few examples: *AP* 7.99 (Hecuba as foil for contemporary grief), 7.354 (Medea's children, see below); 9.117 (Hecuba); 115–16 (Ajax); see also Fantuzzi (2007).
10. See *Il.* 9.413, in identical metrical position.
11. Lloyd-Jones (1970, *ad* 577). Cf. also Fraenkel (1950, *ad* 577–79). Wackernagel (1904, 8) points out that the use of the aorist instead of the perfect in the verb ἐπασσάλευσαν seems to be modeled on the ancient formula ἀνέθηκε in dedicational epigraphy.
12. Friedländer and Hoffleit (1948, 24) point to the frequency of fake inscriptions in temples in later times linking back dedicational items to the deeds of Hercules. Cf. also Fraenkel (1950, *ad* 579) for an account of (pseudo-)Trojan spoils at the temple of Athena at Lindos.
13. On the role and “authority” of inscriptions and writing in general in Greek religion see Henrichs (2003).
14. See *Ag.* 580–81: “Men hearing such words must praise the city and her leaders.”
15. Citti (1995–2002), s.v. τίθημι lists a wealth of examples.
16. See for example *Phoen.* 636–37 for a serious play on the name Polynices (“man of strife”).
17. There is considerable scholarly discussion about the use of reading and writing in tragedy. See the brief survey of tragedy in Harvey (1966, 622 and n. 9).

18. Indeed examples of μάκαρ abound in verse inscriptions (Citti 1995–2002, s.v. χαῖρω). Moreover the use of νῦν following the format “the dead person NOW is x/y” is the most frequent (ibid. s.v. νῦν).
19. Moreover, Bianor’s epitaph might be inspired by an Iliadic verse (11.91–92) ἐν δ’ Ἀγαμέμνων / πρῶτος ὄροθ’, ἔλε δ’ ἄνδρα Βῆγγορα, ποιμένα λαῶν [...], “Agamemnon darted forward first and slew the mighty Bianor, herdsman of the people” [...].
20. See Rehm (1994) for a detailed study of this motif in tragedy and Beckby (1965, 16) for the influence of the language of tragedy on epigram.

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FURTHER READING

Harder (2007) and Fantuzzi (2007) examine the traces left in epigram by epic and tragedy/comedy respectively. Dinter (2005) and (2009) looks at epi(c)grams embedded in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*. For a repertory of the themes and motifs in Greek and Latin epitaph Lattimore (1942) remains unsurpassed. See also Neger in this volume.

CHAPTER NINE

Epigram and Satire

Rosario Cortés Tovar

Epigram and satire are two different genres belonging to two different traditions, but owing to the subgenre of the satiric epigram, they are proximate in the literary field of the “spoudogeloion,” which combines the “serious” (σπουδαῖον) of critique with the “laughable” (γελοῖον) of its presentation. Bakhtin (1984, 106–8) pointed out the difficulties in tracing precise boundaries within this realm of the serio-comical between genres that, in spite of being different, share the immediate perception and representation of reality and reject the monological and idealized view of the world characteristic of serious genres such as tragedy and epic. This is the case with epigram and satire, two genres of an open nature, which facilitate an intersection between each other and with other genres. We will not review here the historical milestones of these intersections because what we wish to focus on are the relations between these two genres on a more theoretical level: in the programmatic declarations of the poets who cultivated them, especially Horace and Martial, without leaving aside the presence of Persius in Martial’s poetics and the presence of Martial in that of Juvenal’s.

In the Greek epigram tradition the scoptic epigram flourished in the time of Nero (Sullivan 1991, 85; Nisbet 2007, 353) and its most notable representatives, Lucillius and Nicarchus, had a decisive influence on the form of epigram in Martial, in its paradoxical, unexpected, and comical ending. But scoptic epigrams about human “types” and their vices – grammarians, men of letters, philosophers, astrologers, et cetera – are found already in the Hellenistic age, without excluding (though they are more poorly represented)

the violent *ad personam* epigrams, which follow the tradition of the archaic Greek iambus.

Contacts between the scoptic epigram and Roman satire began early: Lucilius dedicated to his slaves a series of poems in elegiacs (books 22–25) that contain sepulchral, narrative, and burlesque elements consistent with the poetics of satire (Morelli 2000, 112). Martial, criticizing the old-fashioned taste of his interlocutor, quotes a line from the epitaph of Metrophanes by Lucilius (11.90.4), without mentioning the work from which it comes, although indirectly he refers to it in the epigram which follows it (11.91), a heartfelt funerary epigram devoted to a slave (Neger 2012, 236–39). On the other hand, poets such as Crinagoras, in the time of Augustus, and the epigrammists under Nero, developed the scoptic epigram in Rome, were able to adapt it to the taste of the Roman *patroni*, and may also have been influenced by Roman satire (Laurens 1989, 140).

In contrast to the complex tradition of Greek satirical epigram, the tradition of satire in Rome began with Lucilius, who was followed by Horace, Persius (1.114), and Juvenal (1.20). This tradition, which became firmly established when Horace consecrated Lucilius as the *inventor* of the genre (*Sat.* 1.10.48), affirmed its *Romanitas* from the very beginning, a fact which would later give rise to the proud claim by Quintilian: *Satura quidem tota nostra est*, “Satire at least is all ours” (*Inst.* 10.1.93). Both leave Ennius out of the tradition, although he represents the first stage of satire, considering his *Saturae* as an experiment similar to the “miscellanies” of Hellenistic polymetrical occasional poetry, which did not manage to crystalize into a new genre. Only Lucilius, after experimenting with several meters, endowed *satura* with a fixed form – the hexameter – and with the traits that would from then on define the genre: personal abuse and social criticism. In later theoreticians such as Porphyrius and Diomedes, the initial stage is defined solely by its metrical variety, but it is worth noting that Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.95) also referred to this characteristic of the earliest satire – *prius satirae genus* – when he mentions it as the starting point of Menippean satire in Rome: Varro added prose to its polymetrics.

9.1 Greek Precedents for Satire: The Definition of the Genre in Horace: Uncertainties and Limits

The satirical spirit was not a Roman invention: it could already be found in Greek literary genres such as diatribe, Athenian Old Comedy, and iambic poetry, referents that Horace takes into account when approaching his definition of satire. All of these genres, which in the time of Horace became

confused and identified with each other, have in common the “spoudogeloion” and, in spite of its humor, a freedom of expression that was often very aggressive (Freudenburg 1993, 82–83). Horace carried out an intense programmatic activity that was not limited to his openly programmatic poems (*Sat.* 1.4, 1.10, and 2.1) but is also present in other satires of Book 1, especially in 1.1 (Duffallo 2000; Schlegel 2005, 5). In his reflections on the genre, Horace distances himself from the aggressiveness of the Greek genres just mentioned and of those who adopted it in Rome, with Lucilius heading the list.

By entitling his work *Sermones*, “conversations,” and in opening them with a triad of diatribe satires, Horace was recognizing the contribution of the Cynic diatribe to his work; but from the very beginning he locates his *sermo* in the Roman world in which he lives, and more specifically in the friendly atmosphere of the circle of Maecenas, whose name features in the first line of Book 1. He adapts the conventions of the diatribe to that milieu, multiplying the levels of interlocution in such a way that in addition to the “you” of the diatribic interlocutor adversary, who defends the customs that the satire is criticizing, there is the “you” of the friend with whom attitudes and moral values are shared (Citroni 1993, 114–25); he likewise underscores the distance separating his *Sermones* from the unlimited excesses of the doctrinaire Stoics (*Sat.* 1.1.120–21, 1.3.138–39). In contrast to them he chooses moderation (1.105–7), especially for tolerance of friends’ shortcomings (1.3). Thus he prepares the ground for setting in 1.4 the limits that his satire aims to respect.

In the first lines he establishes a literary genealogy for the genre: Lucilius followed in the steps of Old Comedy poets by changing the meter only: *si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur, / quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui / famosus, multa cum libertate notabant*, “if anyone deserved to be drawn as a crook and a thief, as an adulterer, a gunman, or with a bad reputation for whatever reason, they set their mark upon him with great freedom” (3–5). Here Horace is projecting on the Greek comedy writers the public function of the Roman censor (*notabant*) and he attributes certain targets of attack to them that could hardly be identified with the victims of Aristophanic comedy (Freudenburg 2001, 18), but which, as we shall see, were of interest to Horace for developing his own program. In any case, this evocation of Old Comedy can be attributed, as Rosen (2012, 28) points out, to a broader purpose: it would not have been a matter so much of pointing out the true targets of Old Comedy criticism but rather of evoking its habit of personal abuse of contemporary criminals and delinquents, the model that Lucilius followed to attack his own Roman victims: with the same freedom he unmasked hypocrites (*Sat.* 2.1.64–65), and mocked the entire city and its

leaders with merciless humor (*Sat.* 1.10.3–4, 2.1.69). This type of satire, facilitated by the republican policy of *libertas*, was no longer possible in the time of Horace, nor was it compatible with the prudence that his modest social origins advised. In *Rep.* 4.11–12, Cicero makes it very clear that punishment of crimes was the task of the magistrates and not of the comic poets (Heldmann 1987, 126–29); and Horace himself points out in *Sat.* 1.3.106 that the laws came into being to prevent individuals from becoming thieves or adulterers, which were exactly the crimes that, according to him, were pursued by Old Comedy and Lucilius (*Sat.* 1.4.3–5). Thus in 1.4, Horace aimed at detaching himself from his predecessors by transferring satire to the private context.

After Lucilius, authors of verse invective such as Pompeius Lenaeus and Gaius Trebonius recognized him as a model of the *libertas verborum* in their works (LaFleur 1981, 1803–5). This trend of satire that practiced the so-called “onomasti komoidein” (“satirizing its victims by name”), contributed to the genre’s arousing suspicions among its readers. That is why Horace, in an important passage in *Sat.* 1.4, mentions Old Comedy and Lucilius as those responsible in the last instance for the hostility the genre provoked. In response to this Horace presents a new program for satire, in which he defends the inoffensive nature of his work; in an attempt to allay the fears his audience had of the infamy that abusive satire spewed out at its victims, he affirms that he will limit his audience to his circle of friends.

He carries out this operation in a very subtle way: first he changes the victims, from those attributed at the beginning to Old Comedy (*dignus describi*, *Sat.* 1.4.3) to those guilty (*culpari dignos*, 25) of less serious but more common vices such as avarice or ambition (25–26). Thus, he provides a hint that his satire will be closer to New Comedy, which is inspired by the daily life of normal men (38–62), uses the plain style of the *sermo*, and employs a less aggressive humor than its predecessor. New Comedy, in the Terentian version that Horace has in mind, furthermore offers an interesting component for his purposes, that of paternal education, which will later play an important role in the definition of his satire.

In any event, Horace will have to string together his arguments very finely to counteract his interlocutor’s opinion about the satirist. The interlocutor, as a kind of spokesperson for general public opinion, considers the satirist to be an iambographer incapable of controlling his aggressiveness and the mordacity of his humor, somebody who does not respect even his friends. Above all, the interlocutor accuses the satirist of giving too much publicity to his verses and thus damaging his victims’ reputations (34–38).

To convince him, Horace compares his satire, not with other literary genres (as noted before), but with three “discourse genres,” thus returning the *sermo* to its source of inspiration, real life (Cortés Tovar 1991, 66–67). Here, we may capitalize on the Bakhtinian category, because it helps us to explain how Horace operates in his definition of his new satire. For Bakhtin (1986), the genres of discourse emerge from statements closely linked to different situations of communication; they are simple genres that are produced in the sphere of daily communication, whereas the literary genres, which incorporate them and transform them, are more elaborate ones that appear in more complex circumstances of cultural exchange. Bearing this in mind, I believe that the voices of the accusers (*Sat.* 1.4.65–68), the *sermo* of the *scurra* at the banquet (85–100), and the informal educational lecture given by Horace’s father (105–20) are discourse genres. Horace rejects the first two, but accepts the last one because it invites him to reflect on correct conduct; his satire later comes from these reflections (129–39).

The accusers are frightening because of their mercilessness and the publicity they give to their acts of accusation (*libelli*, 66) but he who has clean hands will despise them (*at bene si quis / et vivat puris manibus, contemnat utrumque*, 67–68). In contrast, Horace does not even attack those who have dirty hands (69–70) in his verses; moreover, he does not publicize his *libellos* by exhibiting them in bookshops, nor does he recite them outside his circle of friends (71–73). Therefore, nobody should fear him or confuse him with poets who disseminate their verses just anywhere and before any audience, with no sense of the opportuneness of doing so (74–78). He may have been thinking of the authors of abusive, public, and obscene poetry, which would have had the same shameful effect as that of the *libelli* of the accusers named earlier.

Neither can Horace be accused of enjoying inflicting hurt (78–80), because he is not a malicious critic nor does he behave like the *niger*, whose code of conduct he cites ironically (81–85): one who scathingly attacks his absent friend, does not defend him when another accuses him, and is capable of inventing things he has never seen in order to attain fame as a jokester (*famam dicacis*) and of telling secrets that people have confided to him; *hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveo* (“that man is a scoundrel, of him beware, roman”) he concludes in a parodic oracular tone (Courtney 2013, 92). *Niger* and *ater* characterize envy, *livor* (Dickie 1981); but his interlocutor confuses everything: whereas he considers the poet *lividus et mordax* for having used “onomasti komoidein” against the insignificant Rufillus and Gargonius (*Sat.* 1.2.27), he considers *comis et urbanus liberque*, “kind and witty and frank,” one who, encouraged by the wine (*Liber*) in the banquet, sprays every guest with his jokes without noticing that with his excessive and

inopportune *libertas* he is behaving like a *scurra*, who does away with the virtues that should prevail at a *convivium*: *comitas*, *urbanitas*, and *libertas* (Cuchiarelli 2001, 96). Moreover, while moving away from the letter of the code, he hypocritically preserves its spirit when he pretends to defend a friend accused of robbery, while at the same time insinuating his guilt. The satirist unmasks his true nature: *hic nigrae sucus lolliginis, haec est / aerugo mera*, “this is the very ink of the cuttlefish, this is pure gall” (*Sat.* 1.4.100–1). His “bad mood,” characteristic of envy, will not be found in Horace’s work (101–3); thus, he turns against the *scurra* his own accusation of Horace as being *lividus et mordax*.

Throughout his self-defense, Horace has rejected the various insinuations made against him: that he would be an iambographer who does not even spare his friends to achieve *famam dicacis*, that his humor would be inappropriate and employed without regard to circumstances of time and place (1.4.34–38, 74–85, 91–93), and that he would use *ridiculum illiberale* – the latter a type of humor characterized by *scurrilis dicacitas* and the obscenity of the mime – wholly unbecoming to the *convivium liberorum* at which prevalence should be given to that which is *facetum*, *elegans*, and *urbanum* (Cic. *De or.* 2.217–90). This is also the humor that Horace adopts in his work: the ironic humor of one who knows how to control and attenuate its force (*Sat.* 1.10.13–14).

Moderation will prevail in his satire, both in *libertas* and in humor, and if he happens to go a little too far (*liberius si dixero quid, si forte iocosius*, *Sat.* 1.4.103–4), it will always be with the moral purpose of criticizing not the depraved but rather their vices (*exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando*, 106). This is in line with the educational *sermo* of his father, who displaces his literary father Lucilius as his model (Schlegel 2005, 38–51), thus bringing about a kind of new beginning for the genre. The effect of his father’s talks and that of a *liber amicus* who points out his mistakes, will improve his conduct and make him “kind to his friends” because, as opposed to the *scurra*, his behavior will be guided by prudence and discretion in the circle of Maecenas, in which *amicitia* still had a political dimension. The respect for these programmatically established limits appears to be applied later, above all in satire 1.5, which narrates his journey to Brundisium accompanying his powerful friends. Horace adapts his *sermo* to the political and cultural circumstances of his time.

Despite the limits established in *Sat.* 1.4, Horace in *Sat.* 1.10 uses the “onomasti komoidein” against abusive poets such as Demetrius and Fannius (79–80) who, like the mimes of Laberius, are content to make people laugh (6) or to imitate Calvus and Catullus inartfully (17–19). All of them are popular with the masses (73), but are not destined to survive owing to the

lack of quality of their sub-literary and ephemeral verses, which would never receive the support of readers such as Horace wished for his work, the greatest poets and literary men of his time (81–90). In this way he traces the dividing line between his satire, which he locates within the system of Augustan literary genres (40–49), and the popular, non-literary lampoons and invectives that furthermore could be dangerous because of their political attacks (Ruffell 2003, 42–44).

The tension between the essential aggressiveness of the genre and the moderation that Horace opts for in Book 1 divided, so he tells us, his readers: some thought him too hard and others too soft (*Sat.* 2.1.1–4). He then uses these criticisms to approach the offensive nature of satire from the legal point of view: his jurist friend, Trebatius, advises him to stop writing satire in order to avoid the threat from the libel and slander laws. Horace refuses: he likes to write in the way Lucilius does; the greatest concession he can make is to use his weapons only to defend himself, as he already had done when responding to the attacks from the poets Demetrius and Fannius (*Sat.* 1.10.78–80). Anyone who dares to hurt him will cry when he finds himself exposed to public ridicule (*flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe*, *Sat.* 2.1.46) and there will be no legal grounds for intervening against him: his moral integrity, his *bona carmina* (in the aesthetic sense), and his friendship with Maecenas and Octavian will defend him. He now feels safe from the artistic and personal point of view: the envious person who bites him thinking he is fragile will get hurt (77–78). Trebatius ends by accepting that his new situation and the pleasure wrought by his intelligent and subtle humor will avoid any punishment from the courts (86). Thus, Horace affirms the satirical nature of his work, despite having placed on it the limits demanded by the aesthetic and political conditions of his time.

9.2 Martial's Satirical Epigram: Proximity and Borders between Epigram and Satire

In the *epistula* that opens Book 1 of the *Epigrams*, Martial includes himself in a Roman epigram tradition that he created, probably slightly forcing the facts, in order to provide the epigram genre with greater dignity by endowing it with precedents of renowned prestige (Citroni 2004, 25–26): Catullus, Marsus, Pedo, and Gaetulicus, from whom he has borrowed *lascivia*, the “tongue of epigram,” its risqué and obscene nature, which brings it close to mime. The ludic function which he claims for the genre excludes *tristitia* and *severitas*, and they are also rejected in other programmatic poems (1.35, 8.3). This rejection seems to leave the serious critical function of satire

outside the epigram genre. But there is an implicit poetics in Martial's work that can be considered specific to his satirical epigrams, a poetics developed by means of intertextual references to the programmatic texts by Horace and Persius. The presence of Horatian intertexts in Martial's reflexions on epigram has already been partially approached by several critics (Johannsen 2006, 64–67; Neger 2012, 240–45). Here, starting from a previous study (Cortés Tovar 2004), I shall attempt to delve deeper into this matter.

The epigrammatist follows Horace's steps in restricting the personal abuse and hurtful humor of the satirical attack, something that had become absolutely necessary at a time when censorship had completely replaced republican *libertas* (Suet. *Dom.* 8.3): he had to avoid the danger entailed in the criticism of influential personages or those seated at the height of power. That is why he insists, especially in epigrams addressed to the emperor, that his verses do not harm anyone (5.15.2) but are innocuous (1.4.7).

However, it is in his programmatic epigrams (1, *praef.*, 7.12.7, 7.72.11–12, and 10.33) that Horace's *Sat.* 1.4.63–106 (analyzed above) serves as a particular model for his claims of the inoffensive nature of his verses and his rejection of iambic aggressiveness. Intertextual references to these verses appear in all of them, either through clear verbal allusions or by picking up on Horace's arguments (for these two types of intertextuality in Martial, "linguistic" and "thematic," see Williams 2006, 332–33).

In 1.4.67–68, Horace says that those who have clean hands can disregard the *libelli* of the public accusers; Martial in 1, *praef.* states that he has observed such moderation in his books (*in libellis meis*) that anyone who has a clean conscience cannot complain about them: *queri non possit quisquis de se bene senserit*. He leaves open the possibility that those who do not have this clean conscience may feel criticized by epigrams in which they see their customs reflected, such as Mamurra in 10.4.11–12. In any case, the criticism would be indirect: an effect of the representation of the vices in the epigram rather than of the abusive attack by the epigrammatist, since he states that he has respected even the most modest of persons and that he does not seek fame at the cost of ridiculing anyone. Horace also rejected the *famam dicacis* pursued by the *niger*, a figure that appears here in the form of a "malicious interpreter" who sees in the frankness of Martial's jokes (*iocorum nostrorum simplicitate*) hidden meanings that they do not have. In this way the poet points out his lack of control over the way in which his work is received, as it is always exposed to insidious interpretations.

The same arguments are repeated in 7.12.2–3, but Martial comes even closer to Horace when he, like Horace in *Sat.* 1.4.69–70, affirms that his page does not even hurt those who deserve it (*ut mea nec iuste quos odit pagina laesit*, 7.12.3); and again, he rejects fame attained at the cost of

someone else's shame (4), such as the renown acquired by Archilochus after his ill-fated attacks on Lycambes (6). Perhaps Martial chose this particular instance as he, like the Hellenistic epigrammatists, felt Archilochus to be one of the predecessors of the genre (Neger 2014, 329), but a predecessor from whom he wished to distance himself, just as Horace distanced himself from iambus in *Sat.* 1.4.34. Nevertheless, what concerns Martial is that some may attribute to him the unbridled violence of iambus: that under his name they may "vomit viperish venom" (5–8). *Ludimus innocui*, "my jests are harmless," – he affirms – and swears to it on Fame, the Muses, and his reader, a powerful guide of epigrammatic writing, whom he describes as *inhumana liber ab invidia* (12), "free from heartless envy." Such envy undoubtedly encourages those who circulate hurtful poems as if they were his; see 7.72, in which he asks a friend to defend him *si quisquam mea dixerit malignus / atro carmina quae madent veneno*, "if somebody malicious attributed to me poems that are soaking in black venom" (12–13). Underlying this, elevated to the maximum, is the *nigra sucus loliginis, ... / aerugo mera*, "very ink of the cuttlefish, ... pure gall," of Horace's *niger* (*Sat.* 1.4.100–101), since in Martial the connection between the adjectives *niger* and *ater* and the noun *livor*, "envy," frequently identified with *malignitas*, is clearer than in Horace. We can see it in 10.33.5–6, where he again asks a friend incapable of duplicity (*simplicior*, 1) to defend him *si viridi tinctos aerugine versus / forte malus livor dixerit meos*, "if by any chance the malicious envy claimed that verses stained in green copper-rust are mine," a text which evidently also alludes to Horace's *Sat.* 1.4.100–101.

In these texts, Martial adds an obsession of his own to the apology of the satirist: the fear that someone would disseminate harsh iambic personal attacks under his name.

In 6.44, we also find "thematic" intertextuality with Horace's passage on the *niger*: Calliodorus, like the *niger*, is a *scurra* who abuses humor by making fun of everyone present at the banquet: "at all you sneer, you throw your witticisms at everyone" (3). This *scurra* appears as representing a humor (*scurrilis dicacitas*) lacking *urbanitas* that Martial does not like and that he condemns in other epigrams, such as 1.41 and 10.3 (Saggese 1994, 53–54). In the latter an anonymous poet who attributes his verses to Martial is characterized by the epigrammatist as a scathing *scurra*, from whose black fame he is distancing his books (*procul a libellis nigra sit meis fama*, 9).

In these and other texts, Martial is positioning himself in favor of a refined and appropriate humor, with a contained aggressiveness, similar to that adopted by Horace for his satire; but we must not ignore the differences. As a consequence of *lascivia*, an essential trait of epigram that is not shared with satire, Martial at times comes close to mime, as we can see in the lines that

close his initial epistle and in other epigrams (1.4.5, 3.86). Horace, in contrast, rejects the humor of mime in 1.10.5–8, and proposes that of Old Comedy for satire (1.10.16–17). The dramatic referents for humor in the two genres are different and in general there are also large differences between the humor of satire and that of epigram. The ludic function in Martial's epigram leaves plenty of room for jokes with no serious intent, such that epigram is open to a wider spectrum of comical resources than satire: they range from the stinging and coarse kind of humor associated with *lascivia* to the most indirect and contained kind, which he uses in the critical function of his satirical epigrams.

This function also appears in his poetics, always in contexts in which he opposes epigram, for its inspiration from life, to the mythological themes of tragedy and epic (4.49, 8.3.11–22, and 10.4). This programmatic motif is found in the satirists starting with Lucilius but does not appear in Horace, and thus Martial now turns for his intertext to the programmatic opening of Persius' satire 5, in which the themes of tragic poetry are treated with disdain (*si quibus aut Prognēs aut si quibus olla Thyestae / ferverit saepe insulso cenanda Glyconi*, "any who plan to boil Procne's pot or Thyestes's, usual supper for tasteless Glyco" (8–9)), and their style said to be inflated (*tu neque anhelanti, ... / folle premis ventos nec ... scloppo tumidas intendis rumpere buccas*, "but you don't squeeze the air through wheezing bellows nor ... strain to burst puffed-out cheeks with a bang" (10–12)). It is from here that Martial takes themes and images for 4.49. He affirms that those who consider epigrams "only games and jokes" (2) do not know "what epigrams are," and paradoxically he attributes frivolity to elevated poetry ("he who writes about the feast of savage Tereus or of your banquet, *dyspeptic* Thyestes, is more frivolous" (3–4)), owing to its vacuity and extravagant swollen puffiness: *a nostris procul est omnis vessica libellis / Musa nec insano symmate nostra tumet*, "all turgescence is far from my poems and my Muse does not swell with frenzied tragic garments" (7–8).

Persius had already pointed out the uselessness of mythological poetry (5.5), which he describes further on, resorting to oxymoron, as "mournful trifles" (*pullatis nugis*, 20) with no connection to his satirical project. Martial in 4.49 also considers it worthless in comparison to his epigrams, whose greater relevance he explicitly affirms in 8.3 when he attributes to them the function of reflecting life: "let life acknowledge and read about her own ways" (20). That is why, despite their modesty, they outdo tragedy and epic (21–22). However, it is in 10.4 that we find this aspect of his poetics most developed: he first considers mythological stories as so pointless that they do not deserve the sheets they are squandering (*Quid te vana iuvant miserae ludibria chartae?*, "Why does the vain twaddle of a wretched sheet delight

you?” (7)), and then he invites Mamurra to read his work, over which life itself could claim authorship (“*meum est*,” 8), and whose pages “smack of man” (*hominem pagina nostra sapit*, 9); nonetheless, as mentioned earlier, Mamurra is not a reader with a good conscience and he does not wish to recognize his customs (*non vis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores*, 11) in the work of Martial.

The poet does not claim moral and social censorship for his work, does not adopt the gesture of the moralizing censor of satire, but he does state that epigram can have a critical function, deriving from its representation of despicable moral and social customs. It is in the effect rather than in the poet’s pose that epigram approximates satire. But the difference between the two genres can be appreciated even in the most explicit affirmation of the satirical function of epigram: “My books have learnt to observe this measure: to spare the person but denounce the vice” (10.33.9–10). Here, Martial follows the principle that Horace learned from his father: to condemn the vices instead of the persons (*exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando*, *Sat.* 1.4.106), towards whom he observes the *reverentia* he claimed in the initial epistle; but it is not by chance that he avoids the term *notare*: he is not a censor, he only speaks of vices and represents them in the awareness that they can have a critical effect.

In any case, there is an *epigramma longum*, 6.64, written in hexameters, in which Martial seems to be writing satire (Morelli 2007, 40). Although concentration on a single person and a single theme is typically epigrammatic (Grewing 1997, 406), and while Martial himself considers it an epigram, he is obliged to defend it as such in 6.65 because of the doubts as to its nature it could arouse in his readers.

The epigram in question is an invective launched in self-defense against a poetaster who has criticized Martial’s books and written *versiculi* against him (1–23). Martial threatens to mark him forever with the burning sting of his bile and to defame him all over the city. He can be a placid bear, but if attacked with “rabid mouth,” he will turn into a beast (24–32). Neger (2012, 246–53) studies this epigram as a cross between epigram and iambus. In my opinion it can be seen as a link in the chain between Horace’s satire and that of Juvenal.

Horace says in *Sat.* 2.1 that he will only attack someone who hurts him and that his victim will be pointed at by everyone (46). He does not say that he will name him, but his use of *insignis*, “noted,” leads us to assume he will make him easily identifiable. The same can be said in the case of Martial 6.64, but his weapons, in contrast to Horace’s, have a more blunt force: the *ardor bilis*, the fire of his anger, will leave an indelible mark on his victim. The poetaster has bitten into “something solid” and Martial responds harshly

to him: the threat that Horace aimed at his detractors has been carried out (77–78). Martial advises him to exhaust his teeth on an empty skin and bite on silent meat (31–32), that of the dead. The attack on the dead was the only means by which Juvenal could practice Lucilian invective (Juv. 1.170–71). Therefore 6.64 on the one hand follows Horace in its use of satire as self-defense; on the other, it prefigures Juvenal’s *indignatio* and the objects of his satire.

9.3 Martial in Juvenal

Martial’s substantial influence on Juvenal has received extensive scholarly attention and each facet of it has been thoroughly studied: thematic coincidences, occasioned by their living in Rome at the same time and in a similar social context, similarities and differences in their comical resources, intertextuality, but, above all, differences depending on genre, since Juvenal develops Martial’s epigrams to use them for satirical purposes of a greater scope (Wilson 1898; Highet 1951; Anderson 1970; Colton 1991). Juvenal does not mention Martial, but it is obvious from his work that he knew his epigrams very well; Martial, however, does bear testimony to his friendship with Juvenal in 7.24, 7.91, and 12.18.

Here we must limit ourselves to determining, by means of examining the intertextual references, the presence of Martial in Juvenal’s poetic program.

In the first line of his *Satires* Juvenal presents his writing as a kind of vengeance: to respond to the recitations of hackneyed mythological poetry that make him waste his time he has decided to turn himself into one of the many poets who squander the sheets, since *stulta est clementia ... periturae parcere chartae*, “it is foolish clemency ... to spare a sheet that will be wasted anyway” (17–18). He thus points out the uselessness of mythological poetry. Martial, for his part, by opposing his epigrams to this type of poetry in 10.4, deems “wretched” the sheet squandered by those who write on it (10.4.7 quoted above) and shows compassion for it in 6.64, in which it is the poetaster who wastes the wretched sheets (*miseras ... chartas*) with his *versiculi*. Juvenal turns the motif around and considers clemency stupid, but his irony is evident because he is ready to use it for the purpose of satirical condemnation.

Further on (51–54), when he evokes Horace as the referent of his work, he again opposes the themes worthy of the “Venusian lamp” to the stories of myth, among which he mentions Hercules’ great deeds, to which Hylas was linked, and the myth of Icarus, both of whom appear in the same context in Martial’s programmatic epigrams 4.49.5 and 10.4.3–5.

It is not surprising that Juvenal would have Martial's poetics so much in mind since, in his work, we find the same lively representation of reality as in that of the epigrammatist. Juvenal also adopts the attitude of the observer who places himself at the crossroads to contemplate the *pompa vitiorum* of his contemporary Rome. The wide range of topics in Juvenal's satire ("all the deeds of mankind, their vows, their fear, their anger, their pleasures, their joys, their plots conform the motley of our booklet," 1.85–86) has left critics somewhat perplexed, since not all of them are vices requiring the stinging whip of satire. Their inclusion can only be a rewriting of Martial 10.4.10: *hominem pagina nostra sapit*, "our page smacks of man" (Colton 1991, 44). But Juvenal does not follow Horace and Martial in their method of criticizing the vices while respecting the persons; he tends to lean more towards Lucilius' model of *ad personam* attacks, a method that the interlocutor tries to get him away from because of the danger it entailed under the imperial regime.

The interlocutor asks him where he will find "that candor of your forefathers to write at their own will about whatever their burning soul desired?" (151–53). Times had changed so much that it was no longer even possible to refer to freedom of expression with the term *libertas*, owing to its political connotations; it had been replaced by *simplicitas*, although *libertas* can be gleaned through *liberet* and identification of the two terms is reinforced. The satirist thus reclaims his *libertas* by quoting Lucilius: "*cuius non audeo dicere nomen?*," "whose name do I not dare to say?" (153). But why has he chosen *simplicitas* to replace *libertas*?

Martial can help us to answer this question. In his initial epistle he refers to the *simplicitas* of his "literary *lusus*" which, in their frankness, did not hide a double meaning, nor could they be interpreted maliciously. *Libertas* only appears in 10.48, which forms a pair with the previous epigram in which, curiously enough, we find *simplicitas*. Read together they show a programmatic value that seems to have gone unnoticed: in 10.47, among the factors that make men happy, we find *prudens simplicitas*, *pares amici*, / *convictus facilis*, *sine arte mensa*, "tactful candor, friends equal in rank, good-natured guests, a board plainly set" (7–8); in 10.48 we find the term *libertas* associated with the free *sermo*, which follows a modest supper among friends: *accedent sine felle ioci nec mane timenda* / *libertas et nil quod tacuisse velis*, "jokes without gall will follow and a freedom that shall not be dreaded the following morning and nothing that one could wish to have kept to oneself" (21–22). The conversation only addresses the factions of the Circus in order to avoid the dangers that freedom of expression can provoke (23–24): not even in private could one speak freely without fear. That is why *prudens simplicitas* is advised even at a supper among friends (10.47.7). Martial is using

the two terms as synonyms, at least partial ones. Perhaps Juvenal's choice of the term to refer to *libertas* came from there. However, at the same time, the meaning of *simplicitas* as "frankness without duplicity," which appears in the epistle, served very well for Juvenal's program of writing satire as the spontaneous and artless response of a simple and good man to a social reality that he does not approve of (Cortés Tovar 2007).

With this small example of the presence of Martial's programmatic texts in Juvenal's principal program for satire, we conclude this review of the contacts, similarities, and differences between both genres at the level of the authors' poetological reflections.

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CHAPTER TEN

Immanent Genre Theory in Greek and Roman Epigram

Margot Neger

While ancient literary theorists discussed genres such as epic poetry or drama in various theoretical treatises, they usually excluded epigrammatic poetry from their considerations. Most catalogues of canonical writers and genres, such as the famous list in Book 10 of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, do not mention epigram or its representatives (cf. Puelma 1996, 130–31). All we encounter, if anything, are sporadic allusions to this minor genre (cf. Lausberg 1982, 31–37). Whereas literary theorists rarely deal with epigrammatic poetry, epigrammatists themselves show a high degree of generic self-awareness (cf. Hess 1989, 1). We are thus able to reconstruct both an *immanent* epigrammatic theory and the history of the genre that manifests itself in the various Greek and Latin collections (cf. Schmidt 2001). Apart from explicit metapoetic statements, allusions to other writers shed light on ancient epigrammatists' views of their poetry and their self-positioning within the literary tradition. As Joseph Farrell (2003) has argued in his article on classical genre, there is a considerable gap between ancient theory of genre and the ways in which literary practitioners deal with concepts of genre. In the case of epigram, literary self-awareness even seems to have been a characteristic feature of the genre from its beginning. Whereas the composers of non-literary inscriptions rarely emphasize their own role as author, the literary *persona* of the poet establishes itself right from the start in literary epigrams, that is epigrams composed for books, as evident in the works of early epigrammatists such as Nossis, Asclepiades, and Leonidas of Tarentum (fourth/third century BCE; cf. Gutzwiller 1998, 11; Tueller 2008, 54). Already in early Hellenistic

collections the construction of a poetic autobiography is an important feature. However, notwithstanding the Hellenistic poets' high degree of self-awareness, not until the Flavian era will epigrammatic poetry claim the status of a canonical genre able to rival epic poetry and drama. At a time when epic poetry flourishes with Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, and Statius, Martial the epigrammatist too composes an extensive oeuvre (altogether 15 books), whose aim – especially in books 1–12 – is to compete with these works. Moreover, in his *Epigrammaton libri* he develops a kind of *ars poetica epigrammatica* (cf. Puelma 1996, 137; Neger 2012; Mindt 2013b) and deals with various aspects concerning the composition, reception, and literary status of his chosen genre.

One possible reason for this might have been that, although Martial's contemporaries could already look back at a long tradition of epigrammatic writing, they still had a very vague conception of this genre. Pliny the Younger, for example, presents himself as a poet following in the footsteps of Catullus and in letter 4.14 offers several possible titles for his poetic *nugae* (*Ep.* 4.14.9): *epigrammata*, *idyllia*, *eclogae*, *poematia* and *hendecasyllabi*. Pliny's teacher Quintilian uses the term *epigramma* only with reference to scoptic poems, such as in *Inst.* 1.5.21 on Catullus' poem 84 and *Inst.* 8.3.29, where an epigram on the historiographer Sallust is cited. It is also striking that writers before the first century CE whom we would usually classify as epigrammatists never refer to their own poems with the term *epigramma*, but instead, the Greek Hellenistic poets and Catullus use ἔλεγχοι, ἀοιδά, ὕμνοι, οἶμῃ, and μέλισμα, or *nugae*, *iambi*, *hendecasyllabi*, and *versiculi*.

Martial, on the other hand, repeatedly speaks of his poems as *epigrammata* and with this term also refers to the poems of Callimachus and Catullus;¹ thus he seems to retrospectively construe an epigrammatic tradition and immanent generic history. His characterization of Catullus as an epigrammatist, moreover, conspicuously differs from Catullus' own poetic self-conception (cf. Holzberg's contribution in this volume): Martial offers us a very reductionist picture of his predecessor by citing him as *the* authority for the obscene language of epigrammatic poetry (cf. Swann 1994 and 1998; Lorenz 2007; Neger 2012, 54–73 and 132; Mindt 2013b, 134–61). Several times the Flavian writer declares that obscene language is an important feature of epigrammatic poetry (1 *praef.*, 1.34–35, 3.68–69; cf. Mulligan's contribution in this volume). Martial, it should be noted, was not the first epigrammatist to create a generic tradition in retrospect. Since the early Hellenistic representatives of epigram were not able to trace their genre back to a *primus inventor*, they invented a tradition by ascribing epigrams to lyric poets such as Sappho, Anacreon, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Archilochus. As Alexander Sens (2007, 375) has put it, “in attributing epigrams to these authors, Hellenistic epigrammatists provided themselves with authoritative generic ancestors.”

In what follows, I will address the question how Greek and Roman epigrammatists create their generic tradition: which features of epigrammatic poetry do they discuss and how do they reflect on the composition and reception of their genre?

10.1 Epigrammatic Brevity

The first instances where Greek poets use the term ἐπίγραμμα appear in the imperial period and are connected with the discussion of the appropriate length of a poem (*AP* 9.342 Parmenion; cf. *AP* 9.369 Cyrillus; for his possible dating to the first century CE see Lausberg 1982, 44):

Φημί πολυστιχὴν ἐπιγράμματος οὐ κατὰ Μούσας
εἶναι. μὴ ζητεῖτ' ἐν σταδίῳ δόλιχον·
πόλλ' ἀνακυκλοῦται δολιχὸς δρόμος· ἐν σταδίῳ δὲ
ὀξύς ἐλαυνομένοις πνεύματός ἐστι τόνος.

An epigram of many lines does not, I say, confirm to the Muses' law. Seek not the long course in the short stadion. The long race has many rounds, but in the stadion sharp and short is the strain of the runners' breath.²

The ideal of ὀλιγοστιχίη (“the consisting of few lines,” cf. LSJ, 1215 s.v.) is also programmatically advertised in the *Garland* of Philip, which probably dates to the reign of Nero (*AP* 4.2.5–6):³

ἀλλὰ παλαιότερων εἰδῶς κλέος, ἐσθλὲ Κάμιλλε,
γνώθι καὶ ὀπλοτέρων τὴν ὀλιγοστιχίην.

You know, noble Camillus, the famous writers of old; learn also to know the concise expression of more recent ones.

As Philip states, ὀλιγοστιχίη is a characteristic feature of the more recent poets he chose to include into his *Garland*. Unlike its Hellenistic model, the *Garland* of Meleager, Philip's anthology includes no poem exceeding a length of eight lines (cf. Maltomini in this volume).⁴ Brevity, however, had already been promoted earlier by Callimachus.⁵ As Höschle (2017) argues, Parmenion's epigram alludes to the adjective ὀλιγόστιχος in the *Actia* prologue (*Act.* 1.9–12). Moreover, one of Callimachus' epigrams might likewise have inspired Parmenion (*AP* 7.447; cf. Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 192–93; Cameron 1995, 336; Gutzwiller 1998, 198–200; Meyer 2005, 191–92 and 2007, 198–99):

Σύντομος ἦν ὁ ξείνος· ὃ καὶ στίχος οὐ μακρὰ λέξων
“Θῆρις Ἀρισταίου, Κρής” ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δολιχός.

The stranger was reticent, so that the line which says briefly “Theris, son of Aristaeus, a Cretan” is too long upon me. (trans. Gutzwiller 1998, 198)

As Theris from Crete was a reticent person, a funerary epigram containing only the most important information (name, father’s name, home country) is still regarded as too long for him – an idea which is accentuated by the antithesis of σύντομος (“reticent”) and δολιχός (“long”) framing the poem. Martial picks up the topic of brevity, but other than Callimachus and the epigrammatists collected in Philip’s *Garland* he lampoons characters who adhere to this principle all too excessively (Mart. 1.110, 2.77, 3.83, 10.59, 8.29; cf. Lausberg 1982, 44–56). In 1.110 we read that someone has criticized Martial for composing long epigrams:

Scribere me quereris, Velox, epigrammata longa.
Ipse nihil scribis: tu breviora facis.

Velox, you complain that I write long epigrams. You write nothing yourself: you make shorter ones. (my trans.)

This distich stages a reader response and is juxtaposed with 1.109, a long poem in hendecasyllables comprising 23 lines and full of Catullan echoes (cf. Citroni 1975, ad loc.; Howell 1980, ad loc.; Fitzgerald 2007, 184–85; Neger 2012, 65–68). In Catullus’ “polymetra” we often find poems exceeding a length of 20 lines, and Martial’s reader with the speaking name of Velox seems to criticize precisely this tradition. Similar to Callimachus’ reticent Cretan, Velox adheres to the ideal of brevity to such a degree that he writes nothing at all. We encounter a similar kind of reader response in Book 3. After Martial has confronted us with a long scoptic poem comprising more than 30 choliambics in 3.82, he is criticized by a fictitious reader named Cordus in the next poem (3.83):

Ut faciam breviora mones epigrammata, Corde.
“Fac mihi quod Chione”: non potui brevius.

You tell me to write shorter epigrams, Cordus. “Do for me what Chione does.” That’s as short as I could make it.⁶

Martial’s fictive opponent obviously regards the long poem 3.82, written in *scazontes*, as too long, but still classifies it as an *epigramma*.⁷ Similar to Callimachus, Martial articulates his poetic principles through an epigram within the epigram, thereby entering into an intertextual dialogue with

Callimachus' poem on Theris quoted above. Unlike Callimachus, who advertises epigrammatic brevity in a literary epitaph and uses the typical formulae of funerary inscriptions, Martial's version is reminiscent of graffiti such as those found on Pompeian walls.⁸ *Fac mihi quod Chione* is a sexual insult in the sense of *λαικάζειν dicere* ("tell to go suck;" cf. Mart. 11.58.12), for Chione is depicted as a *fellatrix* elsewhere in the book (cf. 3.87 and 97; Fusi 2006, 498). Moreover, Martial seems to aim at surpassing Callimachus in brevity, for the Hellenistic poet's inscription within the inscription transgresses the caesura of the pentameter, whereas Martial's version is confined to the first *hemiepes*. The Latin *brevius* ("shorter") at the end of the poem seems to pick up Callimachus' *δολιχός* ("long"). After *AP* 7.447 presented a single distich containing an inscription which was still regarded as too long, Martial offers us the shortest possible solution for an epigram within the epigram: a *hemiepes*. At the same time he insults those who cultivate brevity excessively. On the one hand, Martial shows himself to be capable of realizing this ideal, on the other he mocks it through an obscene variation of *AP* 7.447.

10.2 Faking Inscriptions

Apart from the question of appropriate length, the practice of faking inscriptions is also reflected upon in literary epigram. The Neronian poet Lucillius, one of Martial's most important predecessors, mocks the act of writing funerary poems as follows (*AP* 11.312):

Οὐδενὸς ἐνθάδε νῦν τεθνηκότος, ὦ παροδίτα,
 Μάρκος ὁ ποιητὴς ὥκοδόμηκε τάφον,
 καὶ γράψας ἐπίγραμμα μονόστιχον, ὥδ' ἐχάραξε:
 "κλαύσατε δωδεκέτη Μάξιμον ἐξ Ἐφέσου."
 οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶδον ἐγὼ τινα Μάξιμον· εἰς δ' ἐπίδειξιν 5
 ποιητοῦ κλαίειν τοῖς παριοῦσι λέγω.

Though there is no one dead here now, O passer-by, Marcus the poet built a tomb here, and writing an inscription of one line as follows, engraved it: "Weep for twelve year old Maximus from Ephesus." I never even saw any Maximus, but to show off the poet's talent I bid the passer-by weep.

The epigram lampoons a probably fictitious poet named Marcus who writes verses on the premature death of a young boy (cf. *AP* 11.135). Although nobody has actually died, Marcus the poet has built a tomb with a single pentameter on it lamenting the death of 12-year old Maximus from Ephesus. The speaking gravestone, which carries the line, shows itself to be a little

irritated, for it has no idea who this Maximus is (5), and provides an amusing variation on the tradition of cenotaphs (Hörschele 2010, 87). Corresponding to Marcus' epideictic inscription, the gravestone too sticks to the tradition of fake epitaphs and "to show off" (5: εἰς δ' ἐπίδειξιν) invites the wandering reader to cry⁹ – not for the sake of the dead boy, but as a reaction to Marcus' poetic experiment (cf. Floridi 2014, ad loc.; Lausberg 1982, 73). Lucillius not only mocks a poetic dilettante but a whole epigrammatic tradition, which had established itself since Hellenistic times: a literary imitation of inscriptional epigram, where (similar to the poem of Callimachus cited above) writers construct fictitious tombs in order to show off their epigrammatic skills.¹⁰

10.3 Reading, Interpreting, and Construing an Epigrammatic Tradition

Having looked at Lucillius' mockery of poets who fake inscriptions just in order to show off their talent I would now like to move on to a Hellenistic example where a fictitious tomb is built in order to stage a reader response. In *AP* 7.428, Meleager of Gadara – who in his *Garland* combines the roles of reader, editor, and poet – dramatizes the act of reading and interpreting an epigrammatic monument and thus indirectly reflects on the influence of generic models. In this poem Meleager presents his *persona* as standing before the tomb of his predecessor Antipater of Sidon and trying to interpret the meaning of the gravestone's iconography: it shows a cock which bears a scepter in his wing and a branch of victory in his claws, while at the edge of the base lies a die (1–4). After a short ecphrasis the speaker tries to decode the meaning of the symbols and rejects three possible solutions (5–12) before he solves the riddle (13–18): The date-branch (φοῖνιξ) indicates that Antipater was a citizen of Phoenician Tyre, the rooster and scepter show him to be a poet (cf. Cic. *De or.* 3.194) and lover, while the fallen die indicates that he died after falling while drunk. Only the name is written in letters (19–20):

καὶ δὴ σύμβολα ταῦτα· τὸ δ' οὖνομα πέτρος αἰεῖδει,
Ἀντίπατρον, προγόνων φύντ' ἀπ' ἐρισθενέων.

Well, these are the symbols, but the stone tells us his name, Antipater, offspring of powerful ancestors.

In his *Garland* Meleager deliberately placed his own epigram on Antipater after a series of five poems written by Antipater himself (on the composition of Meleager's anthology see Gutzwiller 1997 and 1998, 276–322; Hörschele 2010, 171–229); similar to Meleager's poem, all of these epigrams

(*AP* 7.423–27) stage the act of viewing and interpreting symbols on a gravestone, which offer clues to the biography of the deceased; thus they can be interpreted as “allegories of reading” (Männlein-Robert 2007, 133). After Antipater has confronted us in this fashion with the biographies of various characters, we encounter his own name chiseled upon a tomb at the very end of Meleager’s epitaph (19–20). As Meleager points out, only Antipater’s name is written onto the gravestone whereas the remaining information about his life and death is illustrated by the symbols. Historical accuracy, however, does not seem to matter a lot; whereas other sources claim that Antipater died of a fever (Plin. *HN* 7.172; Val. Max. 1.8.16; Cic. *Fat.* 5), in Meleager’s version he dies because of a drunken fall. Meleager thereby suggests a parallel between Antipater and Anacreon, for whom Antipater himself had composed several epitaphs, depicting Anacreon as a man still fond of wine and love even in death (*AP* 7.23, 26–27, 29–30; cf. *APL* 306–9). Similar to Anacreon’s tomb in *AP* 7.26.1, Antipater’s grave in *AP* 7.428 is likewise said to be simple (7: λιτός; cf. Campbell 2013, 161). By presenting Antipater as a citizen of Tyre rather than of Sidon (14) Meleager emphasizes their common intellectual origin, for Meleager in his self-epitaphs declares that he was born in Gadara but educated in Tyre (*AP* 7.417.1–2, 418.1–2, 419.5; for Meleager’s self-epitaphs see Höschele 2013; cf. Argentieri 2003, 29).

Within the frame of an epitaph Meleager presents a miniature biography of his predecessor Antipater, evoking motifs and elements characteristic of Antipater’s own poetry. Through integrating these elements into his own epigram, Meleager proves himself to be a worthy successor of his Phoenician compatriot. As Alexander Sens (2007, 375) has put it, “in juxtaposing his own compositions with epigrams on which they are based, the poet lays before the reader his own literary genealogy.”

Meleager and Antipater thus create *personae* of epigrammatic readers, who are intensively engaged in decoding the meaning of a monument. Martial draws a very different picture of his readers: the Flavian poet repeatedly refers to the laziness of his *lectores*, especially when it comes to reading not only single texts but whole books of epigrams. Notwithstanding the genre’s characteristic brevity, some readers still have problems with sustaining their concentration all the way through. In 2.6 Martial mocks a certain Severus, who after only two pages of a very thin book-roll starts to yawn and therefore is compared to a wanderer (14: *lassus ... viator*) who needs to rest already after a few miles (on this poem see Höschele 2010, 126–27). The motif of a reader who is too idle even to peruse a collection of very short poems is also varied in Martial’s *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* (books 13 and 14), which present various gifts for the Saturnalia (cf. Leary 1996 and 2001). Both books almost entirely consist of epigrams comprising only two lines,¹¹ but still, for some

readers even this seems to be too much of a challenge; in 14.2 Martial explains why his distichs are provided with headings (*lemmata*):

Quo vis cumque loco potes hunc finire libellum:
 versibus explicitumst omne duobus opus.
 Lemmata si quaeris cur sint adscripta, docebo:
 ut, si malueris, lemmata sola legas.

You can finish this book at any place you choose: every performance is completed in two lines. If you ask why headings are added, I'll tell you: so that, if you prefer, you may read the headings only.

Thanks to the shortness of the poems the *lector* is able to stop reading wherever he likes and to go through the book only selectively. In addition, for those overburdened even with having to read distichs, Martial jestingly offers *lemmata* which help abbreviate the toil.¹² Thereby he both imitates and parodies the preface to Pliny the Elder's monumental *Historia Naturalis*, where the use of *lemmata* really does appear to be an appropriate tool (*HN praef.* 33; cf. Fearnley 1998, 25 no. 47; Schröder 1999, 177; Lorenz 2002, 90):

Quia occupationibus tuis publico bono parcendum erat, quid singulis contineretur libris, huic epistulae subiunxi summaque cura, ne legendos eos haberes, operam dedi. tu per hoc et aliis praestabis ne perlegant, sed, ut quisque desiderabit aliquid, id tantum quaerat et sciat quo loco inveniatur.

As it was my duty in the public interest to have consideration for the claims upon your time, I have appended to this letter a table of contents of the several books, and have taken very careful precautions to prevent your having to read them. You by this means will secure for others that they will not need to read right through them either, but only look for the particular point that each of them wants, and will know where to find it. (trans. Rackham)

Martial in poem 14.2 wittily imitates the stance of Pliny the Elder, who recommends to the busy emperor Titus that he look only at the table of contents in order to save time and to read the oeuvre selectively by picking those chapters he is interested in. Thus Martial's *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* are transformed into a mock-version of scientific literature.

10.4 Everyday Life and the Art of Mocking

Apart from their obscene language, it is also the use of *sal*, *fel*, and *acetum* which makes epigrams attractive for readers, as Martial states in poem 7.25.¹³ There he attacks an anonymous poet for composing only "sweet epigrams"

(1: *dulcia epigrammata*) without any salt, bile, or vinegar (for the culinary metaphors see Gowers 1993, 245–67) and calls him a *poeta demens* (4) – the mocked poet not only shows a lack of *mens* by believing that his poems are going to be read, but also of an epigrammatic *mentula*.¹⁴

Around 250 years after the subgenre of scoptic epigram had reached its *floruit* in the first century CE with Lucilius, Nicarchus, and Martial (cf. Holzberg 2002, 28–32; Nisbet 2003; Coleman in this volume), the Greek poet and grammarian Palladas breathes new life into this tradition (for his dating to the third and fourth centuries CE cf. Wilkinson 2009; on the role of ψόγος in Palladas’ epigrams cf. Henderson 2008). In a programmatic poem he gives the following reason for composing *epigrammata* (AP 11.340):

Ὡμοσα μυριάκις ἐπιγράμματα μηκέτι ποιεῖν·
 πολλῶν γὰρ μωρῶν ἔχθραν ἐπεσπασάμην.
 ἀλλ’ ὅπταν κατίδω τοῦ Παφλαγόνος τὸ πρόσωπον
 Πανταγάθου, στέξει τὴν νόσον οὐ δύναμαι.

I swore ten thousand times to make no more epigrams, for I had brought on my head the enmity of many fools, but when I set eyes on the face of the Paphlagonian Pantagathus, I can’t repress the malady.

With the term *epigramma* Palladas denotes scoptic and invective poems. Although he has repeatedly tried to stop writing such texts, encounters with characters such as the Paphlagonian Pantagathus (“Mr. Allgood,” cf. Henderson 2008, 95) prevent him from suppressing his “disease.” Instead of divine inspiration, Palladas’ epigrams draw their material from everyday life. Palladas not only parodies the motif of poetic inspiration but also the idea that writing poetry is a form of madness (for this *topos* see Curtius 1967, 467–68). Instead of being the result of μανία, his epigrammatic production is compared to a νόσος, a kind of addiction he cannot fight, even if it causes the enmity (2: ἔχθραν) of the mocked individuals.

The idea that epigrammatic poetry should draw its material from daily life had already been expressed by Martial, who programmatically contrasts the genre with epic poetry and tragedy (10.4.7–12):

Quid te vana iuvant miserae ludibria chartae?
 Hoc lege, quod possit dicere vita “Meum est.”
 Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas Harpyiasque
 invenies: hominem pagina nostra sapit.
 Sed non vis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores
 nec te scire: legas Aetia Callimachi.

What pleasure do you find in the empty sham of a wretched sheet? Read *this*, of which life can say: “It’s mine.” You won’t find Centaurs here or Gorgons or Harpies: my page smacks of humanity. But you don’t want to recognize your own behavior, Mamurra, or to know yourself: you should read the *Origins* of Callimachus.

After listing several examples of hackneyed mythological topics (1–6; cf. Watson and Watson 2003, 95–99; Neger 2014a, 334–36) Martial opposes these instances of “empty sham” (*vana ludibria*) to poetry dealing with matters of real life (7–8). The end of the poem contains an unexpected twist (*para prosdokian*): Martial concludes his *recusatio* with a negative example of literary pomposity: of all texts he mentions Callimachus’ *Aetia*, the very work that had given birth to the *recusatio* tradition (cf. Nauta 2006, 40; Cowan 2014, 351: “... Martial uses the form of the Callimachean *recusatio* to reject Callimacheanism”). Whereas Callimachus qua epigrammatist is depicted positively in 4.23, Martial criticizes him in 10.4 as the writer of the *Aetia* (for the depiction of Callimachus in Martial’s epigrams cf. Neger 2012, 77–87; Mindt 2013a, 542–49; Cowan 2014). Callimachus is also mocked by other epigrammatists of the early empire, who deride him and his followers as water-drinkers and pedants.¹⁵ Similarly to Martial these critics attack Callimachus “with his own weapons” by making use of his poetic language. Philip of Thessalonica, for example, directs the scoptic poem *AP* 11.321 against the learned followers of Callimachus, the Καλλιμάχου στρατιῶται (3), and calls them “detractors of books” (2: τελχίνες βιβλῶν), thereby repeating Callimachus’ language of the *Aetia*-prologue (Callim. *Aet.* 1.1–40; cf. Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, 362–63). It also seems possible that Martial in 10.4 alludes to a distich which is ascribed to an Apollonius Grammaticus (*AP* 11.275; cf. Cameron 1995, 227–28; Cairns 1995) and ends with the same words (2: Αἴτια Καλλίμαχος). Even though Callimachus programmatically defended the ideal of ὀλιγοσυστιχία in his *Aetia* prologue, imperial epigrammatists consider this poem as too remote from epigrammatic *Lebensnähe*. Contrary to Callimachus’ own literary self-awareness, in Martial’s poem the *Origins* belong to the same category of mythological bombast as the *Oedipus*, *Thyestes*, *Medea*, and the like.

10.5 Epigram and the Literary Canon

Whereas Palladas in *AP* 11.340 states that fools like Pantagathus force him to compose epigrams, Martial gives another *aition* for his career as an epigrammatist at the end of his twelve-book collection (12.94):

Scribebamus epos; coepisti scribere: cessi,
 aemula ne starent carmina nostra tuis.
 Transtulit ad tragicos se nostra Thalia cothurnos:
 aptasti longum tu quoque syrma tibi.
 Fila lyrae movi Calabris exulta Camenis: 5
 plectra rapis nobis, ambitiose, nova.
 Audemus saturas: Lucilius esse laboras.
 Ludo levis elegos: tu quoque ludis idem.
 Quid minus esse potest? Epigrammata fingere coepi:
 hinc etiam petitur iam mea palma tibi. 10
 Elige, quid nolis – quis enim pudor, omnia velle? –
 et si quid non vis, Tucca, relinque mihi.

I was writing an epic; you started to write one. I gave up, so that my poetry should not stand in competition with yours. My Thalia transferred herself to tragic buskins; you too fitted the long train on yourself. I stirred the lyre strings, as practiced by Calabrian Muses; eager to show off, you snatch my new quill away from me. I try my hand at satire; you labor to be Lucilius. I play with light elegy; you play with it too. What can be humbler? I start shaping epigrams; here too you are already after my trophy. Choose what you don't want (modesty forbids us to want everything), and if there's anything you don't want, Tucca, leave it for me.

Within this poem Martial gives a witty account of his literary biography and simultaneously justifies why he did not compose more established genres like epic or tragedy (on this epigram cf. Bowie 1988, ad loc.; Banta 1998, 99–102; Neger 2012, 207–9; Mindt 2013b, 248–49; Neger 2014b, 25–27). Whereas we usually encounter such *recusationes* at the beginning of literary works, Martial's readers have to wait until the end of the *XII epigrammaton libri*. An ambitious rival named Tucca forced Martial to desist from writing epic, tragic, lyric, satiric, and elegiac poetry (1–8) and to start composing epigrams. Martial's question *quid minus esse potest* (9), on the one hand, refers to the low status of epigrammatic poetry within the literary canon and, on the other, alludes to the characteristic shortness of the genre (Coffey 1976, 5; Banta 1998, 100–1). Instead of a divinity like Apollo or Amor who usually appear in ancient *recusationes* (such as in Callim. *Aet.* 1.1–40, *Hymn.* 2; Verg. *Ecl.* 6; Prop. 3.3; Hor. *Carm.* 4.15; Ov. *Am.* 1.1, *Ars am.* 2.493–510; cf. Wimmel 1960, 135–48), it is a contemporary dilettante named Tucca who compels Martial to write epigrams; a very banal dilemma motivates the Flavian poet to choose his genre, not divine inspiration. Thus, as programmatically stated in 10.4, Martial also in this context sticks to the principle of drawing his material from real life (cf. Roman 2001 on the “literary materiality” of Martial's epigrams).

As we have seen, ancient epigrammatists intensively reflect on various aspects of the production, reception, and literary status of their genre. Further examples could be added to this short survey, which has limited itself to texts from the Hellenistic and imperial period. Not only explicit statements, but also allusions to other writers shed light on the conception which ancient epigrammatists have of their poetry and how they position themselves within a literary tradition. Even though epigrammatic poetry is only rarely considered in theoretical treatises, the works of the poets themselves provide a rich source for the reconstruction of generic theory and immanent literary history of epigram.¹⁶

NOTES

1. Cf. Mart. 4.23 with Moreno Soldevila (2006, ad loc.); Neger (2012, 77–81); Mindt (2013a, 543–44; cf. *Ep.* 4.3.3–5); Gutzwiller (1998, 19 with no. 12); Citroni (2003, 14); Meyer (2005, 128–30); for Catullus cf. Mart. 1 *praef.: epigrammaton linguam ... sic scribit Catullus*.
2. Translations of the *Greek Anthology* are, unless indicated otherwise, by Paton (1916–18) and the revised edition (2014) of books 1–5 by Tueller. Here I follow the emendation *ἐλαυνομένοις* suggested by Waltz (2002); cf. Lausberg (1982, 37–41).
3. Cameron (1993, 56–65), Gow and Page (1968, vol. 1, xlv–xlix), and Lausberg (1982, 41) prefer the time of Caligula.
4. There is just one exception: *AP* 9.26 (Antipater of Thessalonica) has ten lines; cf. Gow and Page (1968, vol. 1, xxxvii); Lausberg (1982, 41). On the ideal of *ὀλιγοστίχη* in Philip’s *Garland* see Höschele (2017).
5. Cf. *AP* 9.566; cf. Lausberg (1982, 37). For connections between Callimachus’ epigrams and the prologue to his *Actia* cf. Campbell (2013, 61–78).
6. Translations of Martial are, unless indicated otherwise, by Shackleton Bailey (1993).
7. Cf. Mart. 6.65, which stages a reader’s reaction to the hexametric poem 6.64: “*Hexametris epigramma facis*” (1); cf. 2.77. On long epigrams see Morelli (2008); Buongiovanni (2012).
8. Cf. *CIL* 4.2173–96 and 3101a; Add. 215–16 and Add. 465; cf. Levin-Richardson (2011). Cf. *CIL* 4.2273 *Murtis bene/felas* (“Murtis you suck well”); *CIL* 4.8400 *Move te fellator* (“Hit the road, sucker”); *CIL* 4.10030 *Malim me amici fellent quam inimici irrument* (“I prefer to be sucked by friends than to give suck to enemies,” my trans.).
9. The phrase *κλαίειν λέγω σοι* also means “to hell with you,” “go to hell,” cf. LSJ 955–56 s.v. *κλαίω*; thus the end of the poem inverts the common motif of *χαίρειν λέγειν* in funerary epigram; cf. Floridi (2014, ad loc.).
10. Cf. Meyer (2007, 198). The practice of building tombs is also mocked in Mart. 11.14; cf. Lausberg (1984).

11. It is striking that Martial never uses the term *epigrammata* in these two books.
12. This motif recalls Ovid's epigram at the beginning of his *Amores*; cf. Roman (2006, 384–85); Lausberg (1982, 53); Höschele (2010, 63).
13. On this poem cf. Galán Vioque (2002, 185–90). Pliny the Younger picks up these terms in his obituary for Martial (*Ep.* 3.21.1); cf. Janka (2014, 6–7).
14. Cf. Mart. 1.35.3–5; Adams (1982, 10 with no. 3) discusses the etymology of *mentula* and the possible connection with *mens*.
15. *AP* 11.20 (Antipater of Thessalonica); *AP* 11.321 (Philip); *AP* 11.322 (Antiphanes); *AP* 11.347 (Philip); cf. Gow and Page (1968, vol. 2, 114). For positive depictions of Callimachus cf. *AP* 7.41–2 (anonymous); *AP* 9.545 (Crinagoras); *AP* 11.130 (Pollianos).
16. I am indebted to Martin Dinter, Roy Gibson, Regina Höschele, and Sven Lorenz for valuable advice.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

Epigram and Rhetoric

Nina Mindt

The relationship between the rhetorical tradition and the Greco-Roman epigram, a topic that has not yet received sufficient scholarly treatment in a systematic way, can be described as a mutual interchange. This chapter discusses the developing use of rhetorical devices in epigrams, and the use of features in rhetoric that are traditionally associated with epigrams. In the imperial age, the epigram, as *eloquentia en miniature*, gives rise to a generally “epigrammatic” style of rhetoric. The concept of *sententia*, treated by Anaximenes, Aristotle, the anonymous Roman author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero, the Elder Seneca, and Quintilian, is crucial to this point: it is one of the phenomena which rhetoricians are concerned with and which epigrammatists use in their poems.

The chapter starts with citations of epigrams in speeches and the cultivation of epigrams by leading orators, discusses rhetoric features of epigrams, wit, and *urbanitas*, and closes with views expressed by epigrams about rhetoric and rhetorical training.

11.1 Epigrams in Speeches and Cultivated by Orators

The brevity of epigrams and their polished nature become an attractive testing ground for rhetorical eloquence, as is evident from the citations of epigrams in speeches as well as the cultivation of epigrams by leading orators.

The classical Greek orators Lycurgus, Aeschines, and Demosthenes quoted epigrams (Lycurg. *Leoc.* 109; Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 184–85, 190; Dem. *De cor.* 289) and were among the first users of epigrammatic collections (Petrovic 2013). Aeschines quotes epigrams about the Hermae for the victory against the Persians and, later, Lycurgus quoted epigrams on the Spartan dead at Thermopylae and for the Athenians at Marathon. These fourth-century writers, not just rhetoricians but rhetores, i.e., active politicians, followed Herodotus' and Thucydides' leads in reporting inscribed epigrams. Besides historiography, epigrams were also quoted in drama and philosophy, but particularly in oratory. Orators exploited epigrams resourcefully for political and ideological ends. A comprehensive study of epigrams in orations, especially the literary epigram, remains a desideratum. By way of example, Apuleius in his *Apology* links *eloquentia* (and the adjectives *facundissimus* and *disertissimus*) with poetic production (*Apol.* 5.3–5), quotes two epigrams about the beautiful boys Critias and Charinus attributed to Plato (*Apol.* 9.12–14) and the three Latin archaic epigrammatists Aedituus, Porcius, and Catulus (*Apol.* 9.8). The first datable use of the term *epigramma* in Latin is in a speech of Cicero (*Arch.* 25).

In Pliny's letter 5.3, Cicero's name leads the list of the *gravissimi viri* for whom verse-writing was a means of relaxation and recreation. Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.6.73) quotes two lines of a Ciceronian poem from a collection of epigrams (*in quodam ioculari libello*). Politicians and orators, therefore, without doubt also cultivated light verse, among those epigrammatic forms of poetry. Pliny in letter 7.4 reports his reading of a Ciceronian epigram that inspired him to write such poetry himself. He professes to write short poetry in letter 4.14, too: he composes *lusus* in the form of hendecasyllables. One may choose this formal criterion as the title of his collection, but among the alternatives, Pliny gives also "epigrammata" (*Ep.* 4.14.9). In a certain way, the entire letter is an example of an epigrammatic technique of writing: Pliny begins it with the expectation of his addressee that he will send him the text of a speech (*tu fortasse orationem, ut soles, et flagitas et exspectas; at ego...*, "perhaps, as usual you ask for a speech and expect one; but I ..."). The rhetoric of antithesis and surprise starts immediately. In paragraph 8 of this short letter, Pliny admonishes himself to *brevitas*: *Sed quid ego plura? Nam longa praefatione vel excusare vel commendare ineptias ineptissimum est* ("That's enough: it is the most trifling thing to promote trifles with a long introduction"). The first sentence underlines its content by being elliptic; the second sentence, containing the polyptoton *ineptias ineptissimum*, ends with a climax (superlative). Pliny in this letter on his epigrams performs rhetorical and epigrammatic virtues. Furthermore, the two sentences can be classified as a *sententia* (see Vielberg 2003, 38–39).

11.2 Rhetoric Virtues of Epigrams

In the *Dialogus de oratoribus* of Tacitus, Aper considers the genre of epigram as *pars/species eloquentiae* (Tac. *Dial.* 10.4). Yet, the epigram is a very rhetorical form of poetry and can in fact be regarded as *eloquentia en miniature*. It is the nature of epigrams to be relatively short. The Callimachean principle of ὀλιγοστίχη is adopted in the *Garland* of Meleager and afterwards. The epigram, then, performs several rhetoric virtues, most obviously that of brevity – although this may be a paradox, since some rhetorical genres seem to require space for rhetorical expansion. But brevity itself (συντομία/*brevitas*) can be regarded as a quality of style, a *virtus dicendi*, especially in the *narratio* (see, e.g., *Rhet. Her.* 1.14; Cic. *Inv.* 1.28; *De or.* 2.326; *Orat.* 122; Quint. *Inst.* 4.2.40–47). Aristoteles still criticized συντομία (Arist. *Rh.* 3.16 [1416b]) but, from the Stoa on, it becomes part of the ἀρεταὶ τῆς λέξεως (“virtues of style”) and is transmitted as such in the Roman system of rhetoric within the five *virtutes dicendi*, cf. Diog. Laert. 7.59; Cic. *Inv.* 1.32 (*brevitas* in the *expositio*, with the definition: *brevitas est, cum nisi necessarium nullum assumitur verbum*, “brevity is when no word is used which is not necessary”); Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.81–82 (on *brevitas* in the *redditio*); *Rhet. Her.* 4.68 (on *brevitas* for the *expeditio*). Both Cicero (*De or.* 2.326) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 4.2.31–46) recognize brevity as a virtue, although they warn that certain attempts at brevity may result in obscurity (*obscuritas*) rather than clarity (*perspicuitas*). It is well known that the epigram in general employs a wide range of the terminology of literary criticism, and special rhetorical terms comprise a part of it. Martial, for example, addresses *brevitas*, *obscuritas*, *aequitas* in his programmatic epigrams, e.g., in 7.90 or 10.21. Cicero and Quintilian define *brevitas* in the *narratio* with nearly the same words (Cic. *Inv.* 128: *non plures quam necesse est*; Quint. *Inst.* 4.2.43: *ne plus dicatur quam oporteat*), and Martial in epigram 2.77.6 uses the same notion of brevity to defend his (longer!) epigrams, using *brevitas* not as absolute, but as a relative entity and setting conciseness against brevity: *non sunt longa quibus nihil est quod demere possis* (“things, from which nothing can be omitted, are not long”). Martial treats *brevitas* several times (1.100, 2.77, 3.83, 6.65, 10.59) and articulates a complex program on it. Although the demands for brevity and conciseness are present in rhetorical theory, Callimachean poetics and ancient epigrams are not altogether identical, they are grounded in both practical and aesthetic considerations. For inscribed epigrams, the call for brevity may be explained by practical reasons. In the case of literary epigrams, however, *brevitas* has a predominantly aesthetic value, as Martial 8.29.1 demonstrates: *Disticha qui scribit, puto, vult brevitate placere* (“He who writes distichs

wants, I guess, to please by brevity"). Basically, all poets have undergone rhetorical education and therefore had in mind the artistic skills.

In the Latin tradition, there was a more open typology regarding the length in comparison to Greek epigrams (see Morelli 2008 with further literature) but, without a doubt, brevity always remains a central feature of the genre. Explicit programmatic statements on the acceptable length of epigrams have survived only in the Greek discussion (see Lausberg 1982, 31–44): practice and theory vary, of course, but a limit of eight verses is mostly respected by the authors who seem to prefer the two-distichs-form (on brevity in general, see, e.g., *AP* 9.342). The preferences of Meleager seem to have influenced the ideal of *brevitas* in the *Garland* of Philip (so Sider 2004, 39–40). Although some Hellenistic epigrams extend the length (cf. Cairns 2008), it was Martial who established the *epigramma longa* as subgenre, using rhetorical strategies of beginning and closure to structure the poem, maybe resuming a Roman tendency (in 2.77.5–6 Martial says that already his predecessors Pedo and Marsus wrote epigrams that extended to "two columns"). In many cases, rhetorical features themselves transform an epigram into a long one, e.g., through ecphrastic dilations or inserted catalogues that often take the form of a *Priamel*.

The concept of "epigram" that exists today is determined without doubt by the form that Martial gave to this genre, although he used characteristics and tendencies already developed by his predecessors or contemporaries. Because of the reception of Martial, the epigram has become a synonym for a short poem with pointed, surprising, and aggressive wit that sharply deflates after *hyperbole* and *cumulatio*. Aristotle explains why surprise is fundamental for the generation of laughter (Arist. *Rh.* 1412a). The use of *aprosdoketon* ("the unexpected", or better: "the against the expected") has become central for the theory of the epigram to describe how an epigram works, since Lessing's *Zerstreute Anmerkungen über das Epigram und einige der vornehmsten Epigrammatisten* ("Scattered notes on the epigram and some of the most distinguished epigrammatists," published in 1771), in which he deduced the bipartite structure of "Erwartung" ("set-up") and "Aufschluss" ("resolution") most prominently from Martial (see Citroni in this volume). Since Lessing, this theory has undergone some modification to render it more precise, e.g., by Barwick (1959, 5), but it is clear that the second part, the "commentary" on the "event/occasion" (cf. Siedschlag 1977, 100–5), is characterized by formal emphasis. We often notice the use of mythological allusions, exclamations, quests and requests, antithesis, parallelisms, paradoxes, and word plays. This technique is attested from the time of Antipater of Sidon. Several studies have proven the influence of

rhetoric on Martial well enough to describe him as a highly rhetorical author whose composition is rhetorically determined and leads to the final point, the *fulmen in clausula*. This observation, of course, applies to Lucilius as well, who shows a large element of hyperbole and uses the pointed conclusion as an integral feature of his epigrams, too. The influence of rhetoric was at its height in these times.

11.3 Wit and *Urbanitas*

It is not without reason that rhetorical treatises discuss wit and the laughable. Cicero does so in the second book of *De Oratore* and in a shorter passage in *Orator*. Quintilian devotes an entire chapter to the theory of wit and jokes with a certain attempt at systematization (*Inst.* 6.3). In the appendix (*Inst.* 6.3.102–12), he discusses the now-lost tract *De urbanitate* of Domitius Marsus and reports his definition like this:

Urbanitas est virtus quaedam in breve dictum coacta et apta ad delectandos movendosque homines in omnem adfectum animi [...]. (Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.104)

Urbanity is a virtue of language concentrated in a brief saying, and adapted to delight men and move them to any kind of emotion [...].¹

Quintilian continues:

Cui si brevitatis exceptionem detraxeris, omnis orationis virtutes complexa sit. Nam si constat rebus et personis, quod in utrisque oporteat dicere perfectae eloquentiae est. Cur autem brevem esse eam voluerit, nescio, cum idem atque in eodem libro dicat fuisse et in multis narrandi urbanitatem. (*Inst.* 6.3.104–5)

If you take away the notion of brevity, this definition covers all the virtues of oratory. For if it depends on “circumstances” and “persons,” then it takes perfect eloquence to meet the requirements of both. But why he insisted on brevity I do not know, because he also says, and in the same book, that there is also, in many authors, Urbanity to be found in Narrative.

Quintilian’s disagreement concerning the *brevitas* as a precept for *urbanitas* may result from the fact that, among other literary activities, Domitius Marsus also wrote epigrams (see Henriksén in this volume) and that brevity, therefore, was a more prominent feature for him. That rhetoric treatises and treatises on literary topics influenced by the epigrammatic genre are not

totally identical becomes obvious by further comments that Quintilian adds to Marsus's concept (*Inst.* 6.3.108–9):

Ne tamen iudicium Marsi, hominis eruditissimi, subtraham, seria partitur in tria genera, honorificum contumeliosum medium. Et honorifici ponit exemplum Ciceronis pro Q. Ligario apud Caesarem: 'qui nihil soles oblivisci nisi iniurias', et contumeliosi quod Attico scripsit de Pompeio et Caesare: 'habeo quem fugiam, quem sequar non habeo', et medii, quod ἀποφθεγματικόν vocat, ut est in Catilinam cum dixit neque gravem mortem accidere viro forti posse nec in maturam consulari nec miseram sapienti. Quae omnia sunt optime dicta, sed cur proprie nomen urbanitatis accipiant non video.

However – so as not to suppress the learned Marsus's opinion – let me say that he divides serious utterances into three classes, the honorific, the derogatory, and the neutral. Of the honorific, he gives as an example Cicero's remark before Caesar in *Pro Ligario*: "You who never forget anything except injuries." For the derogatory, he gives what Cicero wrote to Atticus about Pompey and Caesar: "I know whom to avoid, I don't know whom to follow." For the neutral (which he calls "apophthegmatic"), he quotes *In Catilinam*, where Cicero says that "death can never be grievous to the brave, nor premature to a former consul, nor unhappy to a philosopher." All these remarks are admirable; but I do not see why they should particularly be classed as Urbanity.

Of the three examples from Cicero, two are drawn from speeches (*Pro Ligario* 35 and *In Catilinam* 4.3); the other (from *Ad Atticum* 8.7.2) is categorized as *apophthegma*. The apophthegm is a literary term for a maxim/proverb or aptly formulated saying; "aphorism" or "witty saying" are other possible translations. The use of this group of rhetorical devices in rhetoric and epigrams is worthy of a more detailed discussion, since the skillful use of *apophthegmata* and *sententiae* became one of the hallmarks of Roman *urbanitas* in the early empire (see also Tac. *Dial.* 20.2, on the *color sententiarum*, and 20.4, where Aper states that the new generation wants to take home from a speech something significant and striking, *sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit*, "either some conceit dazzles with a short and pungent epigram").

Quintilian quotes this Ciceronian "celebrated epigram" (Shackleton Bailey 1968, 344) once more in *Inst.* 8.5.18: *melior cum ex contrariis valet: "habeo quem fugiam, quem sequar non habeo"* ("A better *sententia* comes from an effective contrast of opposites: 'I know whom to flee, I have no one to follow'"). Quintilian's near-contemporary Plutarch quotes it too (*Moralia* 205C), and Macrobius includes it in a chapter of his *Saturnalia* devoted to Cicero's famous jokes.

At the rhetoricians' schools of imperial Rome literary sources – among them speeches and letters of orators – were studied not only for examples of rhetorical techniques but especially for examples of *sententiae*. *Sententia* itself, then, became part of rhetorical devices.

11.4 *Sententia* and *Ridiculum Dictum* – by Orators, Rhetoricians, and Epigrammatists

The *sententia* as a rhetorical device is of great importance in Roman rhetoric, literature, and public life, and is discussed in ancient rhetorical treatises by Anaximenes, Aristotle, the anonymous Roman author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero, the Elder Seneca, and Quintilian (e.g., Anaximen. *Ars Rh.* 11.1–2; 35; Arist. *Rh.* 2.21; *Rhet. Her.* 4.24–25). Cicero largely ignores the concerns of declamation schools and places little importance on the *sententia* in his rhetorical treatises, but from *De Inventione* to *De Oratore* and *Brutus* we notice an increased consciousness of the *sententia* as a stylistic figure. The general and broader definition of *sententia* is given, e.g., in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and in Quintilian:

Sententia est oratio sumpta de vita, quae aut quid sit aut quid esse oporteat in vita, breviter ostendit. (*Rhet. Her.* 4.17.24)

A *sententia* is a declaration derived from life, which succinctly presents either what is or what ought to be a fact of life.

Antiquissimae sunt quae proprie, quamvis omnibus idem nomen sit, sententiae vocantur, quas Graeci gnomas appellant. (Quint. *Inst.* 8.5.3)

Oldest of all – and properly called *sententiae*, though the same name serves for all types – are what are called in Greek *gnōmai*.

In addition to the meanings “proverb” or “gnomic generalization,” Seneca the Elder also designates the term *sententia* as a form with pointed epigrams (see the *sententiae* sections in the *Controversiae*). The *sententia* underwent significant changes in the late Hellenistic and early Roman schools of declamation. *Sententiae* became one of the principle means for displaying verbal brilliancy, and almost any well-turned phrase or striking thought counted as a *sententia*. One may add that not only rhetoric and epigram, but also historiography and epigram, share the feature of *sententia* as a vivid way to sum up a point, as do poetry and philosophy. Indeed, Seneca the Elder (*Controv.* 1 *praef.* 2; 2 *praef.* 5; 7 *praef.* 9) and Quintilian often mention this growing tendency in the early Principate to

use *sententiae* – intended as striking generalizations – especially in lieu of arguments, and in particular to end each short narrative passage with such a *sententia* (see Anaximen. *Ars Rh.* 18.3–4; 32.3, 8, 9; 34.11; 35.12, 16; 38.18). Many of the excerpts from declamations cited by the Elder Seneca consist of a series of short expository passages concluding with a *sententia*, each of which would provide material for the kind of epigram in which Martial excelled. Some *sententiae* can be called practically “epigrammatic,” and *sententia* sometimes is a synonym for “epigram”: “Furthermore, the term *sententia* is also employed in a broader sense to denote a pointed phrase or a short paradoxical epigram” (Kirchner 2001, 190). We observe such rhetorical and technical aspects of composition also in epigrams. The rhetoricians’ elaborate classification of *sententiae* includes most of the types of striking conclusion found in epigrams.

Martial establishes in the Latin epigram the technique of using a *pointe*, the rhetorical structure that introduces a witticism at the very end of the poem. But point and wit are not the same, and pointedness is not in itself witty or humorous (see the distinction between *sententiae* and *ioci* in Sen. *Controv.* 7 pr. 9). Martial paid much attention to the closure of his epigrams in general. The witty surprise, the witty *pointe*, is only one possibility. Martial’s epigrams also often end with a *sententia* in the broader sense or with a quotation; the closure may also resolve a paradox or a supposed contradiction. It often presents two stark alternatives or opposing statements. Martial uses a large range of conclusions that can be categorized as *sententiae* and employs the main categories of *sententiae* mentioned by Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.5.5):

sunt etiam qui decem genera fecerint, sed eo modo quo fieri vel plura possunt: per interrogationem, per comparisonem, infitiationem, similitudinem, admirationem et cetera huius modi.

There are even people who have made ten classes, but on principles on which even more could be produced; they give us *sententiae* based on Interrogation, Comparison, Denial, Similitude, Admiration, and so on.

Another possibility of translation of this specific use of *sententia* is *bon mots*. A similar term and phenomenon is the *ridiculum dictum* (witty saying) of orators. It was an established practice to pass on rhetorical pearls like *sententiae* or witty sayings from one generation of orators to the next and to future generations. Many of these collections are lost, but among the testimonies are three books of jokes attributed to Cicero, compiled by his freedman Tiro (see Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.5). Cicero testifies that jokes, wrongly ascribed to him, circulated in Rome, too (Cic. *Fam.* 7.32) and that he wants to be defended

from those that do not correspond to his statements on the *ridiculum* in the second book of *De Oratore*:

Equidem sperabam ita notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum, ut cognosci sua sponte possent; sed, quoniam tanta faex est in urbe, ut nihil tam sit ἀκύθηρον, quod non alicui venustum esse videatur, pugna, si me amas, nisi acuta ἀμφιβολία, nisi elegans ὑπερβολή, nisi παράγραμμα bellum, nisi ridiculum παρὰ προσδοκίαν, nisi cetera, quae sunt a me in secundo libro de Oratore per Antonii personam disputata de ridiculis, ἐντεχνα et arguta apparebunt, ut sacramento contendas mea non esse.

I had hoped to have left my various categories of *bons mots* so clearly branded as to be recognizable at sight. But since Rome is so full of scum that the most banausic of jests will find someone to relish its elegance, in friendship's name bestir yourself! If there be no pungent *double entendre*, no tasteful hyperbole, no pretty pun, no comical surprise; if the other varieties which I discussed through Antonius' mouth in the second volume of my treatise *On the Orator*² shall not appear neatly pointed and *secundum artem*: why you may go bail that the thing is not mine. (trans. Shackleton Bailey)

Many of the terms used by Cicero to describe a good *ridiculum dictum* fit the characteristics of the epigram; indeed, the list of fashionable wordplays reads virtually as a rhetorical index of the epigram. We will now analyze the use of rhetorical figures in the epigrammatic tradition more closely.

11.5 The Use of Rhetorical Figures in the Epigrammatic Tradition

A passage from Cicero's *Orator* illustrates how close rhetoric and epigrammatic devices are: After having mentioned some *figurae elocutionis* (§ 135) and, in more detail, *figurae sententiae* (§ 136–38), Cicero closes with “other virtues of diction/style” (*alias ... dicendi ... virtutes*, § 139) which the orator will follow:

brevitatem si res petet; saepe etiam rem dicendo subiciet oculis; saepe supra ferret quam fieri possit; significatio saepe erit maior quam oratio; saepe hilaritas, saepe vitae naturamque imitatio.

brevity, if the case demands; often also by his statement of the case he will make the scene live before our eyes; he will often exaggerate a statement above what could actually occur; his language will often have a significance deeper than his actual words, there will be passages in a lighter vein, and a portrayal of life and manners. (trans. Hubbell)

The same could have been written about the virtues of the epigram: *brevitas*, ecphrastic writing (*imaginatio/enargeia*), *superlatio/hyperbole*, short hints instead of extensive narration (*significatio/emphasis*), *hilaritas/charientismos* and the orientation on real life³ – all these are integral ingredients of the epigram, and some of them we have discussed in the previous passages.

Consequently, the list of the rhetorical devices used by epigrammatists is long, comprising *figurae elucutionis* (σχήματα τῆς λεξέως) and *figurae sententiae* (σχήματα τῆς διανοίας): the epigrammatists command *anaphora*, *antithesis*, *anadiplosis/reduplicatio*, *accumalatio*, *synathroesmus*, *amplificatio*, *chiasmus*, *emphasis*, *epiphora*, *epanalepsis/geminatio*, *redditio*, *perspicuitas*, *hyperbole*, *priamel*, and rhetorical questions (and even more rhetorical figures). Of course, some of the figures of speech, schemes, and tropes are more frequent and more characteristic for the epigram than others.

Already many of the third-century Greek epigrams are laid out rhetorically, relying on parallel structure, conditional sentences, and antithesis, often reinforced by verbal repetition. A prominent feature of the rhetorical style of epigram becomes, in fact, the insistent repetition of words or phrases, or figures of accumulation in general. Martial uses various forms of repetition (repetition of a word,⁴ repetition of a part of a sentence,⁵ repetition of a subordinate clause, repetition of a whole sentence, repetition of a pair of a sentences⁶), sometimes mixed, and often to build up to a satiric or pointed climax (Mart. 1.109, 2.4, 3.26, 4.39, 4.26, 5.61, 7.10, 9.97). Persistent anaphora is frequent in his epigrams, and also the repetition of subordinate clauses with anaphora of the conjunction is relatively common (Mart. 1.39, 1.41, 2.11, 2.53, 2.57, 3.62, 3.63, 3.93, 7.87, 9.97), a device that we can observe in Catullus (and later also in the *Priapea*, some epigrams of Pseudo-Seneca, and in Petronius),⁷ but that is practically completely absent in Greek epigram. Formal coincidences of Catullus with the epigrammatic tradition are indeed his liking for *repetitio* and *cumulatio* or *accumulatio*: creating a list, piling up attributes, showing a richness of detail, constructing elaborate inventories or comparisons – these are pronounced features of epigrammatic technique. Also Philodemus shows a relative closeness to Martial and the Latin epigrammatic tradition regarding figures of accumulation.

In epigrams that contain a list or a catalogue, there are repetitions of part of a sentence or of a whole sentence. The catalogue or list in poetry (“Kataloggedicht”) is comparable to the list of *paradeigmata* (*exempla*) used in the rhetorical practice both for stylistic effects and as part of the proofs of arguments (see Arist. *Rh.* 2.20–21 (1393a 28 – 1394a 23), *Rhet. Her.* 2.29.46; Quint. *Inst.* 5.11.6; [Dionys.] *Ars Rh.* 6 (*On Epideictic Speeches*),

Men. Rhet. 2.371). Interestingly, such epigrams may have been used as mnemotechnical devices, another link to rhetoric and its strategies. The list-epigrams seem to be inspired by school or rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*), but even if they were not, their rhetorical value was acknowledged because of their similarity to such exercises, as Rossi (2002) has shown.

Besides repetition, catalogues, and the enumerations of particulars, the rhetorical-stylistic devices of parallelism and/or antithesis are frequently used to emphasize the desired effect. Oxymoron and paradox were central elements of the rhetoric of the Flavian age and often used in epigrams, too.

In listing rhetorical virtues and the use of rhetorical figures, I have already indicated some trends in the epigrammatic tradition regarding the influence of rhetoric. To some degree, epigram became more and more rhetorical. Epigram was, however, from its beginnings characterized by a certain rhetorical-stylistic elaboration. In the fourth century BCE we may notice an anti-rhetorical motif when authors avoid emphasis and rhetorical pomposity, but they employ a concise and short expression that is nevertheless rhetorical. Hellenistic epigrams then start to search for the novel and surprising. The intersection between rhetoric and epigram is evident in the development of epideictic epigrams (e.g., Book 9 of the *Palatine Anthology*). It is not unproblematic to use the term “epideictic” for epigrams, as this was not recognized as an epigrammatic category in antiquity (see Lauxtermann 1998; Zanker 2003). At the latest from the *Garland* of Philip on, rhetoric starts to develop an increasing influence on structure and style of epigram, and it has been seen as a direction “to the ecphrastic and epideictic” (Cameron 1993, 15). At first sight, the relatively shortness of epigrams seems to lack space for the rhetorical expansion requested by *ecphrasis* or *encomia*. Of course, most epigrams on works of art do not describe their objects with the *enargeia* of rhetorical ecphrasis *sensu strictu*, but comment on the works. Nevertheless, there are epigrams that (a) perform certain functions similar to those performed by *ecphrasis* but not including direct descriptions or *enargeia* or (b) create a mental image but are not limited to artifacts. In comparison to epideictic encomiastic speeches, epideictic epigrams are certainly short but, as with the whole genre itself, epideictic epigrams also perform the virtues of their big brothers *en miniature*, e.g., in the eulogy of landscapes, cities, or seasons according to the rules explained by Menander Rhetor (see, for example, AP 9.555, 9.645, or 9.363) and the epideictic is present as a typical subject also in Theon and Hermogenes. The development of the epideictic epigram effects indeed a closer relation with rhetoric, since it shows a distinct taste of paradox or sententious conclusion. Book 9 of the *Palatine Anthology* has a markedly rhetorical tone in the

proem and several lemmata, a fact that can provide some evidence that at least at a certain point the epigrams “were *read* and *acknowledged* mostly in a rhetorical manner, as texts recognized as constructed according to well-established rules and patterns” (Rossi 2002, 155).

Of course, the increasing influence of rhetoric on the epigram is not always advantageous. Some poems also show an unfortunate effect of rhetorical cleverness. For us, some *pointe* seems frigid, but it was important to contemporary taste, even if rhetoric was not uncontroversial. Also, the epigrams about rhetors and rhetoricians show an ambivalent attitude towards rhetoric and rhetorical exercise.

11.6 Epigrams About Rhetors and Rhetoricians

The tradition to dedicate monuments in honor of rhetors is well documented; among many examples is the statue of Demosthenes on the agora at Athens erected in 280/279 BCE, accompanied by an epigram (“If your strength had only been equal to your purposes, Demosthenes,/never would the Greeks have been ruled by a Macedonian Ares”; trans. adapted from Bernadotte Perrin).⁸ The relation between epigram and statue acquires a special significance in some epigrams that play with the ecphrastic tradition: there are four anonymous epigrams from the imperial age (*AP* 11.145, 149, 151; *APL* 318) that develop ecphrastic *topoi*, such as the speaking object, with a tension between image and word by reference to the profession of rhetoric, as Floridi (2013) has shown. These poems are based on the paradoxical idea of the speechless rhetor. We can read them simply as scoptic epigrams on the type of the one who speaks too little (as in Auson. *Epigr.* 52), but, manipulating the language and conventions of the ecphrastic epigram for satiric purposes, the pun on a special rhetoric element makes them even more attractive.

Several Greek scoptic epigrams, however, ridicule rhetorical incompetence. Sometimes the rhetor is the contrast of an ideal orator, using solecism and barbarism. The epigrams 141–52 in Book 11 of the *Palatine Anthology* are about rhetors, located between grammarians and philosophers who share some of the satirized characteristics. In *AP* 11.148, Lucillius lampoons the bad rhetor Flaccus with a hyperbolic series of accusations:

Μηδὲ λαλῶν πρῶην ἐσολοίκισε Φλάκκος ὁ ῥήτωρ
καὶ μέλλων χαίνειν εὐθὺς ἐβαρβάρισεν
καὶ τῇ χειρὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σολοικίζει διανεύων·
κάγῳ δ’ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν – τὸ στόμα μου δέδεται.

Flaccus the rhetor made solecisms the other day without even speaking, and when he was about to yawn at once was guilty of a barbarism, and now goes on making solecisms by signs with his hand, and I, seeing him, am tongue-tied. (trans. W. R. Paton)

The solecisms, barbarisms, and even the wrong gestures of this rhetor causes the speaker himself, even if he dares not to open his mouth for fear of a kind of solecism, to finish the epigram with solecism. The humor of this epigram is based on hyperbolic exaggeration, which creates an absurd and paradoxical image – this is not only surreal fantasy, but may also reflect concrete rhetorical discussions, in this case to the typologies of solecism which also includes gestures (Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.36–37; cf. Floridi 2006, 381).

AP 11.142 ironizes another linguistic habit of a rhetor whose elocution is archaizing and affected, in part modeled on the Attic prose of the fifth and fourth century that he learned in the rhetoric schools and that he teaches there. These epigrams about rhetors make mockery of the professions, a subspecies of “Typenspott” (see Brecht 1930, esp. 27–30), although there are also a few epigrams about rhetors that are not scoptic (APL 319–21). Brecht (1930) traces such invective back to Telechides, who attacks the rhetor Diopeithes. Martial continues this tradition but slightly changes the motives in contrast with the Greek epigrams. In 5.21 and 5.54 Martials mocks an orator because of his insufficient *memoria*, an important virtue for the rhetorical performance, and speaks ironically of his capacity of improvisation in the *actio*. Mart. 6.19 is about inadequate digressions and the orator’s *exempla* missing the *aptum* (cf. AP 11.141 Lucillius).⁹ Ausonius writes eight epigrams about the rhetor Rufus (*Epigr.* 45–52), in order to portray the typical bad rhetor.

Such extensive treatment is not surprising, since rhetoric was of great importance in the ancient world. But, nevertheless, the poems about rhetors and rhetoric provide a special charm for the rhetorical dimensions of the epigrammatic genre.

NOTES

1. Text and translation of Quintilian are by Russell (Loeb).
2. See Cic. *De or.* 2.54.217–71.290 on *facetiae*.
3. See Mart. 10.4.8 and 10 on the epigram as a genre near to real life: *hoc lege, quod possit dicere vita “meum est.”/[...]/[...] hominem pagina nostra sapit*).
4. A part of anaphoric repetition of conjunctions, relative pronouns, negations etc. see Mart. 1.79, 1.89, 2.7, or 3.26. Such repetition of words does not seem to have such a great importance in Greek epigram; cf. Siedschlag (1977, 44–45).

- See also the poems of Catullus, epigrams of Pseudo-Seneca (e.g., epigr. 65), or Philodemus (11.34: three times *πάλι*).
5. Cf. Siedschlag (1977, 39–41), on repetition of a part of a sentence in Martial. He remarks that the number of repetitions within a single poem is higher in Martial than in Greek epigrams where parts of sentences are also often repeated, especially regarding votive objects, apostrophes, or adjunctions. Antipater *AP* 9.59 is one example: the epigram describes the four Winged Victories, connected with Gaius Caesar, the son of Augustus' daughter Julia. Examples from Latin poems are: Catull. 22, 25, 43; [Sen.] *Epigr.* 52; *Priap.* 46, 51; cf. Siedschlag (1977, 45).
 6. E.g. Mart. 1.76, 2.32, 2.33, 2.43, 2.89, 3.38. See also Philodemus *AP* 5.115 (=10 Sider).
 7. [Sen.] *Epigr.* 39, 49, 51, 56; *Priap.* 3, 25, 32.
 8. Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 30–31 refers to this sculpture, quotes the epigram, and relates an anecdote.
 9. The epigram reflects rhetorical exercises without any practical function. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.23 and Cic. *De or.* 1.51. Burnikel (1980, 38–42) compares both epigrams.

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FURTHER READING

The rhetoric skills of Martial are best analyzed among the ancient epigrammatists and therefore provide a fitting starting point for the intersections between rhetoric and the epigram; fundamental studies are Barwick (1959), Siedschlag (1977), and Burnickel (1980), but also Sullivan (1989 and 1991). Siedschlag (1977) is a very detailed study on Martial's epigrammatic technique against the background of the entire epigram tradition in antiquity, containing many rhetoric features. The complexity of Martial's notion of *brevitas* – that does not only relate to the formal aspect of his poetry – is highlighted by Citroni (1968) and Casaleci (1993); for brevity, conciseness, and compression in rhetoric and literary criticism see Vardi (2000). Sinclair (1995) and Kirchner (2001), but also Holloway (1998), analyze the theory behind the use of maxims and epigrams as developed by the ancient rhetoricians. Several contributions in Lelli (2010–11) show the closeness of proverb, *sententia*, and quotation. Barwick (1959, 11–26) illustrates the taste for *sententiae* and pointed endings in Martial and contemporary rhetoric. Kühnert (1962) remains central on Quintilian's concept of wit; for the laughable in rhetoric treatises read Rabbie (2006). Rossi (2002) carefully analyzes the reflections of *aphegheseis*, *epideixeis*, and *progymnasmata* in *AP* 9. Floridi (2006 and 2013) provides an excellent analysis of Greek epigrams about rhetors, with important suggestions for the reading of all epigrams on this topic.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Greek Anthologies from the Hellenistic Age to the Byzantine Era: A Survey

Francesca Maltomini

This chapter begins with a terminological clarification: in the following pages, “anthology” and “(multi-author) collection” will be used interchangeably to indicate collections of epigrams by various authors, regardless of their specific features. The word “anthology,” then, will not have any of the narrow meanings that recent scholarship has given to it (see especially the two restricted but different definitions proposed by Cameron 1993, 6–7 and Argentieri 1998, 11–12).

As is well known, much of our knowledge of Greek epigrammatic literature comes from multi-author collections, and the pivotal point in the transmission of these collections is represented by the anthology created by Constantine Cephalas at the end of the ninth century. Cephalas’ work is lost, but can be reconstructed thanks to its major descendants: the *Anthologia Palatina* and the *Anthologia Planudea*. These sources allow a reconstruction of several earlier anthologies used by Cephalas (above all, the *Garlands* by Meleager and Philip and the *Cycle* by Agathias), and our idea of epigrammatic collections has been shaped by an analysis of the principal collections connected to this “Cephalan axe.” But, here and there, the data inferred from the Byzantine anthologies are complemented by other sources: although this additional information is more blurred and scanty, it contributes significantly to outlining a more complex and multifaceted transmission.

The following pages will provide a broad chronological survey of multi-author epigram collections, offering a synthesis of the consolidated knowledge on each of them, as well as of some questions that remain unanswered. This diachronic account will then lead to some general observations on the creation and transmission of epigrammatic collections.¹

12.1 The Earliest Collections

The earliest multi-author collection of epigrams which can be dated with some precision is possibly the Ἐπιγράμματα Ἀττικά (“Attic Epigrams”), which was written, according to Suidas (s.v. Φιλόχορος), by Philochorus of Athens (end of the fourth century BCE; *FGrHist* 328 T1). Later (in the second century BCE) Aristodamus is credited with a Ἐπιγράμματα Θηβαϊκά (“Theban Epigrams”; see Novembri 2010), which consisted of more than one book and included a commentary. Even if nothing remains of these works, it is clear from their titles that they gathered (possibly exclusively epigraphical) material from specific areas. Such a “topographical arrangement” is the most natural one for inscriptional poems, since it reflects their original strict connection to a place. The title of another second-century work (the Περί τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπιγραμμάτων – “On epigrams city by city” – by Polemo of Ilium; frs. 79–80 Preller) might point to a similar principle of organization, with poems on (or from) several cities being grouped together. Since the two epigrams from this work quoted by Athenaeus (10.436d and 442e) have a scoptic character – and are therefore unlikely to be true inscriptions (Page 1981, 443–44) – it is possible that Polemo imbued a (well-established?) geographical principle inherited from collections of inscriptions with a deeper “literary” function, grouping together poems on various cities and/or on the characteristics of their inhabitants. Moreover, a title beginning with περί would suit a work *on* epigrams rather than a proper collection, and the same consideration applies to the Περί ἐπιγραμμάτων (“On Epigrams”) by Neoptolemus of Parium (third century BCE). Was it a study on epigrammatic poetry in general, or a commentary on a number of specific epigrams? Commentaries on epigrams were certainly produced: for instance, Archibius’ ἐξήγησις on Callimachus’ *Epigrams* mentioned by Suidas (s.v. Ἀρχίβιος = Callim. T44) and the writings by Hedylus (the poet or a scholar?) εἰς τὰ ἐπιγράμματα Καλλιμάχου (“About the Epigrams by Callimachus” = Callim. T45). Among the papyrological evidence, *P.Louvre* inv. 7733v (third century BCE; *LDAB* 7038) is a commentary on an epigrammatic riddle, and *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2535 (first century AD; *LDAB* 4378) is a *hypomnema* on epigrams of historical content.

12.2 The Vienna Incipits, the Σωρός, and Other Hellenistic Collections

A peculiar source for Hellenistic epigram collections is provided by the list of 226 incipits in *CPR XXXIII* (*P.Vindob.* G 40611, *LDAB* 5473). The list was written by two (or possibly three) expert hands of the second half of the third century BCE, and consists of a main fragment bearing seven columns on the recto and two more on the verso, plus a detached fragment also written on both sides. The internal structure is complex: the first extant column – probably the first of the original text as well – begins with the title τὰ ἐπιζητούμενα τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐν τῇ ᾧ βύβλῳ (“epigrams to be searched in the first book”) and titles referring to the second and fourth books are preserved further on (the papyrus is incomplete at the end, so that we do not know whether there were more than four books). Each incipit is followed by a number indicating the verses of the respective epigram written in full; the total number of the epigrams listed and of their verses are registered at the bottom of most columns and at the end of the sections pertaining to the various books. It seems clear enough, therefore, that the work planned with the Vienna list was to be done on a collection of at least four books, and that copying the listed epigrams was part of the job (hence the information about the number of verses). It is possible that the epigrams listed were to be looked up in (and copied from) that collection to create a new, smaller selection. There are traces of editorial work done on the list: a few incipits have been put in brackets (so as to eliminate them), and a few others have been “marked” on the left with the letters εὑ, whose meaning remains doubtful. Although so little survives of each epigram, the various sections of the list do not appear to be devoted to different genres (erotic, scoptic, and funerary subjects, for example, would seem to be mixed in the same columns). No author name is preserved, and the only listed epigram that was already known is Asclepiades’ *AP* 12.46. The Vienna list is a *memento* for its modern reader, demonstrating in the most striking of ways how limited our knowledge of the production and transmission of epigrammatic literature is. In the first place, a survival rate of one poem out of 226 is a very low figure. Moreover, the papyrus lists as *epigrammata* several poems significantly different in meter and/or length from our standard idea of an epigram (Floridi and Maltomini 2014). For the purpose of the present study, it is important to point out that, as early as in the third century BCE, this papyrus attests to a “reworking” of epigrammatic collections that, as we shall see, is also characteristic of the later transmission.

The name of another Hellenistic collection is provided by *Schol. A in Il.* 11.101, according to which Aristarchus noted that the text of an epigram as

transmitted in Posidippus' *Epigrammata* was different from that included "in the so-called Σωρός ('Heap')". This information has sparked numerous conjectures about the nature of the *Soros* and the authors included in it. While observing that Posidippus, Asclepiades, and Hedylus are strictly connected in our sources (being often involved in double attributions), Reitzenstein (1893, 96–102) has suggested that they published a joint edition, that this edition was the *Soros* and that the beginning of it was to be found in *P.Petr.* II 49a (third century BCE, *LDAB* 3848; see also Gutzwiller and Sens in this volume). This papyrus bears on the recto the remnants of an epithalamium for Queen Arsinoe and on the verso the title σύνμεικτα ἐπιγράμματα ("mixed epigrams") repeated two times and followed by the name of Posidippus (and possibly others now lost: on the whole issue see Cameron 1993, 369–76). More recently, arguing that *P.Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309 (the "Milan Posidippus," see Gutzwiller in this volume) is not an edition of Posidippus alone but a multi-author collection, Lloyd-Jones (2003) has suggested that it may represent part of the *Soros*. And since, as we have seen, the only known epigram on the Vienna list is by Asclepiades, it may be tempting to argue that the collection on which the list is based was the *Soros*. But, as a matter of fact, all we know is that a book called *Soros* was circulating in the second century BCE, and that it included poems by Posidippus and at least one textual divergence from the *Epigrammata* (i.e., the "standard edition"?) of this poet. The attempt to turn the scanty indirect and direct evidence we possess into a coherent picture may prove a rather strained operation which underestimates the number of collections produced. This multiplicity can be inferred from papyri: besides the already mentioned Vienna list, *P.Petr.* II 49a, and *P.Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309, we have a significant number of witnesses of the third and second century BCE that are – or at least may be – fragments of epigram collections (I exclude from this list the fragments that certainly contained only a few poems): *P.Petr.* II 49b (*LDAB* 2439), *P.Petr.* inv. O(2) (*LDAB* 6911), UCL Dept. of Greek and Latin, without number (*LDAB* 121906), *P.Berol.* inv. 9812 (*LDAB* 211), *P.Bagnall* 37 (*LDAB* 6850), *P.Köln* V 204 (*LDAB* 2750), and *P.Harr.* I 56 (*LDAB* 6899). The fragmentary nature of this evidence makes it difficult to determine the length of each collection and its internal structure, as well as its "literary ambition" and diffusion. Moreover, it is often hard to distinguish between single and multi-author collections. *P.Petr.* II 49b, containing nine epigrams devoted to theatrical plays (tragedies), is a good example of the most important problems posed by papyrological witnesses. First, the handwriting qualifies the papyrus as a medium-level exemplar, so that we cannot tell if we are dealing with a private selection not intended for circulation or with a private (or cheap) copy of a "published"

anthology. Second, each poem is preceded by a heading with the name of the play and its author, while there is no indication of the author(s) of the epigrams themselves. On this basis, scholars have often presumed that all the epigrams in this papyrus are by one and the same author. But the assumption that a lack of author headings means that the collection is by a single author is problematic. It is true that we do not find epigrammatic papyri with headings indicating both the author and the subject of the poem. But even if we assume that the editorial practice was to provide either one piece of information or the other, this does not imply that the author's name was considered the more important of the two and that subject-headings were inserted only when the author's name was self-evident (i.e., in single-author collections). Since *P.Petr.* II 49b may well bear the remnants of a collection of "verse introductions" to theatrical works (or, more generally, to literary works) gathered together for their common function, the names of their authors may have been unknown, or not interesting, or less interesting than the contents of the poems, and the same may apply to several other papyri lacking author-headings (Maltomini 2001, 65–66; Parsons 2002, 117–18). We should, moreover, bear in mind that our sources' uncertainty about the authorship of several epigrams (revealed chiefly by double attributions and by the heading ἄδηλον; on both cf. Gow 1958, 26–29) demonstrates that something in the structure of earlier collections aroused such doubts.

An interesting case is that of the epigrams extracted from the *Peplos*. This lost work – attributed to Aristotle by ancient sources, but possibly later (Cameron 1993, 388–93 suggests the end of the second century BCE) – provided information on various mythological subjects and included a number of epigrammatic epitaphs on (mostly Homeric) heroes. We do not know whether these poems were produced expressly for the *Peplos* or collected from earlier source(s), but at a certain stage they were excerpted and started to circulate as a separate collection: this collection, then, was produced not by gathering scattered material but by "extracting" epigrams from a wider literary context. The thirteenth-century manuscript Laur. 56.1 contains part of this collection, while Porphyry (and, later, John Tzetzes) quoted some of the epigrams, thus introducing them into (new) non-epigrammatic contexts. A later stage of transmission is represented by the work of Constantine Lascaris, who, at the end of the fifteenth century, extracted the epigrams from Tzetzes' work and inserted them into a larger epigrammatic collection, together with poems on the same topics copied from other sources (Maltomini 2011b, 305–9). We cannot say whether the epigrams of the *Peplos* were all by the same author, and modifications during the transmission may have altered the original excerpt.

12.3 The *Garlands* of Meleager and Philip

Continuing with our chronological survey, we come to the first epigram collection used by Constantine Cephalas, one which was partially reconstructed thanks to the *Palatine Anthology* and the *Planudean Anthology*. The *Palatine Anthology* (which, as will be explained below, closely reproduces Cephalas' collection) groups together in an introductory section the metrical proems of three earlier anthologies excerpted and rearranged by Cephalas (Book 4 of the *Anthology* in modern editions). The first one is the Στέφανος (*Garland*), created by Meleager of Gadara probably around 90–80 BCE (see the convincing arguments by Argentieri 2007 and cf. Prioux in this volume) as a selection of nearly six centuries of epigrammatic literature, from poets as ancient as Sappho and Simonides (the authenticity of these and other attributions is not important here) to Meleager himself. Forty-seven poets are listed in the proem (*AP* 4.1, where each of them is connected to a flower or a plant, so as to develop the image of the garland woven by the editor), and several others have been identified through the substantial excerpts of the *Garland* included in books 5–7, 9, and 12 of the *Anthology*. Cameron (1993, 24–33) has suggested that the *Garland* may have been divided into four books (erotic, anathematic, funerary, and epideictic). If so, this would be the first known anthology divided into macro-thematic sections. Certainly, Meleager performed his editorial task by juxtaposing epigrams on the same subject and/or linked by lexical echoes, so as to highlight imitations and competitions between various poets and, above all, his own reworking of previous eminent models (a detailed reconstruction attempt is provided by Gutzwiller 1998, 276–322). The “Meleagrian series” in the *Palatine Anthology* amounts to about 4000 verses, and although the *Garland* was certainly bigger, calculations of its original length are rather speculative (on the estimated 6000 lines – including author-headings – suggested by Cameron 1993, 24–25, see Parsons 2002, 101 n. 7, 116).

Three papyri dating from the first century BCE to the first half of the first century CE show some overlap with Meleager's *Garland* and are (or may be) bowdlerized copies of it: *BKT* V.1 75–76 + V.2 146 (*LDAB* 212), *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3324 (*LDAB* 2606), and *P.Oxy.* IV 662 (*LDAB* 2445). The first two contain sequences of erotic epigrams, and they were decisive in confirming that Meleager did not distinguish between heterosexual and homosexual erotic epigrams (such a distinction, which resulted in books 5 and 12 of the *Anthology*, was probably made by Cephalas; see Wifstrand 1926, 9–22). The third papyrus is less clear: it includes a group of funerary epigrams on the same woman, partially repeating a sequence included in the *Palatine Anthology* (where it comes from Meleager); but one of the poems provided

by the *Anthology* is missing in the papyrus and in its place we find an epigram (on the same subject) by Amyntas, an author not listed in Meleager's proem and possibly mentioned, in the *Anthology*, only in one marginal correction. The papyrus might therefore represent an excerpt from the *Garland* (which, in that case, presented a longer series from which different extracts were taken in the papyrus and in Cephala), or an independent anthology which included some poems also chosen by Meleager. Two more witnesses of the first century BCE (*P.Tebt.* I 3 and *P.Freib.* I 4; *LDAB* 2436 and 4010) have usually been considered as private and extemporaneous collections rather than copies (or abridgments) of "published" anthologies. But both are consistent enough as to their contents (focusing as they do on ecphrastic poems), and the second at least shows sufficient lexical links between the various epigrams to suggest that it is a private copy of an anthology based on principles similar to those adopted by Meleager.

Around the mid-first century CE, Philip of Thessalonica created an anthology expressly conceived as the continuation of Meleager's *Garland*: it included some 40 authors (13 mentioned in the proem *AP* 4.2, and at least 25 recoverable from the excerpts of more than 3400 verses in books 5–7 and 9–11). Like Meleager, Philip was at the same time the editor of his anthology and its main contributor. Philip arranged his *Garland* as a long alphabetical sequence (based only on the very first letter of each epigram; see Cameron 1993, 33–40); but within this sequence some of the principles of juxtaposition already used by Meleager were maintained. To employ them while respecting the alphabetical order, Philip resorted to some supplementary devices, such as beginning each of his own re-elaborations with the same letter as his models. This influence of editorial criteria on the process of poetic creation is highly significant: while writing his poems, Philip was constantly conscious of the organizational principles to which they had to adhere. Another important feature of Philip's editorial job is his awareness of recent trends in epigrammatic literature and of the evolution of the genre: in his proem he focuses on *oligostichia* (i.e., poems consisting of few lines) as the central feature of "modern" epigrammatic poetry.

12.4 Collections between Philip and Agathias

Papyri of the first two centuries CE do not add much to our knowledge of epigrammatic collections. The most important one is probably *P.Oxy.* LIV 3724 (first century, *LDAB* 213), a list of 174 incipits written by a cursive hand on the two sides of the final portion of a roll which would appear to have previously been used for writing epigrams in full. Twenty-seven of these

incipits belong to poems assigned to Philodemus by the medieval tradition, and two to Asclepiades; the whole list seems thematically consistent, with a huge number of erotic and sympotic poems. This thematic coherence with Philodemus' favorite subjects led some scholars to argue that all the epigrams listed were by this poet (see the discussion in Sider 1997, 203–25). But a multi-author collection oriented towards erotic and sympotic themes may have included many poems by Philodemus simply because this poet wrote widely on these subjects.²

Evidence concerning the period between Philip and the sixth century is limited. Collections were certainly produced and it is likely that Cephala used some of them, but information on their contents is highly uncertain. Suidas (s.v. Διογενειανός) tells us that Diogenian, a scholar who lived in the reign of Hadrian, was the author of an ἐπιγραμμάτων Ἀνθολόγιον. It has been supposed that this work included epigrams of the first/second century (as a continuation of Philip's *Garland*). Indeed, the *Palatine Anthology* shows (especially in Book 11, devoted to satiric epigrams) clusters of authors of the first two centuries with possible traces of an alphabetical ordering. This might point to an anthology, but there is no proof at all that this anthology was Diogenian's. The situation is similar to that already seen for the *Soros*: once again we have a title and no certain connection with the extant evidence.

Cameron (1993, 78–96) has suggested that Cephala used a fourth-century anthology incorporating excerpts from the *Garlands* and from the collection of the first/second century (whether by Diogenian or not), as well as several other authors of the imperial age up to Palladas. This anthology would have circulated in the West, and would have been the source of the Latin translations by Ausonius and the *Epigrammata Bobiensia*. Cameron's reconstruction would fill the gap of collections between Philip and Agathias, and fits well with the plausible assumption that the circulation of epigrammatic literature was progressively entrusted to multi-author collections. But it is perhaps not unlikely that Latin scholars of the fourth century were able to read single-author collections of relatively recent authors, and that they still had copies of the *Garlands* at their disposal. Cameron's reconstruction is problematic from many points of view and Lauxtermann (1997) has convincingly demonstrated that Palladas, as well as some other poets, reached Cephala in a collection compiled in the mid-sixth century.

Palladas is currently enjoying much scholarly attention thanks to a papyrological discovery: *Am.Stud.Pap.* LII (*P.CtYBR* inv. 4000, dated in its *editio princeps* between the last quarter of the third and the first half of the fourth century; *LDAB* 145316) consists of six partially preserved bifolia of a codex

with about 60 epigrams, some of them preceded by subject-headings. Two poems were already known: one is assigned to Palladas by the corrector of the *Palatine Anthology* (it was originally anonymous) and the other is anonymous in the whole extant tradition. The papyrus has been presented as a single-author collection of Palladas, and such an assumption, combined with the chronology of the witness, would imply a backdating of the poet (usually assigned to the fourth/fifth century). But the chronological issues, as well as the nature of the collection, are presently under investigation (see Floridi 2016). In any case, it is interesting to emphasize the “local” slant of the collection, a feature that points to a selection oriented towards a Greco-Egyptian milieu and somehow restores – in a purely literary fashion – the original connection of epigrams with specific places. Such “local collections” may have been fairly common, but their limited readership may have affected their survival.

We only have three other papyrological witnesses from the imperial age: *P.Oxy.* LIV 3726 (second/third century; *LDAB* 2456) certainly contained an epigram on Theocritus known from other sources, and the scanty remains of possibly five other poems; *P.Lips.* inv. 1445v (end of the third century; *LDAB* 9937) contains six epigrams on different themes (only one of them is preceded by a subject-heading); *P.Heid.* inv. G 1271 (sixth century; *LDAB* 6202) is a codex leaf with a collection of hexametric ethopoeiae pertaining to the Trojan epic (each one introduced by a subject-heading) and is likely to have been produced and circulated in an educational context.

12.5 The *Cycle* of Agathias and the Anthology of Cephalas

In the second half of the sixth century we find the third major anthology used by Cephalas. As we are told in his proems (*AP* 4.3a–c), Agathias of Myrina collected epigrams written by himself and his contemporaries, arranging them into seven thematic books: anathematic, ecphrastic, funerary, epideictic and protreptic, satirical, erotic, and sympotic. The Κύκλος (*Cycle*) was probably published at the beginning of the reign of Justin II (565–78), but the poems included in it are likely to have been written a little earlier, under Justinian (McCaill 1969). The sequences in the *Palatine Anthology* deriving from this collection amount to nearly 2000 verses. As in Meleager’s *Garland*, each book of the *Cycle* was structured around the alternation between major and minor contributors and around the juxtaposition of epigrams based on

analogies or oppositions in subjects and lexicon. The idea of “poetic competition” is enhanced by the contemporaneity of the contributors.

At the end of the ninth century Costantine Cephalas (a professor at the Nea Ecclesia school in Constantinople, later mentioned in the role of an official of the Palace) used the earlier anthologies we have already mentioned, rearranging their contents into several thematic books (corresponding to books 5–7 and 9–12 of the *Palatine Anthology*). They were broadly the same as Agathias’, but featured a separation between epideictic and protreptic material, and the “segregation” of homosexual erotic poems into a special book. Cephalas’ books are structured according to the same pattern: an opening thematic sequence possibly put together by Cephalas himself is followed by various extracts from earlier anthologies, and finally either a “mixed” sequence lacking any particular criterion of arrangement aside from its general subject, or another thematic section (see the scheme in Cameron 1993, xvi, and the reconstruction provided by Lauxtermann 2007). Cephalas placed at the very beginning of his anthology a book of Christian epigrams (Book 1 of the *Anthology*) and the prefaces to the *Garlands* and the *Cycle* (Book 4 of the *Anthology*, already mentioned above). At the end, he gathered other material of various origin: a group of epigrams in “odd meters” (*AP* 13) and a series of arithmetical problems, oracles, and riddles, possibly expanded at a later stage of transmission (*AP* 14). Each book was opened by a short introduction (written by Cephalas himself), which “guides” the reader through the various genres of epigrammatic literature produced by “the Ancients,” and the general impression is that Cephalas conceived his anthology as a sort of “gallery,” aiming to achieve a balance between completeness of documentation and reading enjoyment (Maltomini 2011a). Besides earlier anthologies, Cephalas included poems extracted from other works (such as some epigrams quoted by Herodotus and Diogenes Laertius). Books 1, 7, and 9 also include metrical inscriptions collected by Gregory of Kampsas (the headmaster of the Nea Ecclesia school) in various cities of the empire (Lauxtermann 2003, 72–74, 90–91). Gregory’s work shows that the renewed interest in epigrammatic literature was fulfilled through a two-fold activity: a direct gathering of epigraphical material and a “bookish” work on earlier collections and other sources. Cephalas (or someone soon after him) chose to combine the epigrammatic anthology with other poetic texts, such as Nonnus’ *Paraphrasis of the Gospel According to John*, Paul the Silentiary’s *ekphraseis* on Hagia Sophia and its Ambo and, possibly, Christodorus of Coptus’ *Ekphrasis on the Statues of the Baths of Zeuxippos*.

12.6 The *Palatine Anthology*, the *Planudean Anthology*, and the *Syllogae Minores*

The *Palatine Anthology*, consisting in about 3,700 epigrams, was probably produced roughly within 50 years of Cephalas' anthology. The *codex unicus* of the *Anthology* (now divided between mss. Heid. Pal. Gr. 23 and Par. Suppl. Gr. 384) was written by two different groups of hands (see Agati 1984), and its completion was coordinated by the scribe indicated in the modern editions by the letter J. The identification of J with Constantine the Rhodian (suggested by Cameron 1993, 300–28) has indeed some arguments in its favor (Lauxtermann 2007, 196 n. 5). As already mentioned, the *Anthology* reproduces Cephalas' collection quite closely. It nonetheless shows additions, losses, and relocations of material (some of them are the product of J's intervention, while others depend on his model). Book 8 of the modern editions consists in funerary poems by Gregory of Nazianzus and was added to the original epitymbic section (Book 7) as a sort of "single author supplement" (see Simelidis in this volume). Book 14, if already in Cephalas, was enlarged, and other, mainly Byzantine, poems were added elsewhere in the manuscript (they are gathered and edited as "Book 15" in modern editions, even if they were not at all meant to form an *ensemble*), together with non-epigrammatic material: John of Gaza's *ekphrasis*, some *carmina figurata*, and a collection of *Anacreontea* (see Cameron 1993, 298–300; Lauxtermann 2007, 202 argues that some of the poems of "Book 15" were already in Cephalas). A group of epigrams describing the reliefs in a temple at Cyzicus (*AP* 3) was also inserted. An extensive lacuna in the model of the *Palatine Anthology* has swallowed the end of the epideictic book and the beginning of the ecphrastic one, so that Book 9 of the *Anthology* is the conflation of two distinct sections of Cephalas' anthology. This gap is largely filled by the *Planudean Anthology*, whose models were not damaged in the same way (see below). Christodorus of Coptus' *Ekphrasis on the Statues of the Baths of Zeuxippus* – perhaps, as we have seen, already present in Cephalas but not as a part of the actual epigrammatic anthology – and the epigrams of Cyzicus were placed after the book of Christian epigrams (books 2 and 3 in the modern editions). We lack information on the whereabouts of the *Palatine Anthology* prior to its "discovery" in Heidelberg at the very beginning of the seventeenth century; certainly, none of the extant later collections derives from this manuscript.

A small collection transmitted by fifteenth-century manuscripts (*Sylloge E*: see below) has preserved two interesting remnants: two epigrammatic dedications to a certain Euphemius of an anthology (now lost) compiled in the reign of Leo VI, which is to say in Cephalas' years. Even if we are not

able to reconstruct this anthology to any extent, the epigrams demonstrate that Cephalas' collection was not an isolated product. It certainly was the most successful, however, since it was well known in the tenth century: besides being an enlarged copy of it, the *Palatine Anthology* was partially collated on another exemplar of Cephalas' collection, owned by a Michael *chartophylax*; and Cephalas is also the source of some additions made to the codex in the twelfth century. Moreover, Suidas and Constantine Porphyrogenitus used Cephalas' work as the source for their many epigram quotations, simply calling it "the Epigrams" (Cameron 1993, 278–82 and 293–97). And, as we will see, in the following centuries several collections show a dependence on Cephalas' work.

At the end of the thirteenth century Maximus Planudes played a crucial role in the transmission of epigrammatic literature. Around 1280, he was the editor (and one of the copyists) of ms. Laur. 32.16, a poetic miscellany including a collection of epigrams (the so-called *Sylloge Laurentiana*). The first part of this collection is a selection from Cephalas, while the second consists in three blocks possibly copied from other sources. One of these blocks deserves to be mentioned here, since it consists of poems extracted – with a process similar to that already seen for the *Peplos* – from a larger work (the *Theosophia*, a late antique apologetic treatise). Some years later, Planudes was able to use two different (and incomplete) copies of Cephalas to produce his own anthology (Planudes' autograph, ms. Marc. gr. 481, was completed between 1299 and 1301). Planudes mentions neither Cephalas nor any other earlier anthologist, eliminating the proems of the *Garlands* and the *Cycle* and simply stating that he rearranged a collection that was put together *χῶδην καὶ ἀναμείξ* ("without an order and pell-mell"). Neither of the exemplars he used was affected by the loss of the epideictic–ecphrastic section: the 360 or so epigrams of the *Planudean Anthology* missing from the *Palatine Anthology* form Book 16 (which is not in fact a proper book, but an Appendix) in modern editions. Planudes aimed to create a systematic repertoire of epigrammatic poetry, keeping the division into several books but rearranging each of them into thematic sections (*kephalaia*) that were ordered alphabetically: for example, in the third book – devoted to the funerary epigrams – we find the sections *εἰς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας* ("on good men"), *εἰς ἀγωνιστάς* ("on competitors"), and so on to *εἰς φιλοσόφους* ("on philosophers"). Planudes eliminated the whole book of homosexual epigrams, and the heterosexual erotic book was drastically reduced (evidence of this censorship is provided by a note written by Planudes himself, who also made some changes to some explicit epigrams). The impact of the *Planudean Anthology* on the subsequent transmission of epigrammatic poetry was enormous: from the fourteenth century to the rediscovery of the *Palatine Anthology*, the *Planudea*

represented the primary source for epigrammatic literature, whose first printed edition was produced by Janus Lascaris in 1494.

The Byzantine transmission of epigrammatic poetry is completed by some minor collections (the so-called *Syllogae Minores*) copied in manuscripts ranging from the twelfth to the sixteenth century (see Maltomini 2008). Several collections certainly derive from Cephalas, while many others are clearly excerpts from the *Planudean Anthology*. Together with the Cephalan material we sometimes find epigrams of a different origin, such as the already mentioned dedications to Euphemius in *Sylloge E*. The minor *syllogae* differ consistently from each other in length and do not normally display any particular internal arrangement; quite often they lack headings of any kind, and the epigrams are just written one after the other. While manuscripts copied in the thirteenth century bring together epigram collections with other poetic material, later miscellanies often combine epigrammatic collections and gnomic texts, or include epigrams in proper school books: the best example of this latter category is provided by the so-called *Sylloge Vaticana*, a selection of poems from the *Planudean Anthology* equipped with glosses and explanations which is by far the most widespread of the minor *syllogae*. The use of epigrams in educational contexts probably explains the prevalence of epideictic and protreptic material. At the end of the fifteenth century, a collection put together by Constantine Lascaris shows an effort towards a systematic organization of the material: Lascaris traced in the *Planudean Anthology* and gathered in two consecutive parts of a new collection (a) poems ascribed to the same authors, and (b) poems speaking of the same poets, regardless of their genres (see Maltomini 2011b).

For some *syllogae*, we are able to follow several stages of development, observing the processes that these collections may have gone through: a good example is provided by *Syllogae E* and Σ, originally independent and of different origins (the former derives partly from Cephalas and partly from other sources; the latter is a selection from the *Planudean Anthology*), then copied one after the other to form a unitary collection (with the elimination of the doublets) and finally enriched with some more poems (Maltomini 2008, 79–92).

12.7 The Creation and Transmission of Epigrammatic Collections

I shall now offer some general observations, focusing on (1) how multi-author epigrammatic collections were created and (2) how they were transmitted. Analyzing separately the creation of anthologies and their transmission is useful for highlighting some interesting aspects, but the two processes are

strictly linked, especially when a collection is based (in whatever way) on earlier ones. For the “history of anthologies,” it will be important to investigate how the various historical and cultural contexts influenced the choices of editors and readers. Argentieri (2007) provides some observations about the two *Garlands* from this perspective, and some other remarks will be given in the following pages. But there is still work to be done.

(1) After an initial stage linked to the inscriptional material and therefore to a geographical principle of organization (a “where” arrangement criterion), collections were shaped by the interaction between contents and authoriality (with authoriality involving both the authors of the poems included in each collection and the editors of the collections themselves) – that is to say, between a “what” and a “who” arrangement criterion.

Most papyri show a more or less pronounced attention to the subject of the epigrams, ranging from a general consistency of genres to strict adherence to a very specific subject; but it is difficult to reconstruct the weight of authoriality, and it is possible that author-headings were sometimes omitted in favor of other information. The ongoing interaction between authoriality and contents can be well observed only in the bigger anthologies. Some important clues are already provided by the “programmatic texts” composed by the anthologists to explain the contents and/or aim of their work. The proems of the two *Garlands* list the poets included without making even a passing reference to the subjects of the poems or the structure of the collections, while, some centuries later, Agathias explains the contents of his thematic books without mentioning the names of the poets included. Cephalas introduces each thematic book by devoting a few words to the genre they represent; Planudes explains the overall structure of his anthology, insisting on its purely thematic organization. It is nonetheless important to note that author-headings were considered relevant and continued to be transmitted even when a lot of them had become nothing more than a name – as we can also infer from occasional misspellings.

We may now turn to consider how the anthologists have juxtaposed epigrams composed by various authors on the same subjects: Meleager, Philip, and Agathias arrange their collections so as to compare the works of various poets and to highlight their own. In these three anthologies, the “what” criterion provides the structure, but the focus is always on the poets. This is not true for later collections: Cephalas’ interest in multiple variations on a theme sometimes leads to long series of epigrams where neither the succession of authors nor the distinction between models and imitations are relevant; and, as already noted, Planudes only aims to provide a systematic arrangement by subject. It is only with Constantine Lascaris’ anthology that,

as a result of the new prosopographical interest emerging in fifteenth/sixteenth century Italy, a new shift of focus occurred from subjects to authors. But the elegant variety achieved in the past is substituted by a purely mechanical work, with several “author sections” one after the other: Planudes’ method is simply redeployed from subjects to poets.

Planudes is also crucial for the “memory” of previous anthologies. Philip declared his intention to continue the work of Meleager, Cephala gathered the poems of his sources at the beginning of his own collection, and the scribes of the *Palatine Anthology* mentioned the name of Cephala (if only in marginal annotations). Planudes, in his radical rearrangement of Cephala’s work, eliminated any reference to previous editors.

(2) The transmission of epigrammatic anthologies may be traced by examining the polarity between continuity and innovation. The overall picture is that of a “non-protected” transmission, where the survival of a collection through the centuries allows for its modification. The Vienna list already shows, in the third century BCE, the making of a selection based on an earlier and larger work. Papyri connected with Meleager’s *Garland* provide evidence of its early bowdlerization, and the same processes apply to each further step in the transmission that we are able to follow.

One more element of innovation is the relation between epigrammatic collections and works of other kinds containing epigrams: epigrams were extracted so as to create a separate collection, and, with the opposite process, collections of epigrams were used as a source of material to be included in other works.

Epigram anthologies are also involved in the changing of the standard features of epigrams. We can start again from the Vienna list, which shows that, in the third century BCE, even rather long poems, and poems in meters other than the hexameter and the elegiac couplet, were regarded as epigrams. Later collections display an increased uniformity, and in Cephala’s anthology epigrams in unusual meters are mostly grouped together in a specific book. Longer poems, even if not completely absent, are rare or linked to special contents and/or functions (on the *epigramma longum* see the contributions gathered in Morelli 2008). The definition of “what an epigram is” has been narrowed down across the centuries as a result of the evolution of the literary genre, and the anthologies reflect this shift (consider for example the explicit reference made by Philip in his preface to the *oligostichia* as the central feature of the epigrammatic production of his time). An “active role” of anthologies in consolidating the new standards is nonetheless possible: the choice of the editors may have privileged some features, leaving aside non-standard poems, or confining them to special sections.

NOTES

1. In the present overview, we shall not consider the collection of epigrams attributed to Simonides (see Bravi in this volume). Even if it included – at least from a certain stage of its transmission – non-Simonidean material (thus being effectively a multi-author collection), it circulated under the name of one poet and was therefore perceived as a single-author edition. Although the grouping of poems of the same kind under the name of an authoritative and “emblematic” figure is an interesting phenomenon within the transmission of epigrammatic literature (one that is also detectable behind a collection of bucolic epigrams which circulated under the name of Theocritus: see Rossi 2001, 361–75), the processes involved are different from those analyzed in this chapter.
2. Too little remains of *P.Hamb.* 2.125 (first/second century, *LDAB* 4462), and three more papyri of the same period (*P.Oxy.* LIV 3725, LXVI 4501 and LXVI 4502; *LDAB* 3075, 7163, 7164) are very likely to be parts of a collection of Nicarchus’ epigrams, therefore falling outside the scope of this chapter.

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PART II

**EPIGRAM IN
PRE-HELLENISTIC GREECE**

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Origins of Greek Epigram: The Unity of Inscription and Object

Joseph W. Day

13.1 Epigram's Double Birth

The early history of Greek epigram is a history of verse inscriptions, although non-epigrammatic metrical inscriptions, such as snatches of song on pottery, existed (Gaunt 2014). When viewed from the perspectives of classical inscribed epigram and Hellenistic literary epigram, that history seems straightforward. Beginning in the seventh century BCE, typically short poems composed specifically for inscription appeared on various kinds of object, most of which the texts identify as grave-markers or dedications to gods. These were often monumental: stelai, statues, or other objects displayed in cemeteries and sanctuaries, generally mounted on bases that ultimately became the normal locus for epitaphs and dedicatory inscriptions. Epigrams continued to be inscribed for centuries on sepulchral monuments and for dedicated portraits of victorious athletes, at least in some locales; but, from the classical period, a shrinking percentage of relevant inscriptions were metrical (Bing and Bruss 2007, 2–4; Keesling 2010, 130), appearing only exceptionally, for example, on honorific portrait monuments which proliferated from early Hellenistic times (e.g., *IG* 12.6.1 285, mid-second century, with Ma 2013, 38–39, 48).

Early epigrammatic history is not, however, so straightforward. Among many complications are loss, meter, and double-birth. The corpus continues to grow (the illustrations below include several not in Hansen's *CEG*); nevertheless, our story may be skewed by loss of evidence, including a potentially

large genre of verse captions for figures on wood, textiles, and precious objects such as Cypselus' chest (Paus. 5.17.5–19.10; Elmer 2005). As to meter, current orthodoxy holds that epigrams were almost all constructed out of hexameters (the earlier standard) or pentameters (usually in elegiac couplets, from ca. 550), with a few iambic inscriptions and very few in other meters (cf. Bowie 2010, 378–84). An attempt to detect lyric meters in many texts normally classified as prose (Gallavotti 1979) attracted few adherents, although one might add to Hansen's corpus several non-canonical but broadly dactylic, elegiac, or iambic inscriptions (Oswald 2014, 10–23). The most striking complication in the early history of epigram is that it experienced two births (Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 283): dedication and epitaph did begin in the seventh century, but the eighth century yields verse inscriptions of a different sort.

Seventh-century dedicatory epigrams, without surviving epigraphic precedent, already exhibit key features that forever mark the genre. A hexameter on a bronze aryballos from the Spartan Menelaion illustrates the standard core syntax consisting in the dedicator as subject, a verb of offering (usually ἀνέθηκε), the dedication as direct object, and the god as indirect object (ca. 675–600; *LSAG* 417 (Lakonia 3a), 446.3a, 448, pl. 75.2):

Δεῖνι[ς]) τὰ(ν)δ' ἀνέθηκε) χά|ρι[ς]) Ἑλέγα|ι) | Μενελάω.)

Deinis dedicated this reciprocal joy (*charis*) to Helen (wife) of Menelaos.¹

More ambitious seventh-century texts expand or vary the core with poetic divine epithets, addresses to the god, comments about the monument, and other material. Such are the hexameters on a small bronze figure apparently from Thebes (*CEG* 326, ca. 700–675; Day 2010, 33–48):

Μάντικλός μ' ἀνέθηκε φεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι
τὰς {δ}δε|κάτας· τὸ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίετταν ἀμοιβ[άν].

Mantiklos dedicated me to the far-shooting, silver-bowed (god), out of the tithe. As for you, Phoibos, grant a return that gives joy (*charis*).

Epitaphs of the seventh century exhibit as their key features the name of the deceased and a term for the grave marker, also often the names and actions of mourners and evocations of praise or sadness. Amorgos provides an early, if unusual, hexameter (*CEG* 152, ca. 700–650?, rupestral):

Δηϊδάμαν, | Πυγμαῖς ὁ πατέρ τόνδ' οἶφ[ον] ῥ'ἔτευχσεν].

O Dêidamas! Pygmas your father [ʔbuilt] this house (tomb).

Later in the century, Corfu produced several fine epitaphs, including *CEG* 143 (ca. 625–600?, encircling a cenotaph; cf. *IG* 9.1².4 882):

Δι' ἡνιοῦ Τλασίαφο Μενεκράτεος τόδε σᾶμα :
 Οἰανθέος γενεάν, τόδε δ' αὐτοῖ δᾶμος ἐποίει. :
 ἔς γὰρ πρόξενφος δάμου φίλος· ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντοι [:]
 ὄλετο, δαμόσιον δὲ καρὸν ῥο[(υ) – υυ – x ca. 15]. :
 Πραξιμένες δ' αὐτοῖ γ[αίας] ἀπο πατρίδος ἐνθὸν :
 σὺν δάμ[ο]ι τόδε σᾶμα κασιγνέτοιο πονέθε. :

This (is) the marker (*sama*) of Menekrates, son of Tlasias, Oianthian by birth, and the people (*damos*) made this for him. For he was the dear representative of the *damos*; but he was lost at sea, and a calamity for the *damos* [---]. And for him Praximenes came from his paternal land and, together with the *damos*, worked hard on this *sama* of his brother.

Canonical elements are present, but the text is extended into three thematically differentiated pairs of hexameters by several features: Menekrates' position and the role of the *damos* (repeated four times), which make this a quasi-public epigram, the earliest; the circumstances of death; the mourners' actions that convey an elite, even epic tone (cf. *Hom. Il.* 23.245); an understated pathos (“dear,” loss at sea, public “calamity,” brother’s efforts).

The handful of eighth- and related early seventh-century epigrams are strikingly different from those dedications and epitaphs. A recently published skyphos from Methone bears an incised, retrograde, apparently iambic inscription in Euboean script (ca. 700; Besios, Tzifopoulos, and Kotsonas 2012: 339–43, Cat. 2, restoration of A. Matthaiou; cf. Clay, Malkin, and Tzifopoulos 2017):

ἡακεσάνδρο ἐμ[ι --- ca. 22]εἰτετο. [ἡὸς δ' ἄν] με κλέφσει, ὀμ(μ)άτον στερέ|
 σ[ετ]αι.

The text opens with an ownership formula: “I am the [?cup] of Hakesandros ...” A curse seems to follow: “[Whoever steals] me will be deprived of his [eyes].” The restoration is justified by similar curses appended to ownership formulas in other early vase inscriptions in Euboean letters, most famously that on “Nestor’s cup” from Ischia (*CEG* 454, ca. 735–20). Another incised text – probably metrical but not in *CEG* – spirals around an aryballos from Cumae (ca. 700–650?; *LSAG* 238, 240.3, pl. 47.3):

Ταταίης ἐμὶ λέρυθος. ἡὸς δ' ἄν με κλέφσει, θυφλὸς ἔσται.

I am the lekythos of Tataie. Whoever steals me will be blind.

The Euboean group and other very early epigrams were not monumental, not for public display, and, although their function remains nebulous, neither dedicatory nor originally sepulchral (apparently, though some were deposited in graves). These I shall call “primordial.” Two of our examples (Hakesandros, Nestor; cf. *SEG* 39.939) appear on drinking cups; we can imagine they issued from sympotic contexts, as Tataie perhaps also did (Węcowski 2014, 131–32 n. 16; but *SEG* 47.1475). We might compare later vase epigrams that contain ownership formulas or curses, or mention gift-giving or drinking; but the number is small, and none is dated before 600 (*CEG* 445–48, 450, 452, ?458, 460, 464–65, 893, 897). The eighth-century birth of epigram, if not an evolutionary dead end, failed to yield the flourishing progeny that the seventh-century genres did.

13.2 The Unity of Epigram and Object, 1: The Materiality of Writing

Despite major differences, the primordial and monumental traditions shared a key feature: texts were one, formally and functionally, with inscribed objects. This and the following two sections examine three aspects of this unity. First, the materiality of writing, that is, how inscriptions were laid out as integral elements of the objects’ physical form. Epigrams on grave markers and dedications need not delay us: a stroll through sites or museums with archaic monuments quickly reveals that many texts were carefully planned, partly for aesthetic or decorative impact, partly to attract and guide reading. For example, the two hexametric epigrams on the polemarch Callimachus’ dedication from the Athenian Acropolis (*CEG* 256, ca. 490), now reassembled in the Acropolis Museum, were inscribed in two smoothed flutes running down the otherwise roughly stippled column. Since the flutes are aligned beneath the primary view of the Nike perched atop the column, a viewer’s eyes are drawn down from her face, through her body’s axis, to the tops of the lines of writing, and then guided along the flutes. To aid reading, each epigram was written in a single line in one flute, and the letters are clear and elegant, originally brightly painted, with punctuation marking verse divisions (Keesling 2010; cf. Day 2010, 48–59, 76–84).

Perhaps surprisingly, the earliest epigrams exhibit comparable efforts to attract the eye and guide reading. For example, Hakesandros’ text runs around the cup in a single line except for the final five letters, which dip beneath the main line. The letters, each around half a centimeter high, are neatly incised along the top of a wide band of dark slip beneath rim and body

bands decorated with lines and patterns; they form a variegated decorative band of their own, cut down to the light clay beneath the dark slip so they leap out as chalk does on a blackboard. The final letters perhaps dip because the writer miscalculated and ran out of room, but they also mark the place to begin reading by underlining the start of the first and most important word, the owner's name. From that point, a parallel linear feature like Callimachus' flutes – here, the dark band's top edge – pulls the eye along and keeps readers from losing their way (cf. Osborne and Pappas 2007, 132–39).

13.3 The Unity of Epigram and Object, 2: Staging Readings

Both primordial and monumental texts were construed to fit imagined situations of reading (or at least vocalization and hearing) in the presence of the inscribed objects. For Meyer (2005, 4–10, 51–88), the staging of reading is the central generic feature of epigram, and here I consider the object's place in such staging. Composers projected readings by identifying the object, building its presence into deictic grammar, and cross-referencing other inscriptions and objects.

Identification plays a prominent role in primordial epigrams: “I am Hakesandros’ [?cup] ... [whoever steals] me ...” The words are designed specifically, and make sense only, for someone seeing or holding the cup, perhaps contemplating its theft. Monumental epigrams project reading that fits the situation of immediate presence by identifying the object in comparably simple ways, but also by explaining its display, describing it, or incorporating viewing into the text. An epitaph found at Akraiphia in 1992 begins with straight identification and goes on to explain why the monument was erected (ca. 520–10, stele with youth in relief; *SEG* 49.505, 56.508, 59.466):

Μνασιθείο : μνῆμ’ εἰ|μὶ ἐπ’ ὁδοῖ : καλόν· | ἀλλὰ μ’ ἔθηκεν :
Πύρι|χος : ἀρχαίης : ἀντὶ | φιλεμοσύνης.

Of Mnasitheos I am the memorial by the road, a beautiful one. But Pyr(r)ichos placed me for the sake of long friendship.

Identification and explanation were standard in dedications: “So-and-so dedicated me, a tithe, firstfruits, an *agalma*, a statue, having vowed, etc.” A newly published epigram on a late archaic dedication from Thebes offers a remarkable explanation that bears some relationship to Herodotus 1.52 (Papazarkadas 2014, 233–51):

[σοι] χάριν ἐνθάδ', Ἀπολλο[ν, υ -υ -υ -υ - x]
 [κέ]πιστὰς ἱαρὸ στᾶσε κατ[ευχσά]μενος
 [μα]ντοσύναις εὐρὸν ἠυπὸ ΤΑ[....]ΟΙΟ φαενὰν
 [ἄσπ]ίδα τὰγ Ὀροῖσος κα[λφ]ὸν ἄγαλ[μα θέτο?]
 [Ἀμ]φιαρέοι μνᾶμ' ἀρετ[ᾶς τε πάθας τε υ - x]
 [..]μεν ἃ ἐκλέφθε ΦΟ[υ -υ -υ x]
 [Θε]βαίοισι δὲ θάμβος Ε[-υ -υ -υ - x]
 [..]πίδα δαιμονίος ΔΕ[υ -υ -υ x]

Here, a reciprocal delight (*charis*) [for you], Apollo, [---], the supervisor of the sanctuary, dedicated having vowed, after he, with the aid of oracles, found under [?] the gleaming shield that Kroisos [?dedicated] as a beautiful *agalma* for Amphiaros, a memorial of his excellence [and suffering ---] which was stolen [---] and for the Thebans amazement [---] by supernatural power [---].

Papazarkadas (*contra* Thonemann 2016) argues that a sanctuary official re-dedicated to Apollo the original offering of the Lydian king Croesus to Amphiaros, after it had been stolen and found again with the help of oracles.

All the early forms of identifying the object, including description, foreshadow ecphrasis in later inscribed and literary epigram (Bruss 2010). “Nestor’s cup” is “good-for-drinking” (*CEG* 454, εὐποτ[ον]); comments on a monument’s beauty are common, as in Mnasiheos’ epitaph. Some Athenian epitaphs expand identification with a truer precursor of literary ecphrasis by incorporating the act of viewing, e.g., *IG* 1³ 1219 = *CEG* 51 (ca. 510, base for lost stele, Kerameikos; cf. 28, 68, 470 = 16a):

οἰκτίρο προσορῶ[ν] | παιδὸς τόδε σῆμα | θανόντος :
 Σμικύθ[ο], | ἥος τε φίλον ὄλεσε|ν ἔλπ' ἀγαθὲν.

I pity as I gaze on this *sēma* of a boy who died, Smikythos, who destroyed the good hope of his loved ones.

If identifying the inscribed object was designed to fit a speech situation in its presence, deictic grammar reinforced that design. From earliest times, epigrams referred to the object in the first person: “I am Hakesandros’ [?cup].” First persons articulate a unity of text-as-utterance and immediately present object. I think – others disagree – that authors projected readings in which readers lent their voices to the object as performers playing a role (Day 2010, 45–47, 112–13; *contra* Elmer 2005, 12–13; cf. Bakker 2016, Christian 2015, 28–45). Epitaphs accompanying portraits thus give voice to the image,

the deceased, or both, as in *CEG* 24 (ca. 540, kore on inscribed base, Attica; see Squire 2009, 151–53):

σῆμα Φρασικλείας · | κόρε κεκλέσσομαι | αἰεῖ,
ἀντὶ γάμο | παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο | λαχῶσ' ὄνομα.

Sēma of Phrasikleia. I shall be called maiden (*kourē*) always, having received this name as my lot from the gods instead of marriage.

In a more straightforward way, third-person proximal deixis staged the immediate experience of passers-by: “his father placed *this* marker” (*CEG* 14, ca. 560–50?), “he dedicated *these* vessels ...” (344, ca. 600–550?), “*this* drinking cup” already on “Nestor’s cup” (454).

Other deictic possibilities in archaic epigram (dialogue evolved in the fifth century (*CEG* 120, 429, also 108, 286)) likewise project reading or hearing by persons interacting with the inscribed object. Earliest was direct address to the god in dedications: readers of Mantiklos’ epigram ask Apollo to grant a joyful return for the (implicitly) joyful statuette there present. From the sixth century, epitaphs contain first-person verbs of lament (cf. Smikythos’) and second-person addresses to passers-by, both found on the public cenotaph at Ambrakia (Arta) published in 1991 (ca. 550?; *SEG* 41.540A, 44.463; cf. Randone 2013, Tentori Montalto 2017, no. I; Figure 13.1):



Figure 13.1 Polyandreion of ancient Ambrakia. Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports (N. 3028/2002 and N. 3081/2002). Ephorate of Antiquities of Arta. Photograph: Seth Estrin.

ἄνδρας [τ]ούσδ' [ἐ]σλοὺς ὀλοφύρομαι, ἡοῖσι Πυραιβὼν : →
 παῖδες ἐμετίσαντ' ἀ[λ]κινόεντα φόνον, [:]
 ἀνγε[λί]αν με<τ>ιόντας ἀπ' εὐρυχώροι[ο Ὀρίνθου :]
 [missing pentameter and hexameter, with line-break]
 πατρίδ' ἀν' ἱμερτὰν πένθος ἔθαλλε τότε. : ←
 τότε δ' ἀπ' Ἀνπρακίας, Ναυσίστρατο<ν>, αὐτὰ παθόντε, :
 Καλλίταν τ' Αἶδα δῶμα μέλαν κατέχευ. [:]
 κα|Ἐ μὰν Ἀραθθίονα καἘ Εὐξενον ἴστε, πολῖταε, [:] →
 ἦος μετὰ τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν Ἐαρ ἔκιχεν θανάτου. : *vacat*

I lament these excellent men, for whom, as they accompanied an embassy from [Corinth] of wide dancing places, the sons of the Pyraiboi devised grievous slaughter [---] then in (their?) beloved fatherland grief blossomed. And these two from Ambrakia, Nausistratos and Kallitas, having suffered the same fate, the dark house of Hades confines. Also truly, citizens, know that the Ker of death overtook Aratthion and Euxenos together with these men.

The anonymous first person (1) stages every reader as mourner; and vocalization of lament in the presence of the monument is further staged with the command to passers-by to know (9) the inscription's content, especially the names of all "these." Text imagined as speech directed to those encountering an inscribed object makes sense where vocal reading was the norm.

If identification and deixis project people interacting with the inscribed object, those persons were also normally confronting similar objects, a situation that epigrams reflect. Cross-references in the form of language typical of the same class of inscriptions – generic intertextuality, in effect – created for readers and hearers a verbal dialogue among objects. Primordial vase epigrams, for instance, echo prose ownership inscriptions ("I am of [name]"), well-attested in the same period and areas (Węcowski 2014, 135; *SEG* 47.1488, 55.980). The epigrams did those texts one better; but the echo called to mind "ordinary" inscribed pots, thereby highlighting the epigrammatists' innovations.

Monumental epigrams reflected and reinforced the ways dedications and grave markers were experienced as members of groups in conversation with other members in sanctuaries and cemeteries (Bing 2014; Day 2018; cf. Ma 2013, esp. 67–151, 214–39). In classical Athens, for example, epigrams on military sepulchral monuments in the public burial area (*dēmosion sēma*) contributed to an extensive discourse. The accumulation of memorials exhibiting comparable (if varied) formal features and tribally organized casualty lists collectively impressed on visitors a common message about Athenian self-sacrifice for the *polis* (Arrington 2015, 19–123). Epigrams reinforced the theme with verbal echoes among themselves, as when a "present participle" for fighting or struggling "is coupled with a verb for dying in the aorist to describe how the men died: with courage" (Arrington 2011, 188).

This monumental and epigraphic conversation apparently extended beyond Athens' center.

The Erechtheid tribe casualty list found at Loukou in Arcadia (properly published 2009) may have come from a monument erected in the 480s or 470s at Marathon, where, standing beside similar stones for the other nine tribes, it commemorated the battle of 490 (*SEG* 56.430; Petrovic 2013b, 53–61; Proietti 2014; Butz 2015; Tentori Montalto 2017, no. III). An epigram appears between the tribal heading and the list:

φῆμις † ἄρ' ἥος κιχ[άν]·ει· αἰεὶ εὐφαῶς † ἡέσχατα γαίης |
 τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν πεύσεται ἥος ἔθανον |
 βαρνάμενοι Μέδοισι καὶ ἐσστεφάνοσαν Ἀθέναις |
 παυρότεροι πολλῶν δεχσάμενοι πόλεμον. |

Report indeed, when it arrives always at the ends of the well-lit earth, will learn the *aretê* of these men, how they died fighting Medes and crowned Athens, few receiving the attack of many.

Readings in the abraded first verse and the sense of the first couplet are disputed, but “they died fighting” echoes, or was echoed by, the pattern from the *dêmosion sêma*. Another monument with epigrams and (lost) casualty lists, erected around the same time, stood out in, and perhaps marked the beginning of, the *dêmosion sêma* (*IG* 1³ 503/504; Petrovic 2013b, 47–53; Arrington 2015, 43–48, 69; Tentori Montalto 2017, no. IV). Contemporaries likely noticed parallels with the Loukou epigram: the combination of participle and verb of death does not peek out from the fragments of 503/504; but “these men’s *aretê*” and “always” in the first hexameter (Lapis A I.1) are paralleled in the Loukou epigram, and “light” appears in both first verses if we accept restorations suggested for 503/504 (Petrovic 2007b, 158). Whether the poems of 503/504 were all for Marathon (a city cenotaph) or commemorated the Persian Wars generally, that monument and the one at Marathon linked city and battle site; and as graves with casualty lists and epigrams proliferated in town, the link became stronger. These monuments and their inscriptions imposed a memory on the Athenian landscape.

13.4 The Unity of Epigram and Object, 3: Reinforcing Efficacy

Epigrams were composed to fit readings in the presence of inscribed objects; but as we have begun to see, they project their vocalization as a complement, not only to the object *per se*, but to its efficacy, that is, the anticipated response

or behavior of those interacting with it. Let us examine illustrations of the sympotic, aesthetic or emotional, and poetic efficacy of epigrams.

Early vessels with ownership-curse epigrams reflect sympotic contexts. As suggested above, a curse does prose ownership inscriptions one better; it represents verbal capping. Composing, inscribing, and vocalizing the verses could each have played a part in sympotic game-playing or gift-giving. Uninscribed, these humble terracotta vessels performed their sympotic roles in utilitarian fashion; with prose ownership inscriptions, writers and readers added the new alphabetic technology to the affair; inscribed metrical curses enabled a vessel to participate more fully in the event's verbal play and perhaps prompt more (cf. Węcowski 2014, 127–39).

As noted earlier, epigrams on monuments can describe an object and refer to its aesthetic quality. For viewers responding to an object's visual impact, such a text complemented and enhanced their response by, for example, guiding them toward a particular emotional reaction as opposed to a more generalized one (cf. Ma 2013, 166, 180, 203–5, 299). In dedications, beauty was a mechanism by which dedicators sought to ensure an ongoing relationship with the god, an idea epigrams articulate by referring to the offering with traditional poetic terms for beautiful art: it is beautiful (*kalos*), a generator of reciprocal *charis*, and an *agalma*, a thing identified by its “sought-for response,” namely, a sense of interpersonal connection caused by attractiveness (Bruss 2010, 388). For viewers responding positively to a dedication's aesthetic charm, those terms rang true. The dedication was proved to work in their presence as the epigram claims it did in the rite of offering; to that extent, viewers participated in a reiteration of that transaction between dedicator and god (Day 2010, 85–129, 232–80).

Epitaphs reinforce and guide viewers' responses in especially powerful ways, as does *CEG* 24 on Phrasikleia's marker. The epigram famously portrays her in words very much as the kore does visually (Svenbro 1993, 8–25; cf. Day 1989; Stieber 2004, 141–78, 203–12). The statue conveys to viewers part of the story: a young woman costumed as a beautiful bride, but with suggestions also of death and an iconographic nod towards Demeter's Kore, taken before marriage to be Hades' bride. The epigram completes the story, guiding a viewer's aesthetic response to the statue's beauty towards sadness for the loss of Phrasikleia's lovely youth before fulfillment in marriage, perhaps again with a nod to Kore (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 241–52). Sophocles' Antigone literally sees herself as bride of Hades (810–16, also 654, 891, 917–18 [οὔτε τοῦ γάμου | μέρος λαχοῦσαν, “not having attained the lot of marriage”]); but the phrase's earliest appearance in epigram seems to be on a recently published fragment from Cos (early fifth century; *IG* 12.4.3 1241):

πατέρ[α] προλιπῶσα .ΟΜ..ΦΙΛ[----]
 Ἐμπεδοκράτη κεῖμ[α]ι, νύμφ' ὀλο[ὸ Ἀΐδαο].
 οἰκτρὰ παθῶσα, φίλ[η] ΟΙΣΙΠΟΘΑ[-----]
 ματέρα τὰν ἐλεῶ, κ[ἐ]ν Ἀίδαο δό[ματ' ἐῶσαν].

Having abandoned (my) father [---], I Empedokrate lie, bride of murderous Hades. Having suffered pitifully, dear to ... [---] my mother I pity (who) [is] also in the house of Hades [---].

We do not know whether the text accompanied a portrait; but if it did, the aesthetic responses of reader-viewers were guided towards pity by a poem they uttered playing, as in Phrasikleia's case, the role of the image, the deceased, or both.

Archaic and early classical epigram can display flashes of poetic quality, but generally epigram was the junior partner in the united efficacy of art and inscription. The most poetically ambitious epigrams frequently graced public sepulchral monuments that often lacked figured art, as apparently the Ambrakia cenotaph did. These texts were probably composed by professional poets (cf. Petrovic 2009; 2010, 205–8), an idea that Herodotus all but confirms by associating Simonides with Megistias' epitaph which stood among the public monuments at Thermopylae (7.228; Simon. 6 *FGE*). Perhaps the kind of information Herodotus relied on stands behind the attribution to Simonides and other archaic and classical poets of inscribed epigrams that entered literary tradition, for example, the epitaph for the Corinthian dead at Salamis (*CEG* 131; Simon. 11 *FGE*). That attribution may go back to collections of Simonidean poems that began circulating in the fourth or even fifth century (Bravi in this volume; Bravi 2006; Petrovic 2007b, 25–109; Sider 2007; Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 45–47). Nevertheless, nearly all inscribed epigrams were anonymous, and many ascriptions were invented by collectors, who eventually added literary imitations of inscriptions and attributed them to famous poets as well. My concern, however, is the contribution of poetically fine epigrams to the efficacy of public monuments for which the texts carried more of the semantic and pragmatic burden than when they served mainly to complement works of art. The Ambrakia epigram illustrates.

The cenotaph is impressive and was located in an important civic space, outside the southern city gate, beside a wide boulevard leading to the port. It provides the epigram with a monumental backdrop, 12.40 m long and 2.50 high. The topmost of the seven courses of stone is the 32-cm-tall inscribed face, which ran the length of the monument (five of seven original stones remain) and stands above a wide torus molding that calls attention to

it. The inscription is the main decoration, and it too is monumental: five elegiac couplets inscribed in two and a half lines, a *hekatompedos* in length (100 feet of 0.297 m each), laid out boustrophedon and stoichedon, with magnificent, regularly carved, 6-cm-high letters in Corinthian script (Bousquet 1992, 596–606), clearly legible to passers-by. The cenotaph's location and size “speak” with the authority of the *polis* that commanded the resources to place such a monument in such a site. The epigram exudes comparable physical authority with its magnitude, location on the monument, decorative layout, and ethnically resonant script (cf. Luraghi 2010).

Vocal readings generated an authoritative utterance that matched the physical impressiveness, and more. Speaking in their own voices (“I lament”), readers mourned a civic tragedy (the “excellent” dead were on a diplomatic mission; their death caused “grief” in the “beloved fatherland”), and they commanded Ambraciots to learn about their fellow citizens’ deaths. They spoke as a poet would in performing an elegy before a civic or other audience, a member of a group addressing it on important matters and speaking on its behalf, therefore authoritatively. The main message is one of grief, an emotional response the poem seeks to elicit with “I lament” (which implicates hearers as well as readers in the emotion), “grievous slaughter,” “grief blossoming,” the “suffering” of the first two Ambraciots, and two fearsome descriptions of death (Hades, Ker (a death-demon)). All this suggests professional composition, as do the narrative variation in handling names in 7–8 and 9–10, metrical parallelism between 1–2 and 9–10, and echoes of elegy (Day 2007, 30–31, 38–40; Bowie 2010, 361–62).

The epigram does more than complement the cenotaph. They share physical authority; but the inscription is the monument’s chief decorative feature, and the text’s poetic quality and evocation of emotion are its chief artistic features. It seems that attracting people’s attention to the epigram was the monument’s main function. Once attracted, readers were guided through the text with punctuation at verse ends and boustrophedon writing, which permitted those who followed the first line by walking one direction for 12 meters to continue by reversing direction, without giving up the text to move back to the start of an orthograde second line. The monument could elicit awe and patriotism; but the epigram delivers those messages and more with authority, specificity, emotion, and poetic skill.

13.5 Conclusion

The unity of epigram and object was a central feature of the genre from the eighth century, a point many have made (Raubitschek 1968; cf. Petrovic 2005; Lorenz 2010). Three aspects of that unity have been discussed here:

texts are laid out as integral parts of their objects' physical form; they are construed verbally to complement encounters with their objects and others nearby; and, if read (Day 2010, 26–84; *contra* Bing 2002), they reinforced the efficacy of the objects in, for example, advancing sympotic games and generating sadness over death.

Although the relationship between text and object changed over time, an essential unity persisted through the history of inscribed epigram as illustrated by Menophila's second-century epitaph from Sardis: it explains in dialogue form the symbols accompanying her relief portrait (*SGO* 1.408–9, 04/02/11 = *GVI* 1881; Squire 2009, 161–65, pl. 4). Literary epigram adapted the epigraphic tradition: many texts call to mind an inscribed object not present in readers' encounters with verses on paper, generally an imaginary one. The ubiquitous ecphrasis of the literary genre, for example, includes representations of viewers puzzling out riddling iconography like that on Menophila's stele (Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 328–38).

NOTE

1. Translations are the author's. All dates are BCE.

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FURTHER READING

Hansen’s *CEG* I (1983) remains the indispensable corpus of inscribed epigram to 400, although it must be supplemented with other texts (Oswald 2014, 72–127 collects 29 archaic addenda) and newer editions (e.g., *IG* 9.1².4 for Corfu). *CEG* II (1989) covers the fourth century, but beyond 300 one must consult regional corpora (e.g., *SGO*), thematic ones (*GVI* for epitaphs), and older collections (Kaibel 1878). Epigraphical reviews are essential for staying current, especially *SEG* (available online). Recent scholars translate quoted epigrams, but most corpora do not; Friedländer and Hoffleit (1948) provide English translations, Peek (1960) offers German ones.

Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010) survey recent approaches that illustrate the necessary interdisciplinarity; useful also are relevant chapters in Bing and Bruss (2007), Livingstone and Nisbet (2010), and Santin and Foschia (2016). Linking object, text, and location requires archaeological epigraphy of the sort pioneered by Raubitschek (1949) and advanced by Keesling (2003) for the Athenian Acropolis,

and applied to Hellenistic honorific monuments by Ma (2013). For reconstructing historical receptions, see references in “Reinforcing efficacy” above, also Muth and Petrovic (2012) and Berti, Bolle, Opdenhoff, and Stroth (2017). Early inscribed epigram’s language, themes, and relations with “literary” poetry (mainly epic and elegy) have been approached in too many ways to permit a sample here beyond referring to the surveys noted above and citing Oswald (2014), who treats *inter alia* metrics, dialects, literacy, and networks. Bravi (2006), Petrovic (2007a, 2007b, 2013a), and Sider (2007) examine inscribed epigram in literary texts and collections.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Simonides of Ceos and Epigram in Classical Greece

Luigi Bravi

14.1 Simonides as an Author of Epigrams

Simonides of Ceos (556/552–468/464 BCE) is one of the nine lyric poets in the Alexandrian canon, but he also worked in a number of other genres and enjoyed considerable fame in antiquity not least as a writer of elegy and epigram. Nonetheless, and in spite of a very rich anecdotal tradition, there is very little actual evidence for him as an epigrammatist,¹ and testimonies have little to say about his *modus operandi*. In the second century CE, Aelius Aristides states that his epigrams usually had an encomiastic attitude, and the ancients were clear about the fact that he inserted biographical data on the *laudandi* of some of his epigrams but, apart from that, actual facts are scarce.

The most ancient (if isolated) testimony is Herodotus 7.228. The historian relates that the fallen in the battle of Thermopylae have been buried in the place of combat, where three stelae have been erected, one τοῖσι πᾶσι (“for the whole army”), one for the Spartiats, and one for the soothsayer Megistias, whom Simonides privately provided for in the name of an ancient hospitality tie; the Amphictyons of Delphi provided for the remaining two. Discussing the authenticity of Simonides’ epigrams, scholars have struggled to determine if Simonides was the author of all three epigrams, of the epigram for Megistias alone, or if he simply paid for the erection of Megistias’ stele. Herodotus’ words do not allow any solution to the problem, as the information he provides concerns only the stelae and not the epigrams; it is

impossible to deduce if Herodotus knew who wrote them. It is merely a hypothesis that the Amphychions commissioned Simonides to write the epigrams for the two collective stelae and that the poet could include a private stele with an epigram in this public context.²

The lack of information on Simonides as an epigrammatist is due to the absence of a *corpus* of Simonidean epigrams presumably before the second half of the fourth century BCE;³ the compilation of a book is the only way in which Simonidean epigrams could be diffused and included in catalographical works and biographies of poets and other scholarly works of the Alexandrian age, when the name of Simonides starts appearing among the ἐπιγραμματογράφοι (“authors of epigrams”) and when epigrams start appearing in the lists of Simonides’ works.

14.2 Did a Book of Simonidean Epigrams Really Exist?

There are neither manuscripts of a medieval tradition nor papyrological remnants of a book of Simonidean epigrams. Nevertheless, the assumption of the existence of such a book can be made on the following criteria: (1) from early Hellenistic times ἐπιγράμματα are included in lists of Simonides’ poems, which reflects the distribution of his work into *volumina*,⁴ (2) the testimonies often specify that epigrams are to be found ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι, ἐν Σιμωνίδου ἐπιγράμμασι (“among the epigrams, among Simonides epigrams”),⁵ however, this indication alone is not sufficient to guarantee the existence of a book containing epigrams of one sole author; and (3) Meleager states that he weaved into his *Garland* the νέον οἰνάνθης κλῆμα Σιμωνίδεω, “the young vine-twigg of Simonides” (*AP* 4.1.8), which seems to refer to an already existing collection.

On the basis of these criteria, the assumption has been made that there existed a book of Simonidean epigrams, the so-called *Sylloge Simonidea*, dated by Reitzenstein and Boas to the fourth century BCE.⁶

Furthermore, there are interesting remnants of a book of Simonidean epigrams both in the anthological and in the indirect tradition. First, there are the *Series Simonideae*, a series of epigrams by a single author (Simonides) found in the complex structure of the *Anthologia Palatina*, among the dedicatory epigrams in Book 6 (212–17; Boas 1905, 177–78) and the epitaphs in Book 7 (248–59, 507–16; Boas 1905, 178–84), the second of which includes a series of epigrams on the heroes fallen at Thermopylae (7.248–53).

Second, there are clusters of Simonidean epigrams in the indirect tradition, e.g., in the thirty-ninth chapter of Plutarch’s *De Herodoti malignitate*,

where a group of Corinthian documents, here and elsewhere attributed to Simonides (*EG* 10–14),⁷ are produced to demonstrate how unreliable Herodotus was when saying that Corinth had played a minimal part in the Persian wars; it seems like Plutarch had in hand a book of epigrams organized in chapters devoted to single cities, epigrams that in different times and contexts had been identified as Simonidean. Another example is given by the serial quotation of six Simonidean epigrams in Aelius Aristides' *Concerning a remark in passing* (59–67, Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* vol. 2, 160–63), among fragments of other poems by Simonides, suggesting the idea that Aristides had at his disposal an edition of Simonides' poems, including epigrams (Albini 1963; Poltera 2003, 207–11; Miletti 2011, 171).

Apart from these traces of a book of Simonidean epigrams, there are further poems transmitted both in anthologies and in the indirect tradition; there are also surviving inscriptions (originals (*EG* 1, 11), copies (*EG* 3), or travellers' sketches (*EG* 16, 49)). All Simonidean epigrams have been collected in a modern reference edition by D. L. Page, the *Epigrammata Graeca* (*EG*), with a commentary published posthumously (*Further Greek Epigrams*, *FGE*), including anonymous epigrams attributed to the poet by modern scholars.⁸

In line with a current trend, most modern editions tend to separate genuine epigrams from spurious ones (see, e.g., Hauvette 1896). But such a strict distinction makes it more difficult to find the reasons for Simonidean attribution of anonymous epigrams that may have been included in a collection. In fact, epigram as a whole is mainly anonymous, at least before Symmachus of Pellene (*CEG* 888, 400 BCE) and Ion of Samus (*CEG* 819, fourth century BCE; Gutzwiller 1998, 48; see also Page 1981, 120 n. 2). This does not entail that the name of the author was ignored or even suppressed, especially not in the case of publicly commissioned epigrams. Rather, the author may have been given due credit during the ceremonies connected to the occurrence celebrated in the epigram. In short, epigram does not begin its existence as *adespotus* or anonymous; it is used anonymously, even though a tradition of oral attribution sometimes may have been preserved.

Detailed analysis of Simonidean epigrams shows that some of them cannot have been Simonides' work, partly due to the presence of facts which occurred and people who lived after the poet's lifetime. False attribution to Simonides may have occurred at three stages and at three different levels, viz. (1) before (and outside) the collections, when the name of the author of an unsigned stone epigram may have circulated anonymously, causing many false attributions, particularly to a famous name such as Simonides', (2) at the time when collections were put together, when authorship had to be attributed to anonymous epigraphic texts, and (3) when gathering texts from different collections into an anthology.

The themes and motifs of each epigram may have been crucial both when attributing an author to a text (2) and when including a text in an already existing collection (3), much more so than possible anachronisms generated in the process. Contemporary books by Hellenistic epigrammatists may have influenced the ways in which books containing epigrams of pre-Hellenistic poets were put together, alternating highly specialized sections with more generic ones, as in Posidippus' papyrus (Bravi 2005).

14.3 The Ways of Tradition

The *carmina epigraphica* are subject to conditions imposed by those commissioning them, by the place in which they were put up, and by the public for which they were designed. People who wanted a verse inscription availed themselves of two competences: those of the poet and of the stone-cutter (Clairmont 1970, 10). The result of such a collaboration was itself a complete combination of object and poetry; when, for example, Philon of Corcyra won in Olympia for the second time, he dedicated a statue in the sanctuary and turned to the sculptor Glaucias of Aegina for the statue and to Simonides for the metrical inscription, cut by someone from Glaucias' atelier or by a local stone-cutter. As we have seen, the epigrams survived through three different, sometimes concomitant, ways of tradition: the epigraphic way (direct tradition), the anthological way, and indirect tradition.

When inscriptions are preserved the situation is particularly auspicious, because when we have the original stone it provides irrefutable information on its placement and on its age; in the case of a remake, we can still extract information about the various fortunes of the original monument and text (EG 16). Furthermore, texts preserved on stones are not subject to errors caused in the process of copying.

In the case of Simonides, inscriptions are preserved containing the texts of EG 1 (on the bronze monument for the Tyrannicides erected in the Athenian agora in 477/76 BCE), of EG 3 (on the monument erected in the Propylaeans after the victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidenses of 506, later restored; DAA 168, 173), and of EG 11 (on the monument to the Corinthians fallen at Salamis in 480). The texts of two further epigrams are preserved in drawings and sketches of the monument for the Athenians fallen in Tanagra 457 (EG 49) and of the late copy of the monument for the Megarians fallen in the battles of the Persian wars (EG 16). Epigrams preserved in inscriptions represent the first step of the Simonidean tradition: they are texts not yet subject to selection for inclusion in collections or anthologies, hence also free from the artistic and literary considerations involved in putting together a book.

A large number of Simonidean epigrams have been transmitted in anthologies: it is a matter of 72 poems, distributed in the *Anthologia Palatina* (61), *Anthologia Planudea* (42), in other anthologies, and in marginalia (6). Simonides enters the anthological tradition in its first important manifestation, the *Garland* of Meleager, the prologue of which mentions “a young twig of Simonides’ grapevine” as woven into it (*AP* 4.1.8). We cannot suppose that Meleager gathered the Simonidean epigrams directly from inscriptions, nor from separate sources. More likely, he had at his disposal a *sylloge* of Simonidean epigrams of the kind assumed above, the existence of which is itself supported by the high number of epigrams assigned to Simonides. If, at the time of Herodotus or Aristotle, oral tradition played an important part in assigning epigrams to Simonides, at a later stage the name of Simonides may have been attached to epigrams circulating in erudite works (as happened with *EG* 14). Other epigrams inserted in an already existing anthological tradition may owe their attribution to Simonides simply to the fact that they were placed next to texts from the *Sylloge* (such as *AP* 6.217).

The indirect tradition of Simonidean epigrams has been analyzed in detail by Boas, concluding that Simonides was quoted for the same reasons as poets were usually quoted (mainly grammatical and erudite interests); it is interesting to find traces of autopsy, as Herodotus 5.77.4 for *EG* 3, or Plutarch *De def. or.* 436b for *EG* 48; they both give some information on the actual position of inscriptions. *EG* 17a cannot have been quoted by Thucydides from the actual stone, because its text had been erased immediately; it may perhaps have circulated in an oral tradition. In Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*, epigrams are often quoted from literary sources, such as the works of Chamaeleon (*EG* 14) or Callistratus (*EG* 88).

14.4 Themes in the *Corpus* of Simonidean Epigrams

It has been argued above that themes and motifs were important factors in establishing the collection of Simonidean epigrams, grouping it around specific thematic nuclei in a structure similar to Posidippus’ *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309. In this construction, the topics of fundamental importance were (1) facts and individuals associated with political and military history, especially connected to the Persian Wars, (2) epigrams celebrating athletes and their victories, and (3) epigrams about paintings and statues, with emphasis on the technical skill of the artist. But there are also epigrams associated with Simonides’ biography: his dithyrambic victories (*EG* 27–28), the quarrel

with Timocreon (*EG* 37), and the shipwreck (*EG* 84–85). Some epigrams are entirely fictitious, such as the epitaphs of the poets Anacreon (*EG* 66–67) and Sophocles (*EG* 51).

14.4.1 *Historical Epigrams*

The category of historical epigrams has not received due scholarly attention. Current classifications usually classify epigrams on the basis of their actual function (votive, sepulchral, or honorary epigrams) or gather them into thematic groups (agonistic, erotic, or sympotic epigrams, or epigrams for art-work). The corpus of Simonidean epigrams gives reasons to distinguish a category of historical epigrams, i.e., their principal topics are historical persons and events, even if the actual function of each epigram may vary (Bravi 2006, 37–38).

Among the occasions for composing historical epigrams were annual celebrations for the fallen in battles (Bradeen 1969; Loraux 1981, 17–20; Beschi 2002); the names of the soldiers were inscribed in casualty lists accompanied by epigrams such as *CEG* 5, 6, 10 (Athens), and 135 (Argo). The same elements as in such public monuments appear also in some private monuments, such as *CEG* 11 and 12. The *poleis* put up inscriptions commemorating dedications after battles, mainly spoils or gifts realized with money from the booty. Such inscriptions sometimes involve epigrams giving details of the events; for instance, after the battle of Tanagra the Spartans with their allies dedicated a golden bowl (α φιάλα), paid for with a tenth of the booty, which was positioned “about the middle of the pediment” (κατὰ μέσον ... τὸν ἀετόν) in Zeus’ temple at Olympia; the details of the dedication are commemorated by an epigram whose exact collocation is still unknown.

Whereas epitaphs and votive inscriptions are often concerned with the praise of individuals and with background stories, historical epigrams usually share a tripartite structure stating their subject (whether a person, a place, or an object), the background, and the motives for setting up the inscription. The subject, which normally comes first, may be indicated by a pronoun (in epigrams for casualty lists, οἶδε, “these”, usually indicates the fallen), an adverb (when referring to a place usually ἐνθάδε, “here”), or a noun indicating the function of the monument (such as μνήμα, “memorial”, σᾶμα, “sign”, or στήλην, “monument”). Sometimes the speaker is the monument itself, as in *CEG* 94 and 256.

The background, an actual historical element in the text of the epigram, varies in length from a few words to a certain number of verses. In funerary epigrams, we are often told that the deceased died while fighting in a battle, losing his youth’s flower, or that a soldier was killed by the fury of Ares, but

there may also be various other pieces of information on the battle or the alliances. More extensive narrative sections may also include information about the link between fallen and *polis*, the praise may be further corroborated, and single facts about a battle included.

The motives for writing a historical epigram are usually expressed in the narrative section, but are sometimes be stated separately: it may be the war itself, the worth of the soldiers, or the role of some of them.

This scheme applies to the historical stone epigrams, of which most are later than Simonides, but is still suggestive of an epigrammatic genre with the main purpose of praising deeds and those who performed them. In the formation of such a genre, the single most important theme was the Persian wars. During these wars, successes and failures were celebrated by Greek *poleis* through various means of communication and with specific ceremonies, and were indirectly reflected in other contexts, such as art, cults (Gauer 1968; Asheri, Corcella, and Frascchetti 2006, 350–76), agonism, poetry, and historiography. Metrical epitaphs and dedications relating to the Persian wars are preserved in *CEG* 2, 3, 131, 256, and *GVI* 9a. The Persian wars furnished the material – and the single most important poet was Simonides.

14.4.2 *Simonides and the Persian Wars*

With one single exception – Philiadas of Megara's poem for the Thespians fallen at Thermopylae – all epigrams concerned with the Persian Wars have the name Simonides attached to them, in the ancient sources as well as in the lemmata of anthologies.

Simonides was 69 at the time of Marathon, 79 at the time of Salamis, too old to be directly involved in the battles of the Persian wars. Instead he contributed through his poetry: he bested Aeschylus in a contest to celebrate the fallen at Marathon with an elegy, he composed the epigrams for the dedication of a statue of Pan by Miltiades (*EG* 5) and for the burial of the Athenians fallen in that battle (*EG* 21). No epigrams, but an elegy and a lyric poem⁹ on the battle at Artemisium are attributed to him, as is a famous *threnos* on the fallen at Thermopylae; on the same occasion he also composed an epitaph for his friend Megistias (*EG* 6), as Herodotus relates in 7.228.¹⁰ In the same section, Herodotus quoted two epigrams that are assigned to Simonides in the *Anthologia Palatina* (*EG* 22a and 22b) belonging to an entire section of epigrams (7.248–53) on the fallen at Thermopylae, and also containing fictitious texts and epitaphs related to other battles. The sea battle of Salamis was celebrated by Simonides in a lost lyric poem and in several epigrams (*EG* 10–13, 19a) giving prominence to Corinth and Naxos, whose contribution to the victory had been veiled by Athenian propaganda.

The final clash at Plataea is the subject of an elegy (fr. 3a–4 Gent.-Pr.) strictly connected to Pausanias, the Spartan regent, and of some epigrams (one for the altar of Zeus Eleutherios (*EG* 15), others for the Athenians and Spartans (Paus. 9.2.5)).

At the end of the war many monuments were erected to celebrate its battles, such as the golden tripod at Delphi, the bronze statue of Zeus at Olympia, of Poseidon at the Isthmus, and the cenotaph for the Megarians fallen in various battles. Additionally, the Persian wars offered many occasions for the composition of different kinds of poetry, nearly all of which are attributed to Simonides.

To sum up, the name of Simonides is assigned to all kinds of poetical celebration of the Persian wars, as if he had been the official voice celebrating success in the field, thus giving a great impetus to the development of historical epigram. He had, however, begun writing in this genre even before the wars; to this earlier output belongs, probably, the epigram for the Tyrannicides (*EG* 1) and surely those about the conflict of the Athenians against the Boeotians and the Calcidians (*EG* 2–3). To the time after the wars, when Simonides was an old man, belong the dedication of the Deinomenids (*EG* 34), the epitaph for Hippias' daughter Archedice (*EG* 26a), for the Corinthian Xanthippe (*EG* 36), and some epigrams about battles difficult to date, such as those at Eurymedon (*EG* 45–47) and at Tegea (*EG* 53–54). Mingled into the usual strict epigrammatic structure is the praise of deeds of the kind well known from epinicians and particularly military elegies (Bravi 2006, 46–47).

14.4.3 *Agonistic Epigrams*

In the complex world of the achievements in athletic contests, inscriptions serve two purposes: to list the winners, and to praise the athlete and his *polis* in poetic form. The genre of agonistic epigram includes votive epigrams (especially for athletic instruments, memorials, and statues) and, more rarely, funerary epigrams describing the entire career of the deceased.

Agonistic celebrations began with the proclamation of the winner by the herald on the last day of the games and the following award ceremony, often a coronation (Pleket 1988); the herald proclaimed the name, paternity, and homeland of the winner, and the celebration continued with ritual songs and the *φυλλοβολία*, the pelting of leaves as a token of applause bestowed on the winners. This is the essence of athletic praise: the declaration of the athlete's name before the community for the purpose of spreading the fame of himself, his family, and his *polis*. These three elements – name, paternity, and homeland – were then inscribed in the list of winners.

A victory in the games was an obvious occasion for writing epinicians, both in short form, meant to be sung immediately in the sanctuary of the games, or more elaborated poems, sung later in the winner's homeland, the poetic element being important as a manifestation of the glory that was the winner's due and to propagate his fame. The victory could also be recognized as a favor of the gods through the erection of a statue dedicated to the god in question. An epigram could be associated with the statue, adding to the honorific value (*CEG* 855; *EG* 30). The inscription on the base of the statue could renew the glory of the proclamation each time it was read aloud, or, as is sometimes attested, the statue could be crowned.

Statues with epigrams and victory odes have the heroization of the athlete in common, because a statue was usually the prerogative of the gods; in like manner, the victorious athlete could be associated with heroic myths in the text of an epinician (Steiner 2001, 265–67).

The praise of the city and the family has communal expressions; the athletic success increases the fame of the athlete and thus of his city, especially when the celebration takes place in the sanctuary of the games before all the Greek cities. The victory ode and the epigram are concurrent media of the winner's praise: the first insists on its mobility in space, the second on its duration in time.

Twelve of the Simonidean epigrams are agonistic epigrams, mainly dedications of ἀγάλματα (statues) or εἰκόνες (images); there is one only epitaph among them (*EG* 35). The epigrams vary in length from a single hexameter (*EG* 87) to 12 verses (*EG* 43); they all display the elements familiar from victory lists – name, paternity, and homeland, often in a very simple succession. Some of the Simonidean agonistic epigrams reveal a relation of the poet with cities already known from other poems attributed to Simonides: Croton, Corcyra, Aegina, and Corinth. The agonistic specialty with the indication of the age category is another important element, such as the name of the games. In two epigrams the author refers to the athletic event: Milon won the wrestling contest seven times (*EG* 25), Nicolaidas won after taking part in only the first three events of the pentathlon. Epigram can thus extend the praise of the winner over several games in his agonistic career. The physical beauty of the statue is conceived as praise of the athletic body, as is explicitly said in some epigrams, e.g., *EG* 25, 30, and 52.

As regards the metrical form of the epigrams, we find a variety of combinations that reveal a strict connection to lyric poetry: elegiac distichs (*EG* 25, 29, 30, 31, 42, 62), an elegiac distich with two iambic trimeters and a hexameter (35), elegiac distich followed by a hexameter (41), six distichs composed of hexameters and hipponacteans (43), lyrical verses (50), an elegiac distich followed by a iambic trimeter (52), and a single hexameter (87).

Aside from the usual epigrammatic meters (the elegiac distichs and the single hexameter), the others can be classified as μετρικὰ ἄτακτα (“inordinate measures”), the term used by Hephaestion, the source of *EG* 52; similar structures are attested in some historical epigrams: two hexameters and an elegiac (*EG* 15) and alcmاني and ithyphallicus, both followed by a catalectic iambic trimeter (*EG* 36).

14.4.4 *Artistic Epigrams*

Seven of the Simonidean epigrams are meant for paintings and sculptures and belong to the genre of artistic epigrams; there are no such poems for buildings, pottery, or gems.

At the time of Simonides, the development of artistic techniques contributed to making works of art more mimetic (Warnke 1996, 343–45), a development attested also in our sources of the history of ancient art. Pliny the Elder contrasts with the *communis opinio* of the birth of painting in the ninetieth Olympiad (420–17 BCE), offering a list of painters from the preceding decades and their characteristics: Eumares (who “ventured to reproduce every sort of figure”), Cimon,¹¹ Panaenus, and Polignotus (who “as the first contributed many improvements to the art of painting”). The age of Simonides was a highly experimental age for painting, perhaps due to an agonistic element. The development of sculpture tends towards the liberation of the figures from fixity and the creation of canons, e.g., that of Polyclitus.

The painting of the period involved πίνακες (“boards”) and wall paintings, with motifs ranging from everyday things to honorary public paintings in praise of the city and the nation, such as the fragments of πίνακες from Pitsà (painted boards with explanatory inscriptions and the signature of the painter), the paintings in the Athenian Stoa Poikile, in the polemarch stoa in Phlius, or in the *Telesterion* of the Lycomids in Phlya. The subjects represented are drawn from myths and historical deeds, never concerned with the celebration of a single individual. Sculpture, on the other hand, is strictly connected to the divinity or individual represented, so that the statue is imagined as able to speak through the inscription (Burzachechi 1962). The earliest Greek sculptures are exclusively representations of gods, often intended as cult images in the sanctuaries, whereas the first statues of individuals were made with the intention of praising exceptional deeds, such as athletic victories or tyrannicide. This is the main purpose of painting and sculpture: to hold out individuals as models or celebrate important events. An interesting example is offered by the paintings of the Stoa Poikile: to further extol the historical battles of Oenoe and

Marathon, these paintings are associated with paintings portraying mythical battles, like the Amazonomachy and the fall of Troy. In like manner, men represented in sculptures are compared to deities so as to become quasi-heroes. In short, the function of myth is the same in painting and sculpture as in panegyric poetry. Visual arts and poetic praise were not concurrent, but together ensured the surviving fame of people and deeds in time and in space.

From the very beginning, works of art were often combined with inscribed words stating the artist, the subject, and the customer. Early instances are a sepulchral stele from Tanagra bearing the hexameter Ἀμφάλκης ἔστας' ἐπὶ Κιτύλοι ἐδ' ἐπὶ Δέρμυι ("Amphalkes set up [this] over Kitylos and Dermys"; *CEG* 109, early sixth century BCE) and a pottery fragment from Pithecussae (modern Ischia) signed with the words [-]νος μ' ἐποίησε ("... nos made me"; end of eighth century BCE; Buchner 1971, 67; Guarducci 1974, 476); similar texts are found in paintings and on buildings. These basic elements initially belonged to the standard phraseology of votive and funerary epigrams. But, as the skills of the artists developed, they gave rise to a specific genre of "artistic epigrams" (Lausberg 1982, 191–92), the main purpose of which is to praise the high quality of the artwork and the mastery of the artist. This is the case with two Simonidean texts: *EG* 25, in which the main theme – the celebration of Milon's victories – is combined with praise of the statue, and *EG* 32a, which in its entirety is devoted to the artist's talent and fame. The artist is the "hero" of this epigrammatic genre and the main object of praise.

Paintings often indicated the names of persons involved in the scene,¹² e.g., in Polygnotus' paintings of the capture of Troy and of the *Nekyia* in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi, the former of which was accompanied by the Simonidean *EG* 48. Similarly, in the Lindian Temple of Athena, each tribe consecrated a painted board to the goddess, representing the phylarchos and nine runners, with a votive inscription and explanatory names. Sculptures mainly carry the signature; originally, this inscription indicated the name, paternity, and homeland of the artist, and then gradually expanded to metrical form, including accessory data.

The signature became more significant with the increasing importance of the attribution of a work of art to a specific artist. There are three main reasons for this, viz. (1) the exhibition of the artists' works in the main sanctuaries as a means to create client connections with the aristocrats involved in the athletic games, (2) participation in art contests, attested, e.g., in the Artemision of Ephesus, accounting for its five bronze Amazons (Plin. *HN* 34.53; cf. Schmaltz 1995), and in Athens with the statues of Aphrodite by Alcamenes and Agoracritus, and (3) participation in art competitions as a

part of regular games; such are attested by Pliny at Corinth and Delphi (Plin. *HN* 35.58; Gualandi 2001, 44), and mostly involve painting, rarely sculpture.

The artistic inscriptions and epigrams reveal an air of competition; for instance, on an amphora in Munich (2307), the artist Euthymides claims to have executed the painting “as Euphronios never could have” (*SEG* 29, 76b; cf. Denoyelle 1991, 28–29). This rivalry between artists is attested also in a couple of epigrams, constituting a kind of verbal crossfire between Parrhasius (*FGE* 2) and Zeuxis (*FGE* 1) on excellence in painting (Moreno 1987, 86), as well as in two epigrams about Iphion (*FGE* 32a) and Cimon (*APl.* 84) on the absence or presence of failings in art.

If at the beginning of the evolution of artistic epigram the artists could also be the authors of the inscriptions, later on the latter were entrusted to poets. Our sources are quite clear about Simonides as a writer of artistic epigrams: Polemo (fr. 58 Preller) reports that Syllax of Rhegium painted the polemarch’s stoa in Phlius and that this painter was mentioned by Epicharmus and Simonides (*PMG* 634); it is possible that Polemo, who was the author of a work “On the Inscriptions to be found in Cities” (Περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπιγραμμάτων; fr. 79–80 Preller), gathered this information from epigraphical evidence, which may well have been an epigram. In Plutarch’s *Life of Themistocles* (1.4) we read that Simonides had stated that Themistocles restored the *Telesterion* of the Lycomids and decorated it with paintings; this could also be a reference to an epigram.

Apart from his connections to actual works of art, Simonides also contributed to an early kind of theory of art, as he is thought to have considered painting *silent poetry* and poetry *painting that speaks*,¹³ making the famous comparison between painting and poetry later discussed, e.g., in Aristotle’s *Poetics*. Vividness is considered one of the most important characteristics of artwork, as exhibited by Simonides’ poetry (Bravi 2010, 463–67). A certain familiarity with aesthetical theory and with certain works of art brought about the attribution of seven artistic epigrams to Simonides, although it seems certain that none of them is authentic or even chronologically coherent. Rather, the attribution is a consequence of Simonides’ being regarded as the author *par excellence* of artistic epigrams. There is a certain irony, then, in the fact that the bronze statue of Simonides himself in the Baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople seems, on my reading of *AP* 2.44–49, to have lacked an epigram.

The Simonidean artistic epigrams show some of the basic epigraphic elements traditionally found in inscriptions for works of art, such as the name, paternity, and homeland of the artist. These elements are variously combined

with praise of the skill achieved after rigorous training; one of the most striking examples is the epigram for Praxiteles' *Eros*, conceived as the product of the artist's personal experience of love (*EG* 56; Söldner 1986, 127–28; Corso 1997–98). The excellence of the artist is one of the main subjects of the epigrams, especially in agonistic contexts where epigrams cross themselves, as seen above. In Simonides' epigrams, art has the main goal of being mimetic, in keeping with the normal trend in ancient development of arts and aesthetics. The object represented is often omitted in the text, particularly in epigrams written with the explicit purpose of being inscribed; fictitious artistic epigrams, on the other hand, often supply such information. Whether because of their fictitiousness or because they were actually composed at a later age, they display a particular attention to formal structure of the poem – as in the epigram for Praxiteles' *Eros*.

NOTES

1. See the debate among professionalists of poetry, e.g., test. 68 Poltera; 43, 76a; Xenoph. fr. 5 and 21 Gent.-Pr., Anacr. fr. 106 Gent.; in comedy test. 74 Poltera, 24, Ar. *Eq.* 402–6 with Bravi (1999); in general Bell (1978). Most of the themes of this chapter derive from Bravi (2006) (with more detailed references).
2. See Boas (1905, 3–9); How and Wells (1928, vol. 2, 230–31); Wilamowitz (1913, 204 n. 1); Erbse (1998); Bravi (2006, 53–54).
3. No evidence has been provided to date to demonstrate the existence of ancient authorial editions, particularly in this case the collection and edition of Simonidean poetry including epigrams provided by the poet himself or someone very close to him (his nephew Bakchylides?), as already suggested by Preger (1891), Hiller (1889), Erbse (1998), and more recent devotees such as Sider (2007) and Magnani (2007).
4. Test. 3 Poltera, schol. in Ar. *Vesp.* 1411b (222 Koster); Eudocia, *Viol.* 882.1 (644.1 Flach).
5. On Simonides' papyri, see Bravi (2006, 20 n. 7).
6. Reitzenstein (1893, 116); Boas (1905, 46–47); Petrovic (2007, 85) reassign a complete edition of the poet to the age of Aristotle.
7. All references to the *EG* are to Simonides' epigrams.
8. On the structure of the editions of Simonidean epigrams see Bravi (2006, 23).
9. *PMG* 532–35. See Bravi (2006, 43–44).
10. On the debate on this passage, see the beginning of this paper and Bravi (2006, 44).
11. Giuliano (1998, 326–27); Bravi (2006, 122 n. 58).
12. Ael. *VH* 10.10; Plin. *HN* 35.16. See Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999, 49–50); Mugione (2006).
13. Test. 101 Poltera.

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PART III

EPIGRAM
IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Development of Epigram into a Literary Genre

Valentina Garulli

15.1 What Is the History of Ancient Epigram Like?

To describe the history of ancient epigram we should keep in sight the whole range of forms taken by what we call epigram in classical antiquity. As is often the case, such a varied phenomenon can hardly be framed and categorized.

Fortunately, recent research has shed a new light on several aspects of the history of epigram in antiquity, and from these results we can explore its long and captivating history.

Regardless of the names that it has in Greek (see Citroni in this volume; Garulli 2012, 25–27), originally epigram was nothing but a text inscribed on a physical object (see Day in this volume); over time, it became a more varied poetic form, which could be inscribed on a physical object, but did not have to be. Precisely this double nature gave rise to the traditional labels of “inscriptional” and “literary” epigram.¹ What is more, the entire history of ancient epigram was artificially divided into two parts: a “prehistory” of the genre, including the period of time when epigram was only an inscribed text and nothing else, and its “proper history,” which began with the development of epigram into a full-blown literary genre during the Hellenistic age.² Several features were regarded as signs of the “preliterary” or even “subliterary” nature of the inscribed epigrams, such as their anonymity, their being closely tied to a physical object and site, and their written status vis-à-vis a

predominant oral culture (Fantuzzi 2004a, 288; Meyer 2005, 10 and 33; Gutzwiller 2007, 107; Tsagalis 2008, 85–86, 108, 278).

Sharp distinctions and categories are not always helpful when we are dealing with historical phenomena, and this holds true when we are dealing with the history of epigram. The categories of “inscriptional” and “literary” epigram are inadequate, since a sharp distinction between them is often not only meaningless, but impossible; in most cases it is not possible to say conclusively whether an epigram transmitted in anthologies was originally inscribed or whether an inscribed epigram was ever transcribed in collections.³

Moreover, the alleged “subliterary” quality of inscribed epigrams – which underlies the concepts of prehistory vs. history of the literary genre – proves to be non-existent when we take a closer look at the epigraphic evidence (e.g., Meillier 1979, 29–30; Petrovic 2007, 10–12, 14–15).

In this light, “it is clear that a new approach towards archaic and classical Greek epigram is needed” (Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic 2010, 6). A seminal contribution to this debate was made by Petrovic (2007, 13), who defined the genre diachronically, as the result of a process through which a whole set of features have developed.⁴

15.2 Tradition and Innovation

In fact, a comprehensive survey of ancient Greek epigram reveals a substantial continuity in terms of forms and themes, together with an intense and reciprocal relationship between verse inscriptions and “bookish” epigrams, which keep looking to the epigraphic tradition for a source of models ready for use, variation, and innovation (Garulli 2012, 22–28).

Once we admit that *Steinepigramme* and *Buchepigramme* belong to the same long history, we must equally concede that this history envisages several changes, which nevertheless do not call its unity into question. Yet they mark the steps of a gradual development and enhancement of the genre.

The most visible change in the history of epigram concerns the physical support of the text: epigram, as the Greek word *ἐπίγραμμα* indicates, is originally a text inscribed upon a material object, which is an integral part of the occasion that gave life to the inscription. The most common occasions (and related material objects) are death (tomb *vel sim.*) and public thanks for good deeds (dedication of monuments, statues, buildings). The social contexts for such occasions are much varied for the former, whereas the latter often entail the involvement of the community.

When epigrams began being composed not (or not only) for epigraphic purposes, this did not affect the formal template of epigram nor did it cause

the replacement of inscribed epigrams by fictional short poems. Funerary and dedicatory epigrams continued to be carved on monuments throughout antiquity, but they extended the range of their occasions, and ended up including fiction. Even when the occasion and support (i.e., the text-bearing object) were fictional, the whole frame remained the same, and the authors could play on the details.

Very soon, fiction disclosed new paths to epigrammatists, and some new types of *Buchepigramme* were created; for example, the so-called *nauagika*, fictional epitaphs for victims of shipwrecks, such as the following poem:

τετράκι βουλευσαιο καί, εἴ ποτε κύμα πλοῖζον,
 μὴ ταχὺς Εὐξείνου γίνεο ποντοπόρος,
 τοῦτον ἰδὼν κενεὸν Δώρου τάφον, ὃν Παριανῶν
 τῆλέ που εἰκαῖαι θῖνες ἔχουσιν ἄλός.
 (Posidippus, 91 AB)

Think four times and if ever you sailed on the sea take your time before navigating the Euxine when you see this cenotaph of Dorus. Far from Parium, I suppose, the dunes of the sea hold him by chance. (trans. C. Austin)

Another type was formed by epideictic epigrams, which “display something” and as a consequence have the most various subjects. One such poem runs as follows:

Λυδὴ καὶ γένος εἰμὶ καὶ οὖνομα· τῶν δ’ ἀπὸ Κόδρου
 σεμνοτέρῃ πασῶν εἰμι δι’ Ἀντίμαχον.
 τίς γὰρ ἔμ’ οὐκ ἤεισε; τίς οὐκ ἀνελέξατο Λύδην,
 τὸ ξυγνὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα καὶ Ἀντιμάχου;
 (Asclepiades, AP 9.63 = 32 Sens)

I am “Lyde” in race and name. Because of Antimachus I am more august than all the women of Codrus’ line [or “since Codrus’ time”]. Who has not sung of me? Who has not read *Lyde*, the common writing of the Muses and Antimachus? (trans. A. Sens)

A third type comprises ecphrastic epigrams, which describe an artwork, as in this epigram, which is a dialogue:

– τίς πόθεν ὁ πλάστης; – Σικυώνιος. – οὖνομα δὴ τίς;
 – Λύσιππος. – σὺ δὲ τίς; – Καιρὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ.
 – τίπτε δ’ ἐπ’ ἄκρα βέβηκας; – αἰὶ τροχάω. – τί δὲ ταρσοὺς
 ποσσὶν ἔχεις διφυεῖς; – ἵπταμ’ ὑπηρέμιος.

- χειρὶ δὲ δεξιτερῇ τί φέρεις ξυρόν; – ἀνδράσι δεῖγμα 5
 ὡς ἀκμῆς πάσης ὁξύτερος τελέθω.
 – ἢ δὲ κόμη τί κατ’ ὄψιν; – ὑπαντιάσαντι λαβέσθαι,
 νῆ Δία. – τὰξόπιθεν δ’ εἰς τί φαλακρὰ πέλει;
 – τὸν γὰρ ἅπαξ πτηνοῖσι παραθρέξαντά με ποσσὶν
 οὔτις ἔθ’ ἱμείρων δράζεται ἐξόπιθεν. 10
 – τοῦνεχ’ ὁ τεχνίτης σε διέπλασεν; – εἵνεκεν ὑμέων,
 ξεῖνε, καὶ ἐν προθύροις θῆκε διδασκαλίην.

(Posidippus, *APL*. 275 = 142 AB)

Who and from where is the sculptor? – From Sicyon. – And his name? – Lysippus. – And who are you? – Time the all-subduer. – Why do you stand on tip-toe? – I am always running. – Why do you have a pair of wings on your feet? – I fly with the wind. – Why do you hold a razor in your right hand? – As a sign to men that I am sharper than any sharp edge. – And why is your hair over your face? – For the one who meets me to grasp at, by Zeus. – And why is the back of your head bald? – Because none whom I have once raced by on my winged feet will now, though he wishes it, take hold of me from behind. – Why did the artist fashion you? – For your sake, stranger, and he set me up in the portico as a lesson. (trans. C. Austin)

In principle, when epigram opens its doors to fiction, it can give shape to any subject. This makes epigram closer to other literary genres, such as declamation, which can develop any subject assigned to it. The “traditional” prejudice in favor of Hellenistic epigram as the first that deserved to be regarded as an actual literary genre rests upon the anachronistic assumption that a poem attains the status of literature when it loosens its ties with the material world and serves only Art and its purposes. However, this concept of *art pour l’art* belongs much more to the modern than to the ancient world and culture.

Hellenistic epigrams transmitted by anthologies are not anonymous; this is traditionally regarded as another major change from the “prehistory” of epigram. This transition from anonymity to a well-defined authorship concerns epigrams transmitted by literary texts and anthologies, and not all of them. It appears as a consequence of the change of medium: the vast majority of inscribed epigrams continue to be anonymous,⁵ while books need to give a name to the authors of these short poems. Anthologies include also many anonymous texts, but sometimes ascribe even anonymous epigrams to well-known authors. In other words, not even this change can be regarded as structural and dividing; it is rather a secondary and “partial” effect of the main changes taking place at this time.

15.3 “Winged” Epigrams and “Rolling” Scrolls

Something new happens at the crossroads of three phenomena whose importance for understanding the history of ancient epigram cannot be overestimated.

One of them is the compilation of the earliest epigram collections (so already Reitzenstein 1893, 104–5 and 1907, 81; cf. Maltomini in this volume). The information available, although scarce, places the earliest such collection between the fourth and third centuries BCE: at this time Philochorus of Athens, according to *Suda* φ 441 Adler (*FGrHist* 328 T 1), seems to have collected poems for a work entitled Ἐπιγράμματα Ἀττικά (*Attic Epigrams*), apparently a collection of Attic inscriptions copied on site by the author, an Atthidographer, that is a writer of Athenian history.⁶ During the third century Neoptolemus of Parium put together a rather mysterious work called Περὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων (*On epigrams*, fr. 7 Mette; see Mette 1980, 16), while in the first half of the second century Polemo of Ilium, called the Periegete, compiled a Περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπιγραμμάτων (*On the epigrams found in cities*; see Preller 1838, 123–25). From the same century comes a collection known as Ἐπιγράμματα Θηβαϊκά (*Theban epigrams*) by Aristodemus of Alexandria, a pupil of Aristarchus (see Petrovic 2007, 93–95). All these are little more than mere names; nonetheless, they attest a new interest in making verse inscriptions available in book form. Among pre-Hellenistic epigram collections one should now count also the pseudo-Aristotelian *Peplos*, a peripatetic compilation of epitaphs for mythical heroes.⁷ Moreover, the earliest extant remains of epigram collections on papyrus date to the third century BCE, and attest the practice of collecting epigrams apparently by authors rather than by place (Cameron 1993, 1–18; Gutzwiller 1998, 20–36; Petrovic 2007, 95–98).

Special attention must be paid to another, closely related phenomenon: the use of inscriptions by writers, particularly by historiographers and orators. It cannot be a coincidence that some of the compilers mentioned above are also known to us as writers of history.⁸ These epigram collections were arranged geographically, denoting an increased interest in local history; as Petrovic (2013, 209) points out, “evidence suggests that these collections included public epigrams that dealt with locally significant historical events, as well as prominent individuals [...] and their achievements.”⁹ What is more, Petrovic (2013, 208) demonstrates that “Athenian orators of the fourth century did indeed consult and use collections that contained inscribed epigrams.” In other words, he recognizes that the use of epigram collections in the context of public courts entails that epigram “was very early on capable of escaping the confines of its original medium” (Petrovic 2013, 211), and that its impact on literature dates to the early fourth century BCE.

For a complete understanding of what happens in the fourth century, it is necessary to take into consideration a further point: the existence of copy-books or pattern-books used by stone-cutters and circulating in epigraphic workshops (e.g., Tsagalis 2008, 53–55). Although we do not know much about their structure and variety, we can infer their existence and use from several proofs: for example, from the influence of the same patterns and model-epigrams on the verse inscriptions of the same area, sometimes even scattered over the Greek world (see, e.g., Garulli 2012, 217). Such collections provide an inscriptional prototype for “literary” epigram collections: “literary” collections were neither unprecedented nor unparalleled in the inscriptional tradition. Furthermore, since these copybooks were inventories for use by stonemasons, they had to be arranged thematically, or at least according to epigram type; such arrangement appears closer to that of later collections and anthologies than to that of the local epigram collections discussed above.¹⁰

In the light of all this, the continuity and unity of the history of epigram becomes more and more apparent.

15.4 Time to Collect Epigrams

When did this turning-point in the history of epigram take place? The phenomena described above point towards the fourth century BCE as a crucial moment.¹¹

As Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010, 7) observe, “the existence of fifth-century collections cannot be excluded simply because of the lack of information.” In particular, one of the most debated issues in this field is the existence and chronology of a collection of Simonides’ epigrams (see Bravi in this volume).

That Simonides played a decisive role in the development of the so-called “literary” epigram is unanimously acknowledged:¹² he is assumed to have been the first composer of short poems in the shape of epigrams not for inscription, but for use in symposia (see below).

Keeping in mind the role played in the transmission of epigrams by local historiography and its interest in any piece of evidence for the glory of cities and individuals after the Persian wars, and in addition the fact that Simonides became the poet of the Persian wars, it would be hard not to admit that a collection of both inscriptional and fictional epigrams ascribed to Simonides did exist relatively early (see, e.g., Gentili 1968, 41–42). However, its dating is highly controversial. Besides those who think that a collection of epigrams ascribed to Simonides appeared “no earlier than the fourth century and more

probably in the Hellenistic Age” (Cameron 1993, 1), others argue for the existence of such a collection – maybe arranged by Simonides himself – already in the fifth century.¹³

One of the ways in which the alleged *Sylloge Simonidea* might have materialized, in Sider’s opinion (2007, 118), is as follows: “Simonides could have prepared a ‘sample book’ from which potential customers could pick one or more favorites to serve as models for their own inscriptions.” This scenario – questionable as it may be – would emphasize the importance of such tools as copybooks or pattern-books used in the epigraphic workshops in the development of the new epigram collections.

Be that as it may, the earliest epigram collections predate the Hellenistic age, perhaps even the fourth century BCE.

It is not hard to understand why epigram collections flourished during the Hellenistic age, which was a “world of collectors and collections” (Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 49). At that time, epigram collections became part of “a wider antiquarian project,” impelled by a sort of “cultural nostalgia for ‘old’ Greece” and the idea that “knowledge of the past was power over it” (Gutzwiller 2007, 5–6).

15.5 A Truly Hellenistic Genre

Epigram was appealing to the poetic taste of the Hellenistic period in several respects. Since the beginning it was a written genre within the context of an oral literary culture, and when Greek literary culture moved towards a predominantly written medium, epigram had to appear quite fashionable, suitable for writers and readers.

Brevity too made epigram attractive to Hellenistic poets (who were looking for concentrated expression and acuteness), as well as its being outside the traditional canon and therefore offering new, untrodden, and unexplored paths.

In other words, epigram “provided Callimachus and the other Hellenistic poets with a perfect frame in which to display their inventiveness, wit, and versatility” (Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 50). In epigram, Hellenistic poets found a unique workspace for experimentation, for miniaturizing and combining different genres.¹⁴

The Hellenistic taste for unexplored mixtures gave life to the invention of new epigrammatic subgenres. A few examples are offered by the epigrams found in *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309, well-known as the “new Posidippus” (on which see further Gutzwiller in this volume): these epigrams are arranged in ten sections, labeled by as many headings. Three of these groups – entitled *lithika*, *oionoskopika*, *iamatika* – draw their subjects from texts different from

epigrams: for example, prose texts on lithography, paradoxography, *omina*, technical sources, didactic poetry, and prose inscriptions set up in the sanctuaries and containing accounts of miraculous cures.¹⁵ As Bing (2004, 282–84) observes, “the poet here translates the subject matter of a prose-genre into poetic form.” Another section, containing epigrams introduced as *hippika*, looks back to the noble tradition of epinician poetry: the poet plays with the glorious tradition of poetry that celebrates victories.¹⁶

Another epigrammatic subgenre which is assumed to spring from lyric poetry, and especially sympotic poetry, is erotic/sympotic epigram: from Reitzenstein (1893, *passim*) onwards, it has been regarded as originating from the oral recitation of poetry at symposia. As Giangrande (1968, 94) points out, whether or not such poems were recited or composed at symposia, “the fact that sympotic elements flowed into the Alexandrian genre *Epigram* is established and commonly acknowledged.” In other words, the sympotic tradition of archaic poetry continues and takes on a new life within the scheme of epigram.¹⁷ For understanding the origin of erotic and sympotic epigram, Fantuzzi (2004a, 284) claims that occasional inscriptions might have played a role: texts inscribed upon sympotic vessels might have acted “as incentives for discussion and comment among the symposiasts.”¹⁸ Book 5 of the *Greek Anthology*, which collects erotic epigrams, shows the Hellenistic variety of contents and forms, as well as the productivity of this subgenre; it keeps the frame of the symposium as a background, either real or fictional, and develops themes and situations which pick up and vary in an elegant and subtle way those of sympotic lyric poetry (see Giangrande 1968).

Οἶνος ἔρωτος ἔλεγχος· ἔρᾱν ἀρνεύμενον ἡμῖν
 ἦτασαν αἱ πολλαὶ Νικαγόρην προπόσεις·
 καὶ γὰρ ἐδάκρυσεν καὶ ἐνύστασε καὶ τι κατηφὲς
 ἔβλεπε, χῶ σφιγχθεὶς οὐκ ἔμενε στέφανος.
 (Asclepiades, AP 12.135 = 18 Sens)

Wine is a test of love: though he kept denying to us that he was in love, Nicagoras' many toasts revealed the truth. For he cried and hung his head and had a very downcast look, and the garland bound to him did not remain on his head. (trans. A. Sens)

It is generally acknowledged that satirical or scopic epigram flourished during the imperial period (first and second centuries CE) with authors such as Lucilius and Nicarchus; nonetheless, one can detect some antecedents of its features in Hellenistic epigrams.¹⁹ Mockery of gluttony and excessive love of food and drunkenness through plays on language and myth can be found also in early Hellenistic epigrams, often pictured against the background of the

banquet. Satirical epigrams play also with the traditional patterns of epigrammatic poetry. Whether or not they originated from insults and invectives at symposia, satirical epigrams are a new epigrammatic subgenre intended for circulation in book form (Gutzwiller 1998, 171–75; Floridi 2010).

Φυρόμαχον, τὸν πάντα φαγεῖν βορόν, οἷα κορώνην
 παννυχικὴν, αὖτη ῥωγὰς ἔχει κάπετος
 χλαίνης ἐν τρύχει Πελληνίδος, ἀλλὰ σὺ τούτου
 καὶ χρίε στήλην, Ἀττικέ, καὶ στεφάνου,
 εἴ ποτέ σοι προκύων συνεκώμασεν, ἦλθε δ' ἄμαυρὰ 5
 βλέψας ἐκ πελιῶν νωδὸς ἐπισκυνίων,
 ὁ τρεχέδειπνος αἰεὶ μονολήκυθος· ἐκ γὰρ ἀγώνων
 τῶν τότε ληναϊκὴν ἦλθ' ὑπὸ Καλλιόπην.
 (Posidippus, Ath. 10.414d = 121 AB)

Phyromachus, as greedy at eating all things as a crow at all-night parties, is now contained within this rugged trench, in the torn wrapping of a Pellenian cloak. But you, anoint his headstone, man from Attica, and crown it with garlands, if ever he revelled with you as a hanger-on and came toothless, with black looks from out of livid eyebrows, always running to banquets with nothing but an oil-flask. For after the bouts of those days he has come to the world of Lenean Calliope. (trans. C. Austin)

An epigrammatic template which proves successful during the Hellenistic age is dialogue, which can give its shape to several types of epigrams, especially epitaphs. Within the funerary subgenre dialogue originates from a development and enlargement of the traditional greeting (χαῖρε, χαίρετε) addressed by the deceased or the tomb to the passer-by first, and the other way round from the fourth century BCE onwards. However, epigrams with more changes of speaker within the same line (ἀντιλαβαί) recall dramatic dialogues, and reveal a further occasion of mixture between genres.²⁰

Φράζε, γύναι, γενεήν, ὄνομα, χθόνα. – Καλλιτέλης μὲν
 ὁ σπείρας, Πρηξῶ δ' οὔνομα, γῇ δὲ Σάμος. –
 Σάμα δὲ τίς τόδ' ἔχωσε; – Θεόκριτος, ὁ πρὶν ἄθικτα
 ἀμετέρας λύσας ἄμματα παρθενίης. –
 Πῶς δὲ θάνες; – Λοχίοισιν ἐν ἄλγεσιν. – Εἰπὲ δέ, ποιήν 5
 ἦλθες ἐς ἡλικίην. – Δισσάκις ἐνδεκέτις. –
 Ἦ καὶ ἄπαις; – Οὐ, ξεῖνε· λέλοιπα γὰρ ἐν νεότητι
 Καλλιτέλη, τριετὴ παῖδ' ἔτι νηπίαχον. –
 Ἔλθοι ἐς ὀλβίστην πολὴν τρίχα. – Καὶ σόν, ὀδίτα,
 οὔριον ἰθύνοι πάντα Τύχη βίωτον.
 (Antipater Sidonius, AP 7.164 = 21 GP)

Tell me, lady, your parentage, name and country. – Calliteles begot me, Praxo was my name, and my land Samos. – And who erected this monument? – Theocritus who loosed my maiden zone, untouched as yet. – How did you die? – In the pains of labor. – And tell me what age you had reached. – Twice eleven years. – Childless? – No, stranger, I left Calliteles behind me, my baby boy. – May he reach a grey and blessed old age. – And may Fortune, O stranger, steer the course of all your life before a fair breeze. (trans. W. R. Paton, slightly modernized)

In Antipater's epigrams, when the passer-by wonders about the meaning of the *symbola* featured on the tomb, the dialogue develops into a riddle:

Μαστεύω, τί σευ Ἄγῖς ἐπὶ σταλίτιδι πέτρῃ,
 Λυσιδίκα, γλυπτὸν τόνδ' ἐχάραξε νόον·
 ἀνία γὰρ καὶ κημὸς ὃ τ' εὐόρνηθι Τανάγρα
 οἰωνὸς βλαστῶν, θοῦρος ἐγερσιμάχας,
 οὐχ ἄδεν οὐδ' ἐπέοικεν ὑπωροφίαισι γυναιξίν, 5
 ἀλλὰ τὰ τ' ἡλακάτας ἔργα τὰ θ' ἰστοπόδων. –
 Τὰν μὲν ἀνεγρομέναν μέ ποτ' εἴρια νύκτερος ὄρνις,
 ἀνία δ' αὐδάσει δώματος ἡνίοχον·
 ἵππαστήρ δ' ὅδε κημὸς αἰέσεται οὐ πολὺμυθον,
 οὐ λάλον, ἀλλὰ καλᾶς ἔμπλεον ἡσυχίης.
 (Antipater Sidonius, *AP* 7.424 = 29 GP)

I seek to discover what the meaning of these carvings is that Agis made upon your stele, Lysidice. For the reins and muzzle and the bird who comes from Tanagra celebrated for its fowls, the bold awaker of battles, such are not things that please or become sedentary women, but rather the works of the spindle and the loom. – The bird of the night proclaims me one who rises in the night to work, the reins tell that I directed my house, and this horse's muzzle that I was not fond of many words and talkative, but full of admirable silence. (trans. W. R. Paton)

Riddling epigrams are another Hellenistic subgenre, preserved together with arithmetical problems and oracles by Book 14 of the *Greek Anthology*.²¹ Since “teasing clearly happened at symposia,” the banquet must be regarded as one of contexts at the origin of this epigrammatic subgenre.²²

15.6 Hellenistic Epigrams out of Context

The changes that affect Hellenistic epigram and make it a convenient “poetic box” ready for use produce some paradoxical effects.

While during the pre-Hellenistic history of epigram its brevity had contributed to its underestimation as a minor genre, Hellenistic epigram suits the Hellenistic taste for brevity (ὀλιγοστίχια), as we have already recalled, and stands out as one of the most (if not the most) successful genres in the Hellenistic world. It is precisely brevity that makes epigram the most collectable genre, meeting also the Hellenistic taste for collecting material.

Epigram collections (see Maltomini in this volume) turn gradually from a mere collecting tool into the new creative frame where Hellenistic poets give shape to their inspiration. As a result, the epigram book became an integral part of the artwork; whether or not the epigrammatist and the collector are the same person, placing epigrams in sequence and combining them within sections generates new meanings and messages, which may either complete or overlap those of the epigrams themselves.²³

Paradoxically, the genre which produces the shortest poems must be read in book form, and cannot be separated from this frame.

A further paradox of the epigram is that a written text originally tied to a physical place and therefore fixed there, in the Hellenistic age becomes the most movable genre. Within books epigrams move all over the Greek-speaking world. This removal from a physical context stimulates “the creation of virtual landscapes and scenarios” (Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 31). This is the process defined as *Ergänzungsspiel* by Bing (1995): the Hellenistic poet consciously plays with the readers, stimulating them to reconstruct an imaginary context on the basis of the clues scattered in the text. In this case, a new verbal and fictional context replaces a real and concrete one.

15.7 Hellenistic Epigrams in Their Contexts

As a general rule, contexts of Hellenistic literature change dramatically. This holds true for epigrams: the usual – material and social – contexts of inscribed epigrams remain, such as funerals, dedications of monuments, offerings at temples, and private gifts. Intended recipients are rather varied.

The new epigrammatic subgenres imply new social contexts, such as symposia and Hellenistic courts. An epigram collection representative of Hellenistic epigram, *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309, assigns a central role to the female characters of the Ptolemaic court: several epigrams regard the Ptolemaic queens, even if it is not always crystal clear whom among them each epigram refers to (see, e.g., Lelli 2002; Criscuolo 2003; Thompson 2005).

Ἀρσινόη, σοὶ τοῦτο διὰ στολίδων ἀνεμουῖσθαι
 βύσσινον ἄγκειται βρέγμ' ἀπὸ Ναυκράτιος,
 ᾧ σύ, φίλη, κατ' ὄνειρον ὁμόρξασθαι γλυκὺν ἰδρῶ
 ἤθελες, ὀτρηρῶν παυσαμένη καμάτων·
 ὥς ἐφάνης, Φιλάδελφε, καὶ ἐν χερὶ δούρατος αἰχμὴν, 5
 πότνα, καὶ ἐν πήχει κοῖλον ἔχουσα σάκος·
 ἡ δὲ σοὶ αἰτηθεῖσα τὸ λευχέανον κανόνισμα
 παρθένος Ἥγησῶ θῆκε γένος Μακέ[τη].

(Posidippus, 36 AB)

To you, Arsinoe, to provide a cool breeze through its folds, is dedicated this scarf of fine linen from Naucratis. With it, beloved one, you wished in a dream to wipe the pleasant perspiration after a pause from busy toils. Thus you appeared, Brother-loving one, holding in your hand the point of a spear and on your arm, Lady, a hollow shield. And at your request the strip of white material was dedicated by the maid Hegeso of Macedonian stock. (trans. C. Austin)

The central role assigned to women in general in this collection has even been regarded as a sort of tribute to the Ptolemaic queens, who might have been the dedicatees of the whole collection.

On the other side, epigram books imply reading as their main reception context. The “well-read Muse” of Hellenistic epigram (Bing 1988, 27) addresses book readers, who must have been educated, probably upper-class persons.

15.8 The Hellenistic “Art of Variation”?

One of the most peculiar features of Hellenistic epigram is the art of variation. As Tarán (1979, 2) observes introducing her seminal work on this subject, a “constant search for variety is, in fact, at the core of the Hellenistic mind: not only were the ancient masters admired and imitated, but every poet was well acquainted with the work of his immediate predecessors and of his contemporaries [...] and varied what they had done.”

If this “constant search for variety” is no doubt Hellenistic, the epigrammatic art of variation results from a productive meeting between the new Hellenistic taste and a well-established practice of composing verse inscriptions by variation of extant models, collected in the alleged copybooks or pattern-books mentioned above. Several examples of inscribed epigrams betray the same pattern, which is modified in details for meeting the specific requirements of the commission (Garulli 2012, 110–58 and 218–19). Even

what seems to be peculiar to the Hellenistic epigrams does not come out of the blue. Once again, continuity in the history of ancient epigram is guaranteed.

Another scheme traditionally regarded as Hellenistic are the so-called “companion pieces,” namely “those epigrams, which are not only linked by mood, theme, genre and verbal expression but also *require* each other in order to be fully appreciated and understood” (Kirstein 2002, 114). In this regard too, inscribed prototypes can be easily found, such as the pairs or series of epigrams inscribed on the same tomb, possibly separated by the heading ἄλλο (“another”).²⁴

15.9 “Epigrammatic Schools”

The scholarly anxiety to classify phenomena in order to master them led Reitzenstein (1893, 121–23) to postulate three main local schools of epigrams. Organized in this way, the rich and varied panorama of Hellenistic epigrammatists appeared more understandable and manageable.

According to this idea, Leonidas of Tarentum (see Klooster in this volume) and his followers would be at the core of the alleged Peloponnesian school: a continental school of poetry, boasting two central figures of female poets such as Anyte of Tegea (see Greene in this volume) and Nossis of Locri (see Bowman in this volume), and including different characters and inspirations.²⁵

The Phoenician school counts eastern Greeks, such as Antipater of Sidon, and then the poets of Gadara, Meleager, and Philodemus (see Prioux and Ambühl in this volume).

The Alexandrian school, as defined by Reitzenstein, includes the well-known epigrammatists active in Ptolemaic Alexandria, such as Callimachus and the Alexandrian triad of friend-poets: Asclepiades, Posidippus, and Hedylus. The works of these poets, as filtered by the *Greek Anthology*, appear to be associated with a preference for erotic and sympotic themes; their poetry is refined, learned, bookish, and puts love, wine, and *joie de vivre* at the center.

This is the picture of these poets and their respective schools given by the *Greek Anthology* and its ancient sources – first of all Meleager’s *Garland* – and Reitzenstein’s assumption relies on this picture.

Yet, a more and more thorough knowledge of the authors, their cross connections, and debts, soon showed that Reitzenstein’s theory of the epigrammatic schools was unsatisfactory.²⁶ Moreover, the recent discovery of the Milan papyrus shed a new light on this classification: in fact, if we assume

the author of all these epigrams to be Posidippus of Pella, the Milan epigrams reveal the essence of Posidippus' inspiration as being different from Meleager's Posidippus. Meleager "may have selected from a given poet certain types of epigrams over others" (Gutzwiller 1998, x): as a result, whereas the old Posidippus appeared as an essentially erotic poet, the new Posidippus stands out for the variety of his themes and subgenres. In particular, not all the Milan epigrams look like "fictional" poems: the section of *epitymbia* mirrors a real world of real people, which is hard to think of as fictional. In other words, one of the main representatives of the Alexandrian school appears to be not an essentially erotic poet, since the most varied subjects such as shipwrecks, omens, and Asclepius' miracles can be found in his poetry. The picture is revealed to be far more nuanced than supposed, and invites us to be extremely cautious in drawing a sharp distinction between schools on the basis of Meleager's selection; as Gutzwiller (2007, 108) points out, "the types of epigrams collected in the Garland may reflect Meleager's personal preferences rather than the range of subjects produced in the Hellenistic age."

Nevertheless, it is worthwhile thinking of Hellenistic epigrams in terms of local schools, since a local horizon must have affected the development of epigram at different stages of its history. As described above, the early epigram collections were compiled on a local scale, as a result of the increasing interest in the local history; moreover, inscribed epigrams too should be studied on a local scale, so that we may understand more about the structure and contents of the pattern-books circulating in the epigraphic workshops of each area.

15.10 Concluding Remarks

What we have been following is a history characterized by tradition and innovation, continuity and discontinuity. As Magnelli (2007, 168) points out, "Hellenistic poets were apparently not striving to produce literature from nothing and to cut every link with tradition, but to investigate the unexploited opportunities that traditional genres could offer, thus defining their own aims through careful appropriation of their literary heritage and fruitful dialogue between old and new."

As a result, the history of ancient epigram is the history of a continuous and uninterrupted development; epigram is a living and dynamic form, which can assume different forms and contents depending on times, places, and needs. This holds true not only for the development of Hellenistic epigram into the imperial age, but also for the Hellenistic age itself. For example, brevity is no

doubt a distinctive mark of the genre, and made a decisive contribution to its success during the Hellenistic period; nonetheless, even Hellenistic epigram can sometimes be longer than usual (Cairns 2008). Another cliché regards the elegiac couplet as the exclusive meter of Hellenistic epigram: meters such as hexameters and iambic trimeters are as well attested.²⁷

It is time now to turn back to the initial question. The history of ancient epigram is a long and unitary history, which does not have any “antecedents” – since the word “antecedents” implies a division of that continuity – but steps and phases. The Hellenistic period, although it is one of the most innovative and productive, is only one part of a longer and more nuanced history.²⁸

NOTES

1. Thomas (1998, 205) prefers “functional” and “literary,” whereas Hutchinson (1988, 21–22) and Bing (2009, 204 n. 31) adopt “inscribed” and “quasi-inscriptional,” in order to highlight precisely that all epigrams use the same patterns and the same poetic language.
2. As Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010, 3) observe, “with the exception of a few scholars, who stress aspects of writing and reading in early Greek epigrams and regard the epigram as the oldest genre in European literature [...], there seems to exist a consensus that only after the epigram ‘emancipated’ itself from its objects and found its way into books did it become a *literary* genre.”
3. See, e.g., Lausberg (1982, 97); Rossi (2001, 5–6); Bing (2009, 204 n. 31). As Cameron (1993, 180) observes, “commentators on the epitaphs preserved in the Anthology like to debate which are ‘real’ and which ‘literary,’ as though a distinction could be made on the basis of their form or tone alone.” A surplus of information given in the text (Bettenworth 2007, 73), a special emphasis on the physical setting of the inscription (Bruss 2005, 60), and the use of deictics (Bravi 2005, 5 n. 19) have been regarded as some criteria for distinguishing the real inscriptions from the fictional ones, but there are always exceptions from these rules that frustrate any attempt to draw a sharp line between *Steinepigramme* and *Buchepigramme*. See also Köhnken (1993, 120–21).
4. For a cognitive and even more dynamic approach to literary genre as an instrument of meaning see Rotstein (2010, 3–24).
5. There are also verse inscriptions with the author’s name dating from the fourth century BCE: for example, CEG 819 and 888 (see Fantuzzi 2004a, 289–91); CEG 700 and 889 are mentioned by Meyer (2005, 98 n. 265). A thorough analysis of inscribed epigrams with a signature is Santin (2009).
6. According to Cameron (1993, 5), Philochorus’ collection “may, given the interests of its compiler, have included prose as well as verse inscriptions, perhaps too primarily political rather than literary.”

7. This dating of the *Peplos* has been suggested by Gutzwiller (2010).
8. "It seems likely that the historians' practice of citing epigrams [...] provided the catalyst for the creation of collections of inscribed epigrams as objects of interest in their own right" (Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 30).
9. Petrovic (2013, 210) regards *P.Oxy.* 2535 as an example of such epigram collections, including both texts and a historical commentary.
10. Bing and Bruss (2007, 6–7 n. 26), quoting Julia Lugovaya's words (*per litteras*), point out that during the fourth century "inscriptional epigrams were collected for circulation as reading material for pleasure, as opposed to earlier professional use by stone-cutters."
11. See Cameron (1993, 1): "collections of epigraphic verses were available as early as Aeschines, late in the fourth century."
12. See, e.g., Gentili (1968, 41); Fantuzzi (2004a, 288), who writes: "Simonides was perhaps the first to link his name to sympotic 'epigrams' and to clearly fictitious and witty dedicatory and funerary texts."
13. The question – raised by Sider (2007, 114–19) – whether the no-longer extant *Sylloge Simonidea* could have been the work of an editor or rather should be ascribed to Simonides himself, is not negligible. Sider calls the attention to the impossibility for any later editor to select Simonides' epigrams among hundreds and hundreds of anonymous verse inscriptions. On the whole question see Bravi (2006, 20–26); Petrovic (2007, 99–109).
14. For a critical revision of the traditional label of *Kreuzung der Gattungen*, see, e.g., Fantuzzi (2004b, 17–37). As Rotstein (2010, 13) points out, "if ancient literary genres are fuzzy categories with no clear-cut boundaries, the notion of *Kreuzung der Gattungen* (contamination of genres), usually attributed to Hellenistic poets, would describe a phenomenon inherent in literary genre, in which Hellenistic poets would have consciously engaged."
15. On *lithika*, *oionoskopika*, *iamatika* and their "sources" see Smith (2004), Baumbach and Trampedach (2004), Sider (2004), and Bing (2004); on the same sections see also Lelli (2004), Krevans (2005, 88–92), and Bing (2005, 134–39).
16. For a thorough analysis of the *hippika* section, see Fantuzzi (2004c and 2005). Other Hellenistic examples of epinician poetry in elegiacs are Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices* (*Suppl. Hell.* 254–68C) and *Victoria Sosibii* (fr. 384 Pf.).
17. As Giangrande (1968, 172) points out, the sympotic genre "finds its expression in various literary shapes (*Theognidea*, *skolia*, *epigrams*), yet preserves throughout the centuries certain clearly defined features." See also Giangrande (1968, 95).
18. Fantuzzi (2004a, 285–87) refers to the Dipylon vase and Nestor's cup as types of antecedent of this phenomenon, as "some metrical graffiti which reveal a literary spirit foreshadowing that of the Hellenistic epigram."
19. On satirical epigrams in the Hellenistic period see Blomqvist (1998).
20. On inscribed epitaphs in form of dialogues, see Garulli (2014).
21. On Antipater's riddling epigrams see Benedetto (2004); on the riddles of *AP* 14, see Luz (2013).

22. See Bowie (2013, 34). An excellent example of epigrammatic riddle is *Suppl. Hell.* 983–84, “the oyster.”
23. Much has been inferred from a multiple investigation of the new Posidippus papyrus: see Gutzwiller (2005) and her chapter in this volume. For a description of the main types of epigram collections see Argentieri (1998).
24. See Kirstein (2002, 116–17) and Fantuzzi (2010), both with further bibliography and examples.
25. In this regard, see Gutzwiller (1998, 53 n. 21 and 55 n. 27).
26. For example, for the influence of Leonidas’ epigrams on Antipater of Sidon see Magnelli (2007, 172–75).
27. See Gow and Page (1965, vol. 2, 712), s.v. “Metre,” Gow and Page (1968, vol. 1, xxxviii); Gentili (1968, 65); Garulli (2012, 11–12). A collection of epigrams in different meters is *AP* 13. See also Morgan in this volume.
28. I am grateful to Patrick J. Finglass and Enrico Magnelli for helpful comments.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Anyte's Feminine Voice: Tradition and Innovation

Ellen Greene

Anyte, one of the earliest Hellenistic poets, whose epigrams are usually dated between 310 and 290 BCE, was a native of Tegea in Arcadia. We know that she was recognized and admired in antiquity; the earliest anthologist of Greek epigrams (first century BCE), Meleager, gave Anyte a prominent place in his *Garland*, mentioning her first in his catalogue of women poets. In Meleager's anthology, 24 epigrams are attributed to Anyte, though modern scholars are divided as to how many of these are genuine. Gutzwiller (1998, 54) for example, considers only 1–20 to be authentic, while Geoghegan (1979, 21) regards epigram 21 as genuine.

Although Anyte's epigrams take the form of inscriptions, whether sepulchral, dedicatory, or descriptive, their highly allusive nature indicates that she wrote her epigrams as sophisticated literary expressions rather than as actual inscriptions.¹ Nonetheless, Anyte largely worked within the form of traditional epigram, confining herself to its dedicatory and funereal genres. Within this conventional framework, however, she brought important innovations into the epigram by introducing new descriptive and pastoral themes and by composing affectionate epitaphs for animals. While animal epitaphs and pastoral genres became commonplace in Hellenistic poetry, Anyte's poems were at the forefront of developing these literary genres.

As in the work of other Hellenistic poets, in Anyte we find numerous references to and borrowings from established Greek literary culture, particularly Homeric epic. In this chapter, we will examine the many ways

in which Anyte transforms traditional epigram through her innovative application of the heroic language of Homeric verse to the personal and domestic sphere, a sphere Anyte chiefly identifies with women, children, and animals as pets.

Early twentieth-century views of Anyte tended to consider her poetry as “masculine,” (Wright 1923; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924, 136), dismissing her epigrams as lacking in any “womanly” or “personal” qualities. This assessment of Anyte has influenced subsequent scholarship as well. But, in the last couple of decades, feminist scholars have re-evaluated Anyte’s worth, considering her to be an influential and innovative poet (Snyder 1989; Barnard 1991; Gutzwiller 1998; Skinner 2001). Kathryn Gutzwiller, perhaps more than anyone, has shown how Anyte may be the first epigrammatist to “project a distinct literary persona” defined specifically by feminine sensibilities and values. Gutzwiller argues that Anyte’s feminine persona, reflected in her focus on women, children, and rural landscapes, was defined through her deviation from masculine themes and values found in traditional epigram. Male epigrammatists typically celebrate masculine achievements on the battlefield, adopting an impersonal, anonymous voice that reflects the values of the male-dominated and male-governed societies of classical and Hellenistic Greece.

My own treatment of Anyte in this chapter builds on Gutzwiller’s ground-breaking work on Anyte. I will explore Anyte’s distinctly feminine perspective by examining her focus on the personal and domestic, on the ways her epigrams represent a radical shift away from the exploits of aristocratic men. This chapter will also contend that one of the most innovative features of Anyte’s poetry lies in its transformation of traditional, masculine epigrammatic and epic discourses. We will see how Anyte’s transposition of Homeric vocabulary to the personal and domestic sphere deflates heroic conventions and, at the same time, elevates the domestic to the heroic. In addition, in her human epitaphs, Anyte draws on genres of classical public speech, particularly the language of funeral oration. Thus, we see a unique interplay between public and private, masculine and feminine modes of expression, and between the domesticity typically associated with women and established male literary culture. In what follows, I will examine a number of epigrams that exemplify the dynamic interaction between tradition and innovation in Anyte’s poetry. I will focus primarily on what are generally considered the most innovative features of Anyte’s epigrams: her human and animal epitaphs, and epigrams that have pastoral themes.

16.1 Human Epitaphs

Four out of five of Anyte's human epitaphs commemorate the death of young unmarried women. These deaths are lamented through the (female) voices of the speaker, dying daughters, and grieving mothers. As Gutzwiller has pointed out, these epigrams suggest a "world of female grief" and loss, a world that contrasts sharply with male conceptions and representations of death. Expressions of grief in Homer's *Iliad*, for example, and in literary epigrams written by men, typically celebrate the heroism of men slain in battle and, more importantly, the fame (*kleos*) they will receive. In her human epitaphs, Anyte draws on the Homeric conception and representation of fame, but appropriates it for the celebration of the ordinary lives of women. More than that, Anyte's epigrams show, quite strikingly, the profound pathos in young women losing their lives without the compensations of fame we see in Homer.

Four of Anyte's human epitaphs represent a mother's grief for a deceased unmarried daughter, and a fifth expresses the sense of pathos in a young woman uttering dying words to her father. These epigrams clearly affirm the value of women's lives. This is especially significant in the context of patriarchal societies, where women are typically regarded either as objects of male desire or as instruments of exchange in the competitive male arena.

In epigram 5² (AP 7.486) the figure of a mother, named Cleina, laments for the death of her daughter who died before her marriage – before the point that marked the apex of a woman's life. In the context of a society that often valued women chiefly for their use as vehicles of procreation, the pathos Cleina expresses at the death of her daughter emphasizes the importance of the mother–daughter relationship and celebrates the worth of the young woman's life *for its own sake*.

Often in lamentation at this tomb of her daughter, Cleina,
the mother, cried out for her dear child who died
too soon. Calling on the soul of Philaenis, who before
marriage crossed over the pale stream of the river Acheron.
(5 GP = AP 7.486)

As already mentioned, surviving literary epigrams before Anyte typically celebrate the heroism of men slain in battle. Commemorating the life of a woman whose only worth is authenticated through the love of her mother, and not through the *kleos* (glory) achieved by the deceased, emphasizes the power of the mother–daughter bond but, perhaps more importantly, validates

the public expression of female grief. The image of Cleina, lamenting in a public space, evokes a tradition of lament in which women's prominent roles in lamenting the dead both reflect and reinforce realms of experience exclusive to women.³

In addition, the image of Cleina lamenting for her daughter, whose soul is described as "crossing the river Acheron," evokes the myth of Demeter and Persephone – a myth that is emblematic of mothers lamenting their daughters' premature deaths (Foley 1994, 123). While Anyte's poem clearly celebrates the importance of the mother–daughter relationship, her evocation of the Persephone myth here seems ironic. Unlike Demeter, Cleina cannot recall her daughter from the depths of Hades. The finality of Cleina's separation from Philaenis heightens the sense of Cleina's irremediable loss.

The Homeric allusions in the poem also serve to accentuate Cleina's unmitigated loss. Geoghegan points out that Cleina's lament echoes both Achilles' mourning of Patroclus in *Iliad* 23 as well as Thetis' mourning for Achilles (1979, 65–68). Although Achilles' lament for Patroclus clearly celebrates bonds between men, in *Iliad* 16 (7–8) Homer implicitly compares Achilles to a mother in the simile where Patroclus is likened to a child crying after his hurrying, anxious mother (Achilles). But in Homer lamentation potentially undercuts the *kleos* conferred by epic because it stresses the suffering caused by death rather than the glory attendant on it (Murnaghan 1999). Laments in the *Iliad* do not merely express personal loss; they are always cast within a framework in which the memory of the glorious deeds of the deceased offers compensation for personal loss.⁴ Anyte's allusions to Homer in her laments also evoke the role of women in the *Iliad* in their lamentations over the dead. As Holst-Warhaft has pointed out, the most elaborate treatment of lament in Homer is the funeral of Hector.⁵ Not only do women lead the laments, but they also offer a perspective on death that emphasizes the particular attributes of the deceased and a sense of personal loss without the compensations of *kleos*. Andromache, for example, addresses Hector directly and rather than praising him for his heroic deeds, she emphasizes her sense of unmitigated loss and abandonment. Similarly, in Anyte's epigrams 6 and 8 the speaker acknowledges that death merely destroys both beauty and wisdom.

I mourn the maiden Antibia, for whom many
 desiring young men came to her father's house,
 drawn by her reputation for beauty and wisdom. But destructive
 Fate rolled away out of reach the hopes of all of them.
(6 GP = AP 7.490)

Instead of a bed-chamber and the holy-rites of marriage
 your mother has placed upon this marble tomb
 a maiden's statue having your shape and beauty,
 and you, Thersis, can be addressed, even though you are dead.
 (8 GP = AP 7.649)

Gutzwiller argues that the four epigrams dealing with the deaths of young women offer a “feminine perspective on death expressed through a chorus of female voices – grieving mothers, dying daughters, and the epigrammatist herself ...” (Gutzwiller 1998, 60). In epigrams 5 and 8 it is clear that the narrator describes a mother's expression of grief for her daughter, and in 6 the speaker both expresses grief over Antibia in a first-person utterance and at the same time ruminates in a general way on the pointlessness of her death. While I agree with Gutzwiller that the speaker of epigram 6 expresses a feminine perspective through (her) evocation of women's lament, I contend that the last two lines of the epigram also introduce an impersonality of tone that draws not only on the tradition of epigram itself but on genres of epic and public lament.⁶

Geoghegan points out that repeated echoes of Homer occur in epigram 6, especially in line 3 (Geoghegan 1979, 73). The phrase *κάλλεος καὶ πινυτᾶτος ἀνὰ κλέος* (referring to Antibia's reputation for beauty and wisdom) alludes to both *Iliad* 13 (364–66) and to *Odyssey* 20 (70–71). In the *Iliad* a soldier is drawn to the *κλέος* of battle, while in Anyte's poem Antibia's potential bridegrooms are attracted by the *κλέος* of the maiden's beauty and wisdom. Not only does Anyte link the *κλέος* of beauty and wisdom with the *κλέος* of battle, but she also implicitly elevates Antibia's virtues to heroic status by linking her death to the Homeric tradition. Despite the senselessness of Antibia's death, the *κλέος* conferred on her by the speaker does, to some degree, have a mitigating force. The same can be said of epigram 8, where the apostrophizing voice of the speaker “saluting Thersis though she is dead” has an even stronger mitigating effect. In this way, Anyte's poems go beyond traditionally feminine perspectives on death through the way in which they bring the ordinary lived experiences of women into dialogue with male heroic tradition.

In addition, in line 3 of epigram 6, the first three words in the phrase *κάλλεος καὶ πινυτᾶτος ἀνὰ κλέος* recalls in the *Odyssey* the story of Pandarus told by Penelope in her prayer to Artemis. Like Antibia, the daughters of Pandarus died before marriage. In her prayer, Penelope asks Artemis to take the life from her just as Zeus once carried away the orphaned maidens to the “hateful Furies.” Comparing her situation to that of Pandarus' daughters emphasizes Penelope's sense of abandonment and loss, but more importantly

accentuates the notion that beauty and wisdom (πινυτή) can do nothing to prevent an unjust Fate from running its course. Penelope's unfortunate situation causes her not only to express her personal grief, but also to contemplate more generally the μοῖρα and ἀμμορίη (the "luck" and "lucklessness") that afflicts mortals.⁷ Likewise, the last line of epigram 6 emphasizes the bitterness of Antibia's death and also suggests the tragedy of the human condition in general. The pathos that comes through in Penelope's prayer to Artemis depends as much on her personal loss as on her awareness of the unpredictability of an often destructive Fate that can snatch away all hope from even the most innocent and judicious of mortals. Indeed, scholars have argued that since antiquity women's laments often express grievances that sometimes amount to a form of protest against various forms of injustice.⁸ Protest against death itself is frequently one of the complaints expressed in women's laments.

In epigram 6 the speaker shifts from the declaration of Antibia's beauty and wisdom to the more general statement about the capricious, destructive nature of Fate in taking away what is most dear in life. The bitterness implicit in this statement recalls in Andromache's lament her sense of outrage at the host of injustices to which she will be subject as a result of Hector's abandonment of her. As Anna Caraveli argues, the element of protest in women's laments sometimes takes the form of "an attack against a vast, all-encompassing category of evils" (Caraveli 1986, 182). But Caraveli also points out that no matter how general the grievance being lamented may be, the focus is almost always on the particular suffering it brings to the female mourner. And in many cases the grievances expressed by women relate to the particular injustices women experience as a result of their vulnerable positions in a social order largely controlled by men.

It may be argued that the allusion to Penelope in epigram 6 reflects a "double consciousness," a consciousness that incorporates female helplessness (as in the case of Pandarus' daughters) and, at the same time, a rational awareness about the capricious workings of Fate.⁹ While the last line in the poem has a generalizing force that recalls the element of protest in women's laments, the speaker's statement does not evoke the suffering of any particular (female) mourner. Caraveli (1986) points out that one of the most important criteria for defining a "true" lament is the expression of emotional engagement and intensity on the part of the mourner. While the speaker in epigram 6 expresses personal grief, she also takes on the impersonal voice of the (male) epic poet whose ability to confer κλέος assures the heroic stature of the deceased. In epigram 8 the speaker takes on an even more impersonal tone, emphasizing Thersis' stature and beauty. More importantly, the speaker

suggests in the last line of the poem that direct address and invocation breathes a kind of life into the absent, dead addressee.

In addition, epigrams 6 and 8 both have qualities that may be associated with funeral orations in classical Athens. As scholars have shown, changes in attitudes towards mourning began to occur in the sixth century BCE in Athens, and then in a number of places in the Greek world through the third century.¹⁰ In particular, women's formerly prominent role in mourning rituals became severely restricted, and in the later classical period mourning was explicitly characterized as both unmanly and un-Greek.¹¹ It is difficult to know to what degree Anyte may have been influenced by Athenian attitudes towards mourning. But it is not unlikely that some of those attitudes affected her epigrams. As Holst-Warhaft points out, classical funeral orations for those who die in battle make a "virtue of death, provided it is death in the service of the state" (1992, 5). What is relevant for our purposes here is that in all surviving classical orations the dead are praised rather than lamented. Although the speakers in epigrams 6 and 8 do not lament a fallen soldier, they, nonetheless, focus on the remarkable traits that will bring κλέος to the deceased rather than on the plight of the survivors. Further, unlike in traditional women's laments, the speakers in these poems never express the strong personal bond with the deceased that would precipitate intense grief. The mourner's emphasis on the virtues of the dead, on salutation rather than on pathos, imparts to these epigrams a quality of public praise that borrows from the male genre of classical funeral oration. These epigrams offer a unique blend of masculine and feminine perspectives on death, a complex intertwining of personal and impersonal modes of expression.

Epigram 7 is the only human epitaph in Anyte that focuses on the father-daughter relationship.

Throwing both arms around her dear father,
and shedding pale tears, Erato spoke these last words,
"Oh father, I am no more, and as I die,
a dark, black death covers my eyes."

(7 GP = AP 7.646)

In this poem we can see how Anyte deviates from traditional epigram. The primacy of the relationship between fathers and sons in Homer and in much of Greek literature, a relationship that assures the genealogy of patriarchal power, gives way in Anyte to a sense of value accorded to fathers and daughters. More importantly, this epigram suggests the possibility of a daughter's intrinsic worth in the life of her father. Unlike the other human epitaphs, this

poem presents the experience of death from the perspective of the dying girl, Erato. This gives the poem a greater sense of personal pathos, a pathos vividly reinforced by the contrast between Erato's "pale tears" and the "dark black death" that conceals her eyes while she is dying. Yet, despite this emphasis on individual suffering, the poem conveys a general sense of the tenuous border between life and death through the opposition Anyte creates between light and dark, between the warmth of Erato's tears and the coldness of death.

16.2 Animal Epitaphs

Anyte's pet epitaphs are widely considered to be among the most innovative examples of her work.¹² One of the most striking features of these poems is their extensive application of the heroic language of Homeric verse to the sphere of the ordinary and everyday – a sphere with which women and children were typically associated. In these epigrams the use of Homeric language to commemorate the death of a beloved pet plays on the expectations of the audience that epitaphs be reserved for conventional heroic figures. Anyte is believed to be one of the earliest poets to experiment with the genre of epigram by utilizing its traditional solemnity to pay tribute to deceased pets, such as grasshoppers, birds, and pet dogs. In these animal laments we see a complex intertwining of modes of expression associated with epic, public funerary speech, and women's lament. Unlike male authors who treat similar themes, Anyte's expressions of sympathy for and commiseration with dead animals fits with the nurturing role women performed in Greek society (Gutzwiller 1998, 60). Thus, it may be argued that Anyte's sense of kinship with animals helps to identify her voice as distinctly feminine. In what follows, I will discuss epigrams 10 and 11, two animal laments that show Anyte's identification with a female mourner's loss of a beloved pet.

Anyte's epigram 10, her lament for a puppy killed by a snake, offers a striking illustration of how Anyte utilizes a variety of discourses in rather innovative ways. The epigram opens with an echo of Andromache's lament for Hector in the *Iliad* (24.725).

You perished, even you, once beside a many-rooted bush,
 Locris, swiftest of noise-loving puppies,
 into your nimble limb a speckle-necked snake
 put such harsh poison.

(10 GP = Poll. *Onom.* 5.48)

Like Andromache to Hector, the speaker here uses the word ὤλεο (“you perished”) to address the dead puppy. This direct reminiscence of Andromache’s lament playfully characterizes the perished puppy as a great hero who has given his life to protect his homeland. This serves to elevate the ordinary activities of everyday life to heroic stature, and at the same time, to deflate the solemnity and grandeur associated with heroic lament. While ὤλεο may have been common in women’s laments, the self-conscious and pervasive use of Homeric references in Anyte’s epigrams suggests that this Homeric allusion may have a more specific purpose here. Unlike Andromache, the speaker in the poem praises the deceased puppy for his particular traits of swiftness and noise-loving, and does not, as Andromache, focus on her anger at the deceased for leaving.

Although the speaker clearly expresses compassion for the puppy, she does not express any emotion, any sense of personal pathos over the death of this animal. The use of epic diction throughout the poem gives the lament a quality of narrative that imparts a distance to the speaker’s presentation of the puppy’s death. This distance is characteristic of the objective style of epigram; indeed, the phrase καὶ σύ is fairly common in epitaphs in the *Anthology* and often suggests the commonality and inevitability of death. The phrase καὶ σὺ is also formulaic in funerary contexts and would thus link the speaker’s expression of grief to masculine funeral oration as well.¹³

This phrase, “you too perished,” does not seem to fit within the context of lamenting the death of a particular pet.¹⁴ Surely, the speaker cannot mean that Locris is one of many pets who have perished. Accordingly, I take the phrase to mean something like “even you, Locris, perished,” implying that the speaker is not merely mourning the death of this particular animal but, as in the human laments, reflecting in a more general way on the capricious and inevitable nature of mortality. The death of this puppy makes the speaker aware of the mortality of all living things; even an energetic puppy can meet death suddenly and unexpectedly. But the way this is expressed is strikingly devoid of the bitterness in Andromache’s lament. Indeed, the tone of the speaker’s lament is neither anguished nor resigned, but rather it expresses calm reflection and rational awareness. Although its poison is harsh, the snake itself is described as beautiful, as ποικιλόδειρος – a word that is used by Hesiod of a nightingale and by Alcaeus of ducks. This description of the snake suggests that the speaker has no bitterness towards death but sees it as part of the natural world.

The speaker at the end seems to praise predator and prey alike; indeed, they are both presented as having qualities worthy of admiration. The speaker’s calm acceptance and dispassionate tone show a departure from the intense emotional engagement characteristic of women’s laments. The fact that the

speaker's lament for the puppy is marked in the poem by praise rather than pathos suggests a close affinity with public forms of *encomia* designed to affirm the glorification of death as compensation for personal loss. What is perhaps most innovative about this poem is that it crosses traditional boundaries between public and private, male and female modes of expression. In its concern for the death of a noisy little puppy, the poem evokes the personal sphere more associated with women than with men. Yet the speaker's calm philosophical attitude presents the death of *Locris* the puppy as neither heroic nor trivial, but as simply part of a natural process to which all life is subject.

Similarly, in epigram 11, Anyte presents the death of a crowing rooster in a way that effects pathos while acknowledging in a matter-of-fact tone the inevitability of death as part of the animal world.

No longer, as before, will you rouse me from bed,
flapping your thick wings as you awake in the morning,
for a plunderer, coming in secret while you slept,
killed you, swiftly placing his claw into your throat.
(11 GP = AP 7.202)

Scholars have disagreed about whether the addressed animal in the poem is a cicada or a crowing rooster.¹⁵ It is impossible to be certain about which one it is. For our purposes here, it does not matter very much. For the sake of argument, I will take the deceased animal to be a rooster, in line with Gutzwiller and Snyder. One point in favor of the rooster is that cicadas are usually at their loudest in the hottest times of the day which would clearly not be first thing in the morning. Thus it makes more sense to assume the speaker is addressing a rooster.

An important difference between this epigram and epigram 10 is that it is unlikely that the rooster is a pet, given that the speaker expresses annoyance at being awakened by the bird. Ironically, however, in this poem Anyte creates a greater sense of identification between the speaker and the dead animal. Both have been awakened from sleep, the speaker from the sounds of the rooster and the rooster from the predator digging its claw into his throat. The word for the predator, *σίτις*, is used in Greek literature for a lion, for Paris, son of Priam, for the mythical animal thief, Autolycus, as well as for Sinis, the name of a bandit killed by the mythical hero Theseus. The fact that Anyte does not tell us what kind of attacker kills the rooster, but instead uses a word that can refer either to a human or animal predator, suggests a link between the violence of the bird's death and the potential violence attendant on a human sleeper. That and the opening of the poem in Greek, "no longer

me,” emphasizes the speaker’s empathy and identification towards the dead bird. Also, the fact that the word for “throat” in line 4, *λαιμός*, is used in Homer *only* for men, reinforces the close link between human and animal realms.

But, unlike the predator in epigram 10 (the snake who is described as beautiful), in 11 the *σῆνις* is characterized as both brutal and impersonal. Here, the pathos of death gives way to a straightforward, rather unemotional presentation of the fact that violence and death lurk imperceptibly “in secret.” Even more than we see in epigram 10, the speaker’s dispassionate tone in this poem reflects a departure from both the pathos in women’s laments and the praise associated with public encomia.

16.3 Pastoral Epigrams

Anyte’s pastoral poems are considered by many to be her most innovative and influential. Gutzwiller (1998) has argued that Anyte’s pastoral epigrams (poems 3, 15–19) are unparalleled in the history of the genre. As Snyder (1989) notes, however, we cannot be certain about Anyte’s precise influence on either contemporaneous or later writers. But few contemporary scholars would deny Anyte’s importance in the development of the pastoral tradition. At the very least, she is believed to have introduced pastoral themes into the epigram. By the third century BCE, Anyte’s native Arcadia had already come to epitomize rural values and ideals. These values involve an escape from the realities of work, toil, and death and a retreat into a poetic pastoral landscape, a world of cool shade and refreshing fountains, as a respite from the hot sun.

Four of Anyte’s six pastoral epigrams involve such a respite. Two of these poems, epigrams 16 and 18, take the form of a speaker calling out to passers-by and offering rest in the shade and an escape from life’s travails.¹⁶ But, as Gutzwiller (1998) has noted, epigrams 16 and 18 differ from Anyte’s other pastoral poems in that the identity of the speaker lacks specificity. This suggests that the voice in these epigrams may be associated with the poet herself.

Sit, all, under the beautiful blossoming leaves of the laurel
and draw a sweet drink from the flowing spring,
so your dear limbs, exhausted from the labors of summer,
may rest, struck by the breeze of Zephyr.

(16 GP = AP 9.313)

Stranger, rest your weary limbs beneath this rock;
 the sweet breeze murmurs in the green leaves;
 and drink cool water from the fountain, for this respite
 from the burning heat is pleasing to travelers.
 (18 GP = AP 16.228)

In epigram 16, the notion that the voice of the speaker is closely linked to the poet is reinforced by the image of the laurel, since the laurel is commonly used to represent Apollo, patron of poetry. In addition, fountains and groves are often associated in antiquity with poetic inspiration.

Thus, we may take the speaker's offers of respite for weary travelers as invitations to her readers to enter into the refreshing, rejuvenating space of her epigrams. The call to passers-by to rest their tired limbs and to draw sustenance from the cool fountains suggests that the world of Anyte's poems, with its unique invocation of Arcadian rural values, may offer an alternative to traditional epigram which often celebrates the busy, competitive, often violent, world of masculine achievement. Although it may not be possible to identify a distinct feminine persona in Anyte's pastoral poems, Anyte's feminine sensibilities and values throughout her work suggest that the respite she envisions in her pastoral epigrams may offer a feminine perspective on pastoral themes found in traditional masculine epigram.

NOTES

1. Scholars are divided as to whether Hellenistic epigrams represent actual inscriptions on gravestones or are purely literary imitations of such inscriptions. While Snyder (1989), for example, appears undecided about whether Anyte's epigrams are "real or epideictic," she does assert that Anyte "was probably among the earliest Hellenistic poets to experiment with the traditional genre of the epigram." On the whole, Snyder's readings of Anyte's poems point to a view of them as literary exercises rather than as actual inscriptions. Gutzwiller (1998) argues persuasively that Anyte's epigrams were issued in a book format and that her sophisticated, ingenious use of language reveals a "high degree of poetic self-consciousness," indicating that her poems are no longer epigrams in the "original sense of an inscription" but are representations of such epigrams. I believe that Anyte's sophisticated language and innovative use of literary tradition strongly support Gutzwiller's view. My own readings of Anyte's epigrams will be based on the assumption that her poems ought to be read as literary imitations rather than as "real" inscriptions. As Gutzwiller points out, the numerous voices and forms of address we hear in Anyte's epigrams often make it difficult to ascertain the source of the speaking voices in her poems – especially in light of the absence of an inscriptional setting. My interest here is not to try to identify who is speaking in

any realistic sense, but to examine the ways in which Anyte uses the convention of the epigram to dramatize a dialogue between traditional forms of women's lament and the more public (masculine) forms of praise and lament for the dead. That Anyte takes on different voices in her epigrams, in my view, seems to suit very well her intertwining of public and private forms of discourse.

2. The numbering used for Anyte's epigrams follows that in Gow and Page (1965, vol. 1, 35–41).
3. A continuous tradition of women's lament – from ancient to modern – has been well documented in the work of Margaret Alexiou (1974), Gail Holst-Warhaft (1992), and Anna Caraveli (1986).
4. See Nagy's (1979) extensive discussion of the importance of the notion of *kleos* in the Homeric poems – particularly his analysis of the ways in which *kleos* is a remedy for mourning (*penthos*, 94–106).
5. Holst-Warhaft (1992, 110–15); see also Murnaghan (1999) for her discussion of the role of women's lament in the Homeric epics. Murnaghan observes that "laments are the medium by which a female perspective on epic action makes its way into these male-centered texts ... these public opportunities become testaments of what it is like to be a woman in a world focused on male interests and values" (204).
6. As Gutzwiller (1998, 1–14) points out, objectivity is the hallmark of the epigrammatic style. But as literary epigrams were collected into books, the presence of a persona could be revealed through thematic repetition and formal cohesiveness. Anyte seems to maintain a tension between the "objective" voice associated with traditional inscription and a more personal voice attendant on being the creator of a book. As I argue here, Anyte also draws on other genres, such as epic, public funerary speech, and women's lament, thereby heightening the vacillation throughout her epigrams between traditionally masculine and feminine forms of expression.
7. In *Odyssey* 20, see line 76.
8. See Alexiou (1974, 55–122). See Caraveli (1986) on the lament as social protest; see also Foley (1993) for an analysis of the ways in which women's lamentations in Greek tragedy often express a form of "political or social resistance."
9. Anyte's epigrams often seem to reflect the "double consciousness" Winkler (1990, 162–87) attributes to Sappho – that is, an ability to speak in the languages of both the male public arena and the excluded female minority.
10. For discussions of the strict controls and restrictions placed on women in Attic death rituals, see Alexiou (1974, 14–23); Garland (1985, ch. 3 and 1989); Holst-Warhaft (1992, 114–24); Foley (1993); and Seaford (1994, 74–143).
11. See Loraux (1986, 42–56) for a discussion of the opposition between Athenian funerary oration and lament. Loraux emphasizes the fact that in the classical period lament became the prerogative of women.
12. See Barnard (1991) for a discussion of pet epitaphs in Anyte and in other Hellenistic epigrammatists; see also Snyder (1989, 70–72) and Gutzwiller (1998, 60–66). The *Greek Anthology* has several epigrams with marked similarities

- to Anyte's animal epigrams, especially Nicias (*AP* 7.200) and Mnasalces (*AP* 7.212). It would be interesting to compare Nicias' and Mnasalces' versions of pet epitaphs with those of Anyte, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.
13. See Loraux (1986) for conventions of Athenian funeral oration.
 14. Gow and Page (1965, vol. 2, 96) acknowledge that the point of the phrase "can hardly be determined." They conjecture that other dead animals may have been commemorated in neighboring poems or monuments. Giangrande argues that the point of the phrase lies in its allusive nature, namely, that Homeric animals used a θάμνος ("bush") to find a violent death (Geoghegan 1979, 106). The phrase is usually translated as "you too (perished)," but it may just as easily be translated as "even you perished."
 15. More recently, Snyder (1989) and Gutzwiller (1998) have taken it to be a rooster, though Barnard (1991) and Raylor (1991) believe it to refer to a cicada.
 16. We can see Anyte's influence, and in particular this pattern, in Theocritus' *Idylls* and in Nicias' pastoral epigrams. See Gutzwiller (1998) on this.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Leonidas of Tarentum

Jacqueline Klooster

17.1 Life and Works

What we know of the biography of Leonidas of Tarentum has been culled, not without scholarly disagreement, from his own epigrams. These would seem to point to a period of activity stretching from the late fourth to the mid-third century BCE, even if Gow is inclined to date the poet considerably later, on the basis of stylistic characteristics which in his view place Leonidas closer to Dioscorides and Antipater of Sidon (1958, 113–23). The common opinion, however, as notably expressed by Gigante (1971, 11–12, 19) and Gutzwiller (1998, 88) is that the original early dating is correct. The epigrams these scholars adduce as evidence are *AP* 6.129 and 6.131 (attribution disputed by Gow; in the following, the numbering indicates epigrams from the *Palatine Anthology*, unless otherwise indicated). They describe the dedication of Lucanian spoils, and since the Lucanians were only relevant as enemies of Tarentum before the conquest of this city by Rome in 272 BCE, this sets a *terminus ante quem*. Other information is derived from 6.334, in praise of the Epirote prince Neoptolemus, co-regent of Pyrrhus (and killed by him 295), to whose court Leonidas seems to have made his way. Pyrrhus' victory over Antigonus Gonatas in 273 is celebrated in 6.130. Further epigrams suggest stays in Sparta, Arcadia, Athens, Thespieae, Cos, and Asia Minor; Egypt and the Ptolemies are glaringly absent. The hardship that resulted from Leonidas' travels seems to be addressed in 7.736, advising preferment of a poor but contented life over the fate of the wanderer, and in Leonidas' self-epitaph, which laments the fact that he is not buried in his hometown (7.715).

It would seem that Leonidas was either a highly prolific composer of epigram (cf. Meleager 4.1.15: “Leonidas’ flourishing clusters of ivy”), or that Meleager and Cephalas preserved an unusually large part of his epigrams, perhaps because of his evident popularity. Most of the 103 epigrams are found in the Palatine, some in the Planudean collection, and one was discovered on a papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 662). Leonidas was indeed greatly influential, finding a host of imitators down to the Byzantine era, most notably Antipater of Sidon and Gaetulicus, but also Cicero, Propertius, and Ovid. Remnants of a Leonidean epigram have even been identified on a wall at Pompeii (6.13 = Kaibel 1104). All in all, what we have of Leonidas, depending on matters of attribution, now varies between 92 or 103 epigrams. The main reason for doubts as to ascription is that in some cases the lemmatist has written no *ethnikon*, making it ambiguous whether we are dealing with the Tarentine poet, or his near-namesake Leonides of Alexandria (with variant spelling Leonidas; first century CE, writer of *isopsepha*). However, scholars agree that most of the poems, or even all, are attributable to Leonidas of Tarentum.

The majority of Leonidas’ epigrams are populated by simple folk: rustics, fishermen and huntsmen, sailors, craftsmen, and working women. Despite his baroque style (see below), this has given him the reputation of being an “ancient realist,” a “poet of the simple people.” Indeed, nineteenth-century critics even claimed that many of his epigrams had been commissioned by the poor workers he writes about (for discussion of this trend, see Geffcken 1925, 2023). Reitzenstein (1893, 145–47) definitively rejected this notion, correctly pointing out that most of the dedicatory epigrams or epitaphs could hardly have functioned as such in the real world, and were indeed samples of *Kunstdichtung* and *Buchpoesie*, as the daunting language, the length of individual poems, and finally the artful varying of a single theme in a series of epigrams (e.g., the epigrams on fishermen, 7.504, 506, 295, see below) make clear.

Nevertheless, a tendency to read Leonidas’ epigrams in a strictly biographical vein, i.e., as expressing either his “outlook on life” or indeed his own conditions, persists even in modern criticism. Especially Leonidas’ ostensibly personal epigrams (7.736, 6.300, 6.302) in which he describes his humble, or even poor, lifestyle, and his self-epitaph (7.715) are, understandably, often interpreted thus. But it may be the case that we should also read these epigrams metapoetically, as expressing an artistic and literary take on poverty and humble circumstances (Gutzwiller 1998, 88; 107–8). Gigante connects this tendency with the democratic climate of Tarentum, favorable to artisans, and even with its resident philosopher Archytas, and his doctrine of the artisan as instigator of civilization (1971, 20–22, 55). The epigrams,

however, generally evince an emphatic pessimism about human life and its possibilities beyond mere labor, as well as an apparent lack of interest in erotic matters (only the epigrams 5.188 and 6.300 perhaps touch on love, on which more below). These characteristics have led other modern critics also to posit a link between Leonidas and the philosophy of the Cynics, as shall be discussed below.

Intriguingly, we find a relatively large number of epigrams on poets, works of art, and princes as well, suggesting that Leonidas was not altogether averse to the more cultivated and higher social strata of ancient life. In this context, many have remarked that Leonidas' choice to portray simple folk may in fact be no more than a sign of the times, since poets like Theocritus, Herondas, and even the court poet of the Ptolemies Callimachus apparently reaped literary success by portraying simple herdsmen, bawds, and poor old women in their poetry (see Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 307; contrast Gigante 1971, 87–98, who thinks Leonidas' treatment of his subject matter very different from these other poets, see more below). Whatever Leonidas' true social position or philosophical leanings, it is clear that he made it his hallmark to introduce simple folk and their workaday tools into epigram, using a vocabulary that seems derived mainly from epic, tragedy, and dithyramb.

17.2 Critical Appreciation

Despite Leonidas' popularity in antiquity, the modern critical reception of his poetry has long been less than enthusiastic. Geffcken produced a first separate collection of his epigrams (1896), and later published a still valuable *RE* article (Geffcken 1925). There exist some translations of the epigrams (Bevan 1931; Labellarte 1969) and some thematic monographs (Hansen 1914; Gigante 1971), and Leonidas also features prominently in a number of general studies of Hellenistic epigram (Reitzenstein 1893; Veniero 1905; Olivieri 1949; Achillea Stella 1949; Gow and Page 1965; Gutzwiller 1998) and detailed articles (e.g., Gow 1958, 113–23; Coco 1985, 61–62). Still, he has not enjoyed the same kind of critical attention as Callimachus, Posidippus, or Asclepiades.

Lack of admiration for his particular poetic style plays a part in this: Gow calls him tedious, not a real poet, but a competent versifier at best (1958, 113; Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 307). Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1924, 140–42) had introduced this condescending and depreciative tone when he identified Leonidas with the baroque, rhetorical trend in Greek epigram.

Leonidas' style is indeed very far from the elegant conciseness and pointed simplicity of Asclepiades or Callimachus. His frequently longish epigrams are crammed with unique compound adjectives, neologisms, *hapax legomena*, and deliberately enigmatic periphrases (all hallmarks of the so-called "dithyrambic" style, related to tragic and lyric diction, as Reitzenstein 1893, 145 was first to observe). These unusual words and ornate phrases indicate simple objects, such as a carpenter's tools, a fisherman's nets, or a weaving woman's loom, as, e.g., in 6.205.6 "the chief magistrate of his craft" (a carpenter's axe); in 6.4.5 "a Posidonian spear" (a fisherman's trident); 6.288.5 "songstress of the loom" (a weaver's shuttle; examples taken from Gutzwiller 1998, 92). This deliberate contradiction between ornate style and low subject matter was often considered "frigid," and Leonidas' tendency to redundancy and repetition was not admired in a genre where sparseness and poetic economy was the norm.

17.3 Topic and Style

Precisely these qualities of redundancy and ornateness (e.g., 9.318, 6.298) point to the fact that his poetry was primarily intended for reading, presumably gathered in poetry books (Gutzwiller 1998, 90), not, or at least not entirely, for inscription, even if some individual epigrams may well have served thus, cf., for example, the epigram found in Pompeii. Besides, it may well occasionally have been recited at social gatherings (cf. Reitzenstein 1893, 149, as the sound effects and enigma-motif in some of them suggest, for example 7.726 and 6.626; see below).

Some of the stylistic aspects that Gow and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff took exception to can be illustrated by one of Leonidas' most cited epigrams in modern criticism, on Theris, a carpenter, *AP* 6.204:

Θήρις ὁ δαιδαλόχειρ τᾷ Παλλάδι πῆχυν ἀκαμπῇ
καὶ τετανὸν νότῳ καμπτόμενον πρίονα
καὶ ἐλέκυν ρυκάναν τ' εὐαγέα καὶ περιαγῆς
τρύπανον ἐκ τέχνας ἄνθετο παυσάμενος.

Theris of the daedalic hand has dedicated to Pallas an uncurved ruler, a straight saw with bent handle, an axe and a bright plane, and a rotating borer, on the occasion of retirement from his craft.

Regarded as "verkünsteld und grosstuerisch" by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, this epigram is greatly admired by Gutzwiller (1998, 92) who calls attention

to “the splendid *daidalochair*, a Leonidean neologism [which] gives epic and mythical resonances to Theris’ abilities as a carpenter.” She continues to praise the procedure by which “an imaginative phrase sometimes challenges the assumption of banausic worthlessness.” In this epigram, we see indeed the care with which each humdrum tool of the trade is accompanied by an appreciative adjective, perhaps reflecting the focalization of Theris the carpenter. At the same time, the phrase structure is as simple as can be; this is a recurrent pattern, especially in the many dedicatory epigrams.

Gigante, in his 1971 monograph on the Tarentine poet, has moreover enlighteningly pointed out the verbal relation that Leonidean poems bear to Homeric similes (1971, 57–59; 82), in particular the many similes likening the war acts of the *Iliad* to more homely scenes, describing carpenters, herdsmen, fishermen, weaving women, and such (cf., e.g., *Il.* 12.430–35, *Il.* 23.759–63). Indeed, carpentry in its own right actually features quite prominently in the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus is a true *homo faber*, with his raft- and bed-building skills. Many of the technical words for carpentry tools from the epigram just discussed and its twin 6.205 in fact find precise verbal echoes in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 5.234, 246, 248, 237). It is illuminating, then, to consider these Leonidean epigrams as though they were in some sense inverted Homeric similes: here the humble crafts are emancipated from their subordinate comparative function and shine forth in heroic style. As Gigante observes (1971, 81–85), the frequency of such references to banausic crafts may thus explain why Leonidas praises Homer as the most excellent poet in one of his epigrams on poets of the past (9.24).

An especially successful and universally admired example of Leonidas’ practice of poetically elevating the humble is the epitaph for the old Platthis (7.726), who, both in her simple weaving and her old age, would by normal Greek aesthetic standards be of no account. Yet, Leonidas paints a dignified and admiring portrait of her unassuming old woman’s activities, which focuses on the beauty of her handiwork and the diligence and graceful charm of her person. As often, he does this by adorning everyday objects and routines with ornate or extremely rare nouns, adjectives, and phrasings. In the following I will, for the sake of example, comment in some detail on the remarkable vocabulary and turns of phrase in this epigram, which is representative of Leonidas’ style throughout.

Ἐσπέριον κήϕον ἀπώσατο πολλάκις ὕπνον
 ἢ γρηῤῥς πενίην Πλατθίς ἀμυνομένη·
 καί τι πρὸς ἡλακάτην καὶ τὸν συνέριθον ἄτρακτον
 ἤεισεν πολιοῦ γήραος ἀγχίθυρος

καί τι παριστίδιος δινευμένη ἄχρις ἐπ' ἡοῦς 5
 κείνον Ἀθηναίης σὺν Χάρισιν δόλιχον,
 ἢ ρικνῇ ρικνοῦ περὶ γούνατος ἄρκιον ἰστῶ
 χειρὶ στρογγύλλουσ' ἱμερόεσσα κρόκην.
 ὀγδωκονταέτις δ' Ἀχερούσιον ἠϋγασεν ὕδωρ
 ἢ καλὴ καλῶς Πλατθίς ὕφηνάμενη. 10

Evening and morning-sleep often the old Platthis drove away in her battle against penury, and a melody to go with the distaff and her helpmeet, the spindle, she sang, neighbor of old age. And a melody to go with her loom, while she was spinning until daybreak, that long labor of Athena with the Graces, or while, with wrinkled hand on wrinkled knee, lovely, she was twirling the yellow thread for her loom. At eighty years of age she crossed the Acherousian stream, beautiful Platthis, who wove beautifully.

Instead of using adverbial indications of time, Leonidas employs uncommon adjectives (Ἑσπέριον κήϋον *sc.* ὕπνον) to describe the sleep that Platthis drove away (ἀπώσατο), resulting in an involved way of expressing that she worked from early morning to late at night (1) “to ward off poverty,” an expression that has a distinctly poetic ring to it thanks to the choice of participle (ἀμυνομένη). The ἄτρακτος (“spindle,” 2) is personified by the poetic adjective συνέριθος (“fellow-worker,” “helpmeet”), and Platthis herself is somewhat redundantly, after γρηῤῥς (“old woman,” 2), qualified as πολιοῦ γήραος ἀγχίθυρος (“next-door neighbor of grey old age,” i.e., on the brink of old age, 4). The *hapax legomenon* παριστίδιος (“at the loom,” 4) qualifies, again redundantly, the place where Platthis sits as she sings and “whirls the long thread of Athena with the Graces” (5–6). This elaborate, and, by its naming of the goddesses, distinctly elevating description of the process of spinning is, redundantly once more, described in terms of time: ἄχρις ἐπ' ἡοῦς (“until the break of dawn,” 5). The following phrase with its chiasmus ρικνῇ ρικνοῦ περὶ γούνατος ... / χειρὶ (“with wrinkled hand on wrinkled knee”) emphasizes Platthis’ old age and by its verbal repetition (cf. καί τι in 3 and 5; καλὴ καλῶς, 10) also points to the monotonous movements and sounds of Platthis’ singing and working at her loom, an effect that could have been brought out with even more emphasis in an oral performance. Platthis’ death is poetically circumscribed by the phrase “she crossed the Acherousian water” (9). The adjective ἱμερόεσσα (“desirable,” 8), and again καλὴ καλῶς (“beautiful,” “beautifully,” 10) function as powerful *aprosdoketa* in opposition to the emphasis on Platthis’ old age throughout and in particular in 9 (ὀγδωκονταέτις, “eighty years of age”). This either suggests that the speaker of the epigram is imagined as reminiscing about Platthis’ youth,

when she was still beautiful and desirable; alternatively, they form a deliberately unusual qualification for this old woman and her work. All in all, as noted, the epigram is clearly meant to elevate the humble old worker and her labors. Very similar in theme and style are the epigrams 6.205 and 7.295 on Leontichos, the retiring carpenter, and Theris, the old fisherman.

Deliberate incongruity between simple object and jeweled style may however also have an amusing or paradoxical effect, which may equally have been part of Leonidas' intentions, as in 6.35, which drives his idiosyncratic stylistic preferences to an extreme:

Τοῦτο χιμαιροβάτα Τέλεσων αἰγώνυχι Πανὶ
 τὸ σκύλος ἀγρείης τείνε κατὰ πλατάνου
 καὶ τὰν ῥαιβόκρανον ἐυστόρθυγα κορύναν,
 ἃ πάρος αἰμωποῦς ἐστυφέλιξε λύκους,
 γαυλούς τε γλαγοπήγας ἀγωγαῖόν τε **κυνάγχαν** 5
 καὶ τῶν εὐρίνων **λαιοπέδαν** σκυλάκων.

This skin Teleson hung from a wild plane tree for goat-mounter, hoof-footed Pan. And also the crook-headed club made of a fine branch, which formerly struck down gore-mouthed wolves. And the milk-setting pails and leading dog-leash and the dog collar of the sharp-nosed dogs.

The virtuoso game Leonidas is playing in this epigram is bent on highlighting the Greek language's ability to form outrageous (compound) adjectives, and fit them in a metrical pattern. Leonidas has crammed nine samples in its six lines, sometimes two to a noun, most of them *hapax legomena* (underlined). The nouns themselves are sometimes of the same order (printed bold). Note that the sentence structure, on the other hand, is again extremely simple and paratactic. We see a similar heaping of neologisms, compound adjectives, and rare nouns in the likewise bucolic epigrams 9.318 and *APL* 190.

Leonidas' circumscriptions by means of compound nouns and adjectives often turn out to be akin to riddles (cf. Gigante 1971, 61–62), the established classics of the Greek symposium, which might in fact tell us something about their place of original performance or even composition. A truly enigmatic periphrasis is for example created in 6.262, where a shepherd dedicates the spoils of a marauding animal, which he has killed.

Τὸν νομῖν καὶ ἔπαυλα βοῶν καὶ βώτορας ἄνδρας
 σινόμενον κλαγγάν τ' οὐχὶ τρέσαντα κυνῶν
 Εὐάλκης ὁ Κρής ἐπινύκτια μῆλα νομεύων
 πέφνε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐκρέμασεν πίτυος.

The one who was ravishing the folds and pastures of the cattle and the herdsmen, and feared not the barking of dogs, him Eualces the Cretan, herding his flock until the evening, killed and hung down from this pine tree.

Neither the dedicatee nor the animal is named, but from the clues it becomes obvious that it must be a wolf, probably dedicated to Pan. Former critics were disturbed by the fact that animal and deity remained unnamed, or explained the omission as characteristics of a “realistic” epigram (where there would be no need to name the dedicated object or dedicatee; cf. Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 357), but it seems more attractive to align these features with Leonidas’ love of periphrasis elsewhere.

17.4 Themes and Internal Connections

One could group the epigrams of Leonidas according to (fictive) occasion (*epitymbia*, dedicatory) or the lack of such (as in the so-called ecphrastic, epideictic, or moralizing poems), but a more telling division is probably according to the type or class of person they describe or impersonate: rustics, fishermen, sailors and hunters, artisans, philosophers, poets, artists, kings and princes, and some apparently historical personages who clearly belong to the higher classes (7.648, 7.440, 7.448, 7.449). Besides we find numerous epigrams describing dedications to or statues of gods, often rustic ones like Pan, the Nymphs, Hermes, and Priapus, which also predicate on their dedicators: simple country people.

The above division leaves a number of poems unaccounted for, such as the cynically inspired ruminations on the fleetingness of life (7.740, 7.472a and b, 7.731; Stob. *Flor.* 4.52.28), which mostly lack the pretense of being written as epitaphs or dedications. It does however highlight the preponderance of simple folk, the core of the collection. Gutzwiller states that a collection of these epigrams in book form would, by its inclusion of epigrams on all sorts of people, “represent a *class* of individuals in all their variety and connecting similarity” (1998, 91, original emphasis). This seems an attractive way to read the epigrams, which indeed often strike the reader as an extended series of miniature portraits. However, Gutzwiller’s subsequent statement that the poems in fact express “an ideology of class” is perhaps a bit anachronistic. Moreover, one wonders whether the same should be claimed about Theocritus, Herondas, and Callimachus with their equally literary portrayals of poor and simple folk. This begs the question of who formed the intended audience for all of these poems, and how they were supposed to respond to these representations. That is hard to answer: Theocritus and Callimachus

painted their portraits of simple folk for the Ptolemaic royals and their courts, sometimes clearly with the aim of amusement at the cost of the characters portrayed (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 14 and 15, the character Molorchus in Callimachus' *Aetia* (fr. 54c Harder =177 Pf.)). For Leonidas, similar certainty about patronage is more difficult to establish (although for some of his epigrams Epirote royalty seems a likely bet, see below). What is more, despite the general idea that Leonidas is something of a champion of the simple people, the tone of his epigrams may be ambivalent, verging on the depreciatory. We may think of 5.206.1 on the flute girls with their "long-stretched out youth" τανυήλικες; or of 7.648 on Aristocrates who (foolishly?) declined to marry. Other examples are 7.452: "let's drink on the death of sober Eubulus"; and 7.657: Alcimenes' grave, covered in brambles, despite his lifetime struggling to eradicate them. Finally we might consider the series on deaths of sailors and fishermen, see below. Other epigrams are downright derisive (6.305 on a glutton, 6.293, 6.298 on Sochares the cynic, 7.455 on bibulous old Maronis). His "admiration of the simple people" is not entirely unqualified, or at least leaves room for humoristic nuance.

Gutzwiller's emphasis also alerts us to the fact that Leonidas did write some epigrams on higher-class individuals, artists and poets, and makes us wonder what possible thematic or other connections between the two groups of epigrams exist. Her explanation that they are meant, as a collection, to "show all of society" (1998, 91), seems not altogether convincing. We may, however, identify some interesting links between epigrams on different "social groups." I have already pointed out the possible connection between Leonidas' admiration of Homer and his interest in portraying carpenters and weaving women. Perhaps a somewhat similar case could be made for the epigrams on Tellen, Erinna, and Hipponax (7.719, 7.13, 7.408), as authors who made it their literary aim to write about the everyday lives of simple or marginal people, but this is less obvious in the cases of Pindar, Anacreon, Alcman, or Aratus (7.35; *APL* 306 and 307, 7.19, 9.25).

Equally tantalizing is the rustic atmosphere of the epigram on the Aiacid prince Neoptolemus of Epirus (6.334), describing a dedication of cakes and wine to the Nymphs, Pan, and Hermes. This epigram suggests that Leonidas, perceiving a taste for rusticity in this royal, tried to gain his attention or even patronage by the production of his remarkably numerous other rustic epigrams, often featuring, among other themes, dedications to the same gods (e.g., 6.13, 6.36, 6.154, 6.188, 6.221, 6.226, 6.262, 6.263, 6.296, 9.326, 9.329, 7.657, 9.99, 9.318, 9.335, 9.374, 9.744, 10.1; *APL* 190, 230, 236, 261; *P.Oxy.* 662). Of course, things may also have worked the other way around: Neoptolemus being attracted by Leonidas' rustic specialism, and commissioning the latter's composition of an epigram.

Something similar may be posited, perhaps with regard to 9.744, on the dedication of a bronze goat by two rich cattle owners, even though we cannot, obviously, be sure that any of these epigrams were commissioned. Commissioning seems likely, however, in the case of the epigram describing Pyrrhus of Epirus' victory over Antigonus Gonatas (6.130), which moreover poses the interesting problem that Pyrrhus in fact killed Neoptolemus, and that Leonidas therefore seems to have shifted alliances, or at least to have tried to ingratiate himself with the killer of a former patron.

17.4.1 *Poverty and Cynic Philosophy*

One thematic nexus that has received much scholarly attention is that of cynicism. In particular Leonidas' epigram on the Cynic philosopher Diogenes (7.67) and his various epigrams on what appear to be Cynic tenets such as the fleetingness of human life and endeavor (7.740, 7.472a and b, 7.731; Stob. *Flor.* 4.52.28). The *sphragis* epigrams (6.300, 7.736) too are in line with Cynic views on life, and some scholars have even noted references to anecdotes from the biography of Diogenes in them: the mice in 6.302 are interpreted by some as an allusion to the anecdote in Plutarch (*Mor.* 77c) where Diogenes the Cynic exclaims that even he has parasites, after discovering mice eating the crumbs of his dinner (cf. Gigante 1971, 49–50). A remarkable Leonidean coinage that links a *sphragis* epigram expressing these cynical tenets with his epigrams on simple craftspeople is the word ὀλιγησίπυρος (“of limited means,” 7.736; cf. 6.288, 6.300; Gigante 1971, 129–30). This rare adjective thus gets a programmatic ring, and more or less exemplifies the paradox of Leonidean epigram: rare and ornate, it expresses poverty and simplicity.

The original debate on Cynic tenets in Leonidean epigram centered round the biographical question of whether Leonidas was seriously philosophically engaged, or whether his was more a broad sympathy for Cynic thought. Nowadays, this latter view is regarded as describing Leonidas' poetry more accurately (Gigante 1971, 45–46; Gutzwiller 1998, 107–8). In view of his apparent admiration for Diogenes (7.67), who is represented as wise in his realization that earthly possessions count for nothing in death (cf. also 7.740), we might be surprised by the tone of Leonidas' somewhat enigmatic epigrams 6.293 and 6.298, on a certain Sochares, twice ridiculed as Cynic philosopher: for giving in to erotic passion, and for dying of starvation respectively. Read together the two epigrams seem to convey a rather damning judgment on *individual* Cynics at least: either they cannot practice their philosophical ideals, or if they do, they take them to absurd extremes.

A much discussed and problematic poem is 7.472a and b,¹ which represents several textual corruptions, and is in general hard to make sense of.

What it does however convey quite forcefully is an extreme pessimism regarding the human condition, in particular its proneness to physical decay. In that sense it touches on themes that are also treated in the somewhat lugubrious epigrams 7.478 and 7.480, on graves that have accidentally been disturbed. As in the epigrams on simple laborers, but even more pointedly perhaps, we find a remarkable contrast between Leonidas' ornate style and the Cynic nihilism expressed by the epigrams. Ancient Cynicism was associated with laconic brevity rather than ornate rhetorical flourishes (cf., e.g., the pseud-epigraphic letters of Bion of Borysthenes). Another paradox is formed by the fact that the artisan, the maker and user of tools, is subject of so many Leonidean epigrams, while Diogenes was notorious for his rejection of the trappings and tools of civilized society.

17.4.2 *Fishermen and Sailors*

A number of Leonidas' *epitymbia* on fishermen and sailors reveal a taste for the bizarre and paradoxical (a fisherman choking on a fish he caught, 7.504; another on a sailor half buried in the belly of a sea monster, half in the earth, 7.506). But others are much less fantastic in their paradox, such as the epigram on the old fisherman Theris who, despite his life amongst the dangers of the sea, dies peacefully of old age in his poor canister (7.295, cf. also 6.4). It seems attractive to read the former three epigrams as an essay in "unexpected deaths of fishermen and sailors," and as such they have found many imitators (cf. Ypsilanti 2006, 67–73). Seen more broadly, these poems also fit the series of epigrams on the dangers of a seafaring life in general (predominantly *epitymbia* 7.264, 7.266, 7.273, 7.283, 7.503, 7.652, 7.654, 7.665), and so inscribe themselves into a specific strand in Greek poetry decrying the foolishness of sea travel for gain (cf. Hes. *Op.* 618–94). They also fit well with Leonidas' own conviction expressed elsewhere that a stationary life, however poor, should be preferred over giving oneself up to the dangers of a roaming existence. Indeed, as Gutzwiller signals, the more peaceful and natural demise experienced by poor laborers such as Theris and Platthis seems to stand in pointed contrast to the miserable, violent, and undignified deaths of these traveling merchants (1998, 102).

17.4.3 *Rustic and Bucolic Epigrams*

Leonidas wrote a remarkable number of epigrams on what might be called "bucolic themes," i.e., rustics, their animals or gardens, and their dedications to typical rural deities such as Pan, Hermes, Priapus, and the nymphs. It has often been claimed that Leonidas was influenced in this choice of subject

matter by the slightly older Peloponnesian epigrammatist Anyte of Tegea (and thus the so-called “Peloponnesian school”; cf. Garulli in this volume); especially 7.198 and 9.99 show echoes of Anyte. As Gutzwiller (1998, 96) and Gigante (1971, 127–28) underline, his rustic epigrams are not necessarily “idyllic” (with the exception of 6.334, 7.657, 9.326, 9.329). Instead, they often treat the hardships and dangers the herdsmen have to contend with on the slopes of their hills and mountains (mostly wild animals preying on the herds or on the herdsmen, e.g., 6.221, 6.262, 6.263), or describe scenes and dedications from the hunt (e.g., 6.13, 6.110, 6.296, 9.337; *P.Oxy.* 662), a theme distinctly alien to Theocritean and later bucolic. Indeed, this focus on fowling and hunters appears to form the counterpart to the Leonidean fishermen’s struggle for subsistence. Likewise, these hunters are not leisurely sportsmen, but countrymen trying to gain some extra food.

One of the most famous epigrams of Leonidas in antiquity in fact focuses on the threefold dedication of a fisherman, a fowler, and a hunter to Pan, asking for fitting success in their respective hunts. This epigram, 6.13, was found on a wall in Pompeii, and is imitated by numerous epigrammatists (see Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 34–35). Apart from the clever parallelism in phrasing, it is not immediately apparent what made this particular poem so successful in antiquity. Similarly popular is 9.337, also on a dedication to Pan by a huntsman (imitated by Erycius 9.824; Satyrus 10.11, translated by Propertius 3.13.43).

17.4.4 Women

Women are well represented in Leonidas’ epigrams, mostly as mothers or as workers. Remarkably, they are hardly ever linked to a husband or father, as is usual in real inscriptional epigrams. Leonidas’ women mostly stand on their own, perhaps reflecting the absence of marital ties and the insignificance of their genealogy, and thus perhaps marking their low social station (e.g. 6.200, 6.202, 6.302, 6.286, 6.288, 6.289). Mothers are depicted dedicating garments in recognition of divine help at the birth of a child (6.200, 6.202), supplicating the gods’ favors for their offspring (6.281). Especially touching is 6.355, a poor woman dedicating to Dionysus what she recognizes is a tacky portrait of her son, and apologizing for its quality, saying she has no money to buy a better one. Some have died in childbirth, as the four daughters of Aristodicus (7.463 and 7.163, a staged dialogue between Prexo, who died in childbirth, and a passer-by). Another poignant epigram is 7.466, the restrained expression of an aged mother’s inconsolable grief at the death of her son Anticles. These last two epigrams are usually praised as rare instances of Leonidas’ successful attempt at pathos; 7.163 found numerous imitators in antiquity; both use much less verbal rarities than Leonidas’ other epigrams.

Leonidas' working women are predominantly represented as respectable if poor weavers and spinsters like old Platthis, dedicating their tools of the trade (cf. 6.288, 6.289). One subtle epigram (6.286) represents the dedication by three girls of an embroidered robe for Athena, in which the exact demarcation of what piece each of them individually embroidered seems intended to bring out the girls' childlike seriousness and pride at their accomplishment.

Of more doubtful social status is old Maronis (7.455), who is mocked in an epitaph representing her as lying in her grave saddened not by the fact that she has left her husband and sons, but that the crater that functions as her grave marker is not filled with wine: an insatiable drunk even in death. The retiring flute girls in 5.206 dedicating their instruments to the Muses constitute one of the rare allusions to the world of the symposium and its demi-monde of sexually available women, so predominant in the epigrams of Asclepiades. Perhaps 6.211, in which a dedication of jewelry and a statuette of Eros to Aphrodite by Callicleia is described, also presupposes that the dedicator is a *hetaera*.

17.4.5 Love and Eroticism

Since the symposium is usually associated with the aristocratic elite, it is perhaps hardly surprising that we do not find more references to it in Leonidas' epigrams. Indeed, another of the key themes of symposiastic epigram, viz. erotic love, is rarely directly treated in his epigrams. The corrupt epigram 5.188 seems to address the speaker's rebuttal of Eros, although interpretation is problematic (cf. Albani 1980, 75–87). The *sphragis* epigram 6.300 refers to the otherwise unknown goddess Lathria, whom some modern scholars have identified as Aphrodite, following the ancient imitators of this particular Leonidean epigram (Gaetulicus 6.190; Longus 6.191). However, Cazzaniga (1967, 63–75) maintains that the epithet refers to Artemis in her quality of curer of diseases in a fragment by Antimachus (fr. 182 Wyss), and should also be understood thus here. If we accept the identification with Aphrodite, the programmatic poem would be staging a thanksgiving to Aphrodite for curing the speaker (Leonidas) of the disease of love; this might in fact explain why there are no poems on love in the collection as we now have it, and might instead allude to a previous, finished collection of love poems now lost (cf. Gutzwiller 1998, 110). It is impossible to say whether such a hypothetical collection would have concentrated on homosexual or heterosexual love, or both.

What we do find quite often, however, is an indirect treatment of erotic themes through ecphrastic or dedicatory epigrams, featuring statues or statuettes of Eros and Aphrodite. Thus the enigmatic appearance of an armed

Aphrodite is treated twice (9.322; *APL*. 171), where the implication is that Aphrodite poses a danger to humans. Another ecphrastic epigram describes in sensual detail all the physical qualities that made Aphrodite winner in Paris' judgment (*APL*. 182). A statuette of Eros made of frankincense is the occasion of remarks on the power of Eros to burn up his victims (*APL*. 206). Finally, we find an ecphrasis of a statue of Eros by Praxiteles, given by him as love gift to Phryne. It is not easy to place this group of epigrams in Leonidas' generally predominant themes of poor workers and a life of hardship, but the group seems to form a well-defined and quite specific epigrammatic approach to the theme of eroticism, coming at it indirectly by an ecphrasis of artifacts of deities.

17.4.6 Poets

One final clearly demarcated group of Leonidean epigrams focuses on poets (7.719 Tellen; 9.24 Homer; *APL*. 306 and 307 Anacreon; 7.19 Alcman; 7.408 Hipponax; 7.715 on Leonidas himself; 7.13 Erinna; 7.35 Pindar; 9.25 Aratus' *Phaenomena*). We may of course wonder what rationale determines this selection, other than personal taste. I have already noted the possible reason for an appreciation of Homer, and perhaps Hipponax and Erinna. It is harder to see what attracted Leonidas to a poet like Anacreon, who (as far as we can now judge, and as in fact Leonidas' own epigrams underline) focused on eroticism and the symposium; or to Alcman, poet of the *parthe-neia*, or indeed Aratus, whose *Phaenomena* were so admired in Callimachean circles (note that in fact Leonidas seems to be confused about the true subject matter of Aratus' poem, cf. Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 396; Bing 1993, 99–109). Perhaps an explanation may be sought along the lines of a perceived analogy between poets and craftsmen, wordsmiths deserving of praise in the virtuoso verbal artistry Leonidas specialized in. Indeed, in his own epitaph 7.715, Leonidas expresses his gratitude for the fact that despite his poverty and hardships the Muses have rewarded him with poetry and fame: that is enough for him. His tributes to fellow poets may represent the other side of the medal: his willingness to contribute to their fame in turn.

NOTE

1. It is even an item of debate whether this poem should be called an epigram or rather an elegy, or perhaps consists of more than one poem, cf. Gow and Page (1965, vol. 2, 379–82); Gigante 1969, 214–16; Cairns (2008, 55–80).

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Callimachus on the Death of a Friend: A Short Study of Callimachean Epigram

Benjamin Acosta-Hughes

Callimachus of Cyrene, the prolific polymath of the early Ptolemaic court, composed poetry of many types, one of them epigram. Of these, 63 survive: the attribution of *Epigr.* 63 Pf. is contested on stylistic grounds.¹ There are also several epigram fragments that are attributed, though with hesitation, to Callimachus. Rudolph Pfeiffer edited the epigrams in his 1953 edition of Callimachus' *Hymns* and *Epigrams*. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page also edited Callimachus' epigrams in their 1965 *Hellenistic Epigrams*. These editors chose to follow a numbering system of their own, which is repeated in D. L. Page's *OCT Epigrammata Graeca* (*EG*). This results in two concurrent numbering systems, and both are generally given: among Callimachean scholars the Pfeiffer numbering is the more prevalent, among scholars working on epigram the Gow–Page numbering is generally preferred.

Callimachus' epigrams are, for many readers, among the favorite poems of the Hellenistic period. Their intelligent play on language, meter, and word placement, and the tantalizing use of an often-enigmatic first-person voice,² make their reading a distinct aesthetic and intellectual pleasure (already noted by Pliny, *Ep.* 4.3.3–4, in his praise of the poetry of Arrius Antoninus). The collection features great variety of theme and tone, a central feature of Callimachus' *polyeideia*, or “knowledge of many kinds.” The extant poems encompass erotic, dedicatory, sepulchral, and literary-critical epigrams (see further Gutzwiller 1998, 183–226), and include poems that play on different

epigram traditions (on this feature see esp. Bing 2009, 85–105). Individual Callimachean epigrams came to be much imitated in later literature, and indeed to have a long *Nachleben* in modern literature as well. In this chapter I consider first some aspects of current scholarship on Callimachus' epigrams, and then pose some suggestions for further study.

18.1 An Epigram

I begin with a well-known epigram, Callimachus *Epigr.* 2 Pf. (=34 GP). This is among the most admired of his epigrams, has been studied from a variety of critical perspectives, and has long been a favorite among the poet's readers:³

Εἰπέ τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τὸν μόνον, ἐς δέ με δάκρυ
 ἤγαγεν· ἐμνήσθη δ' ὅσάκις ἀμφοτέρωι
 ἥλιον ἐν λέσχη κατεδύσαμεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν που,
 ξεῖν' Ἀλικαρνησεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή,
 αἱ δὲ τεαῖ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ἣσιν ὁ πάντων
 ἀρπακτὴς Αἴδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ. 5

Someone told, Heraclitus, of your death, and this brought a tear to me.
 I remembered how often we both set the sun to sleep in our conversation. But
 you somewhere, Halicarnassian friend, are long ago dust. Yet your nightingales
 live on; upon these Hades, who steals all away, will not set his hand.

In his posthumously published study of this poem, the late G. B. Walsh acutely articulated the very “modern” delineation of thought processes in this six-line epigram (Walsh 1990); a conventional epigram type (the *epitaph*) becomes merely the template for construction of an interior conversation. The poet thinks of his friend, the pleasure of the time they shared, the absence of that association, and the friend's memory preserved through his poetry. The framing of the memory is homosocial rather than sympoisiastic; the memory of distant association, while not tempered with explicit erotic associations, can nonetheless be read as one of pleasure and longing. The overall movement of the poem can be phrased as apostrophe, memory of time spent together, separation, poetry, and then final reference to a destructive deity.⁴ The move from external impulse (“someone told me”) to internal sensation mirrors earlier Greek lyric (Sappho fr. 31 V., φαίνεται μοι κῆνος, e.g.), as does some of the poem's language of memory and longing. And as with *synaphea* in the Sapphic stanza, so here the poem's form, in this case the

distich, or elegiac couplet, contributes to the poem's progress: present to past, past to present, present to future. In his 1992 reading of the poem R. Hunter deftly pointed to the possible *Odyssean* parallels of grief quenched only by sunset, reworked here by Callimachus in the association of grief/memory and leisure/sunset. I would suggest another possible Homeric sunset allusion here: the grief of Achilles for Patroclus at the opening of *Iliad* 24, particularly line 9 τῶν μνησκόμενος θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβεν ("thinking on these things he would shed a large tear"), the association of memory and the single tear. The allusion grants a further epicizing touch to the poem's reading: the Homeric features of the poem further shed light on the poet's use of the striking μόρος of the opening line, a term usually reserved for major heroic figures in the *Iliad*. The short poem is thus given epic grandeur, culminating in the image of all-destructive Hades at the end. And its reading turns out to be not a simple, but a complex one, an association of generic epigram types, of two poets (both Callimachus and Heracleitus),⁵ and a lexicon of poetic memory.

Typical of the philologist poet, there is a play on Homeric vocabulary in line 3: ἥλιον ἐν λέσχη κατεδύσαμεν. As N. Hopkinson well observes (1988, 249), λέσχη is a Homeric *hapax legomenon*, occurring at *Odyssey* 18.329 in Melantho's abusive treatment of the beggar Odysseus:

ξείνε τάλαν, σὺ γέ τις φρένας ἐκπεπαταγμένος ἐσσί,
οὐδ' ἐθέλεις εὐδειν χαλκήϊον ἐς δόμον ἐλθὼν
ἢ ἐπου ἐς λέσχην, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε πόλλ' ἀγορεύεις
θαρσαλέως πολλοῖσι μετ' ἀνδράσιν

330

Wretched stranger, you are out of your mind, why aren't you willing to go and sleep at the blacksmith's, or at the λέσχη, and there speak boldly among many men?

The scholia to this passage identify the λέσχη as a windowless public place where impoverished men go to sleep, and by extension the conversation that goes on there. With ἥλιον ... κατεδύσαμεν Callimachus plays further with Homeric vocabulary: "when the sun set" (ἥμος ἥλιος κατέδυ) and "together with the sun setting" (ἅμ' ἡελίῳ καταδύντι), both standard Homeric phrases, become here rather the "putting the sun to sleep" as object of the two poets' agency. The epigram that frames longing for the absent friend/poet does so in terms of their own interests in poetry and poetic memory.

One might begin conceptualizing such a project as a larger self-standing study of Callimachus' epigrams, a study that this chapter can only hint at, by asking the obvious question – why, after several decades of intense scholarly

work on Callimachus, don't we have one already?⁶ The answer is a somewhat complex, and also an unsatisfactory one, which *might* be said to consist of four factors:

1. Unlike other Hellenistic epigrammatists, including the near contemporary poets Asclepiades and Posidippus, Callimachus is not valued primarily as an epigram author. For a variety of reasons his fragmentary four-book elegiac *Actia* and his also fragmentary hexameter *Hecale* tend to garner more attention from scholars, both for the generic novelty of these works and for the importance both came to have in later Greek and Roman literature. Whereas the fragmentary *Actia* has recently gained two large scholarly commentaries (Massimilla 1996, 2010; Harder 2012), Callimachus' epigrams continue to lack a full scholarly commentary, therefore are less often taught and read. One of the main virtues of a new scholarly commentary (Sens 2011 to Asclepiades would be a good example) is that an author becomes a subject for teaching, for discussion, and ultimately for reading and thus a figure of greater familiarity: the commentary does not *per se* make the author, but it certainly does enhance the author.
2. The disapproval that epigram, and particularly homoerotic epigram, came to garner in the later nineteenth-century has also informed the reception of Callimachus' short poems. G. Nisbet's fascinating 2013 study of the roles played in the later nineteenth century public's perception of Greek epigram by Addington Symond's work and the negative reaction that work received from authoritative philological voices such as that of Sir. Richard Jebb is a revealing and important one (Nisbet 2013). The story is itself an illuminating one of modern cultural prejudices, and includes a certain amount of traditional English Francophobia – Greek epigram came to be seen as a literary emblem of a decadent French reception of antiquity. The judgments of nineteenth-century scholars continue even into our own time. A paradoxical feature of Classical Studies is that attention to philology of an earlier period has an often unfortunate tendency to recreate the cultural prejudices of an earlier period. Victorian prejudices on both Syrians and Egyptians are an obvious example. Callimachus *Epigr.* 2 Pf. is a striking instance. The classic Victorian translation of this poem was penned by William Johnson Cory, Greek master at Eton from 1845 to 1872, who was allegedly dismissed on the grounds of his close relationships with some of his male pupils.⁷ The famous English rendition thus acquired an equally famous notoriety. A further point worth adding here is that, unlike Asclepiades, Posidippus or, indeed, Meleager himself, all (or almost all) of Callimachus'

erotic epigrams are homoerotic. At the same time, there is no one consistent object of erotic attention, no “story,” as it were, even to the degree that there is a very small “story” in the case of Myiscus for Meleager, or Juventius for Catullus.

3. Much of extant Callimachus *is* indeed fragmentary: philological work with fragmentary texts is necessarily complex, and interpretation of fragments is often inevitably partly conjectural. The resulting picture, for a reader new to a text, *can* be one of partial inaccessibility and this can lead to understandable frustration. As the same scholars often work on Callimachus’ fragmentary and non-fragmentary poetry, they *can* bring to their reading of Callimachus’ non-fragmentary poetry, in this case the epigrams, something of the hesitancy and circumstantial argumentation that they bring to fragmentary text(s). The result can be off-putting, suggesting that Callimachus’ epigrams are not as accessible as they in fact are.
4. The Roman reading of Callimachus, and our evaluation of that reading, is one that often prefers metapoetics to other discursive topics and focuses more on poetry about poetry rather than poetry about love, wine, poetic persona, cult, et cetera. An obvious example in this category is *Epigr.* 28 Pf. (2 GP):

Ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ
 χαίρω, τίς πολλοὺς ὥδε καὶ ὥδε φέρει·
 μισέω καὶ περιφοίτον ἐρώμενον, οὐδ’ ἀπὸ κρήνης
 πίνω· σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια.
 Λυσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναίχι καλὸς καλός – ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν 5
 τοῦτο σαφῶς, Ἥχῳ φησί τις· “ἄλλος ἔχει.”

I hate the cyclical poem, nor do I enjoy a path that carries many hither and yon. I also despise a roving lover, nor do I drink from any font. I despise all that is common. Lysanias, you are fair, yes, fair. Yet before this is said clearly, some echo says “he is another’s.”

This is one of three or four passages from Callimachus’ entire extant oeuvre that is regularly cited to maintain that Callimachus’ own “poetic program” is the origin of the later Roman *recusatio*, the compositional choice, voiced by, e.g., Vergil in *Eclogue* 6 or Ovid at *Amores* 1.1, to eschew epic poetry (*reges et proelia*) in favor of something else. A vast scholarship has been devoted to further definition of the phrase τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν of the poem’s first line, particularly by scholars of the Roman *recusatio*. However this, the “proto-*recusatio*,” is only one possible reading of the Callimachus poem.

There are others. The poem can, for example, be read for its relationship with its Theognidean model (1.579–82):

Ἐχθαίρω κακὸν ἄνδρα, καλυψαμένη δὲ πάρειμι
 μικρῆς ὄρνιθος κοῦφον ἔχουσα νόον. –
 Ἐχθαίρω δὲ γυναῖκα περίδρομον ἄνδρα τε μάργον,
 ὃς τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν βούλετ' ἄρουραν ἀροῦν.

I hate a bad man, with covered head I pass by, with a small bird's light mind.
 I, though, hate a woman who runs around, and a lascivious man, who wants
 to plough another's furrow.

The Theognidean parallel illuminates issues of symposiastic interchange, ethics of *eros*, and change of voice – all relevant to Callimachus' poem. Even the harsh sexual imagery of lines 581–82 parallel the intent of Callimachus' epigram, which is a reproach to erotic infidelity. On the whole, however, scholars of the Roman *recusatio* do not reference Theognis (nor Anacreon, one of whose few elegiac fragments (fr. 2W.) declares the impropriety of war as topic for the symposium, and could clearly be read as a proto-*recusatio*). Similarly one might highlight our Callimachean poem for its Pindaric influence: select water and longer paths are both Pindaric poetic metaphors (Steiner 1986; Asper 1997), and here, as in other metapoetic moments (the conclusion of the *Hymn* to Apollo is a famous one), Callimachus is clearly echoing Pindar. But again, scholarship of the Roman *recusatio* rarely refers to Pindar. This same Callimachean epigram is also of interest for its Platonic overtones: indeed the περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον suggests a *double-entendre* on sexual and academic promiscuity (φοιτάω becomes the term used, as e.g. *frequentare*, to “seek out” or “frequent” a teacher).⁸ All of these “readings” may come into play. Callimachus' poetry is not just about Callimachean poetics, certainly not just about Roman poetry's reading of Callimachean poetics. That reading is, of course, of great importance for Roman poetry. It is not, however, the same thing as Callimachus, the third-century-BCE Alexandrian court poet, whose own art is a complex and multivalent dialogue with earlier Greek poetic and prose forms.

18.2 Callimachus' Epigrams

Before turning to a few “readings” of other individual epigrams, a couple of observations about the extant epigrams as a group (“collection” here could be slightly misleading). The two orderings of Callimachean epigrams are

both largely conjectural. In his 1953 edition of Callimachus' epigrams, Rudolph Pfeiffer chose to keep the order first established by Nicodemus Frischlin in 1577, and enhanced by later scholars as more epigrams became known from the *Palatine Anthology* (Pfeiffer 1949–53, vol. 2, xciii–xciv). A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, in their edition of Callimachus in *Hellenistic Epigrams*, rejected this earlier ordering as not useful, and recreated one that was based on standard selections of other epigram authors drawn from the individual books of the *Greek Anthology* (erotic epigrams, dedicatory epigrams etc.; Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 153–54). Neither ordering necessarily parallels an Alexandrian edition of Callimachus' epigrams, but both *can* influence how the modern reader engages with these poems: as Alessandro Barchiesi (2000) so acutely observes of *ancient* poetry books, the opening poem of any collection comes to inform not only the reception of that poem, but also that collection. In Pfeiffer's ordering, one of the two epigrams preserved by Diogenes Laertius (as being the oldest witness) puts a fairly long epigram on Pittacus of Mytilene at the opening, the one on the death of Heraclitus (cited above) follows. The modern reader, on first encountering and following *this* ordering, will engage with Callimachus' epigrams first as *philosophic* texts (a pre-Socratic philosopher, thoughts on the nature of death), and will necessarily see parallels in the opening of the *Aetia* and especially the *Iambi*.⁹ In the ordering of Gow and Page, the erotic epigrams come first, and the reader will first encounter the erotic Callimachus of Meleager's garland, and a poem (1 GP = 31 Pf.) that Horace thrice re-fashions, once in the *Epistles* and possibly twice in the *Odes*.¹⁰ The difference is important, as are the reader's own intertexts: one ordering echoes the pre-Socratics, one looks forward to Rome.

The *Suda* life of Callimachus does not list *Epigrams* among his works, but the *Epigrams* of Callimachus are attested as a collection, and Athenaeus (15.669B) knows τὰ καλλιμάχου ἐπιγράμματα, importantly, as a school-text. Whether Callimachus himself made an edition of his own epigrams is unknown. While some recent scholarship on Hellenistic epigram makes a strong case for an author-edited edition (see esp. Gutzwiller 1998, 183–90), the evidence is partly circumstantial. Papyrus fragments, which have hugely contributed to our knowledge of other Callimachus poems, have added nothing in the way of evidence on the epigrams. There is no way of knowing whether we have all (unlikely), or even a major part of Callimachus' epigrams. Nor can we judge with any certainty how representative the 63 epigrams preserved may be of the collection entitled τὰ καλλιμάχου ἐπιγράμματα. One salutary lesson that the new Posidippus epigrams (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309) taught us was how many epigrams, and how many types of epigram, might not have become a part of later anthologies (in the case of the Posidippus

epigrams published in 2001, only two (15 and 65 AB) from over one hundred were previously known).

Where one *might* begin a new consideration of Callimachus' epigrams is their subject matter. Several epigrams focus, perhaps surprisingly, on tragedy and tragic performance: of these, four (7, 8, 48, 59 Pf. = 57, 58, 26, 59 GP) focus on tragedy the art form, rather than allusion to earlier tragedy. Callimachus' poetry is replete with allusions to extant tragedians, of which the most interesting, and most understudied source is Aeschylus, especially in the *Hymns*. Recent works by Christophe Cusset (2011) and Susan A. Stephens (2015) begin a reassessment of this artistic engagement, but a detailed study of Callimachus' use of Aeschylus is lacking. However, in the case of these four epigrams, there is something very different at play. Each of these poems focuses on a different aspect of tragedy as art form: tragic masks (48 Pf. = 26 GP), tragic competition (7 Pf. = 57 GP), tragic speech (8 Pf. = 58 GP), and tragic composition (59 Pf. = 59 GP). All of these are remarkable pieces in their own right (see Acosta-Hughes 2012); the last of these I would like to highlight here:

Εὐδαίμων ὅτι τᾶλλα μανεῖς ὠρχαῖος Ὀρέστας,
 Λεύκαρε, τὴν λῖαν οὐκ ἐμάνη μανίαν
 οὐδ' ἔλαβ' ἐξέτασιν τῷ Φωκέος ἄτις ἐλέγχει
 τὸν φίλον· ἀλλ' αἱ χῆν δρᾶμ' ἐδίδαξε μόνον,
 ἧ τάχα κα τὸν ἐταῖρον ἀπώλεσε· τοῦτο ποιήσας 5
 κήγῳ τῷς πολλῶς οὐκέτ' ἔχω Πυλάδας.

Happy, though mad in other respects, was Orestes of old, Leucarus, because he was not mad to such an extent, nor demanded of the Phocian the test that proves a friend. But if he had directed one play, he would swiftly have lost his companion. I did this, and many are the Pylades I no longer have.

The language of this epigram, while lightly playful, is at the same time intentionally correct: ἀλλ' αἱ χῆν δρᾶμ' ἐδίδαξε μόνον, “had he produced one play,” is the technical language of instructing a tragic chorus; lines 5–6: τοῦτο ποιήσας | κήγῳ, “and I did this/composed this,” is here a *double-entendre* that includes poetic composition. The *Suda* life of Callimachus suggests that the Alexandrian poet composed “satyr-plays, tragedies, and comedies” (σατυρικὰ δράματα, τραγωδῖαι, κωμωδῖαι; *Suda* s.v. Καλλίμαχος, 12). Callimachean scholarship has paid little attention to this notation (no fragment that can be attributed to any of these dramatic genres survives, although a few of the titles in the *Suda* life, e.g., *Semele* and the *Arrival of Io*, are certainly suggestive), but the poet's own statement that he directed one should

make us hesitate to dismiss the *Suda* claim too quickly – we give credit, after all, to first-person poetic statements in Callimachus that are considerably less clear than this one. Callimachus’ use of Euripides, Aristophanes, and perhaps especially Aeschylus is another reason to reconsider Callimachus as a tragic author.

Several epigrams attest Callimachus’ familiarity with Plato and specific Platonic texts. The most obvious of these is the epigram on the death of Cleombrotus (23 Pf. = 53 GP):

Εἶπας “Ἥλιε χαῖρε” Κλεόμβροτος ὠμβρακιώτης
 ἤλατ’ ἄφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τείχεος εἰς Αἴδην,
 ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἰδὼν θανάτου κακόν, ἀλλὰ Πλάτωνος
 ἐν τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμι’ ἀναλεξάμενος.

On saying, “Farewell Sun,” Cleombrotus the Ambraciote leapt from a high wall into Hades, not that he had seen an evil that merited death, but because he had read a single writing of Plato’s – “On the Soul.”

Cleombrotus, one of the two figures missing (the other is Aristippus) at Socrates’ death in the *Phaedo*, commits suicide, thus misreading the *Phaedo*, which expressly forbids suicide as an option; furthermore, Plato highlights the dangers of poetic *psychagogia* in the *Republic* and Callimachus highlights the dangers of reading Plato’s texts. Several of Callimachus’ erotic epigrams reflect the importance of Plato’s erotic dialogues, texts that have a broad and varied influence on Alexandrian poetry. One of these (41 Pf. = 4 GP), was rendered into Latin by Q. Lutatius Catulus (on whom see Morelli in this volume), a valuable early witness to the generations-long presence of the Alexandrian poet in Roman literature.

“Ἡμισὺ μὲν ψυχῆς ἔτι τὸ πνέον, ἥμισυ δ’ οὐκ οἶδ’
 εἶτ’ Ἔρος εἶτ’ Αἴδης ἥρπασε, πλὴν ἀφανές.
 ἢ ῥά τιν’ ἐς παίδων πάλιν ὤχετο; καὶ μὲν ἀπεῖπον
 πολλάκι· “τὴν δρῆστιν μὴ ὑποδέχεσθε νέοι.”
 †οὐκισυνιφῆσον· ἐκέισε γὰρ ἡ λιθόλευστος
 κείνη καὶ δύσερως οἶδ’ ὅτι που στρέφεται.

5

Half of my soul is still breathing, about the other half, I don’t know if Love or if Hades has snatched it away, only that it is gone. Has it gone again to one of the boys? And though I often forbade them: “don’t take in a runaway, boys.” ... For there, deserving to be stoned and miserable in love, I suppose, it somehow tarries.

The play on Plato's idea of the divided soul (*Phaedrus* 243–44) is here figured in real life: that half of the soul that feels compelled to rush to the beloved object has run off, apparently to the local wrestling school (the poems' last word, στρέφεται, is also a wrestling term). *Eros* and *Hades* of line 2 appear in chiasmic order in λιθόλευστος (death by stoning) and δύσερως of the last two lines: the last term in Hellenistic poetry is frequently an allusion to Plato's erotic dialogues. As is often true of Callimachean recall of Plato, the relationship is not so much one of deep philosophical engagement as one of easy literary familiarity with Platonic texts.

Catulus' rendition of this poem (*FLP Q.* Lutatius Catulus 1) shows several marked differences from the Callimachean original.

Aufugit mi animus; credo, ut solet, ad Theotimum
 devenit. Sic est, perfugium illud habet.
 Quid, si non interdixem, ne illunc fugitivum
 mitteret ad se intro, sed magis eiceret?
 Ibumus quaesitum. Verum, ne ipsi teneamur 5
 formido. Quid ago? Da, Venus, consilium.

My soul has fled from me; I believe it has gone, as usual, to Theotimus. So it is; it has that refuge. What if I hadn't forbidden it to admit the fugitive, but rather to cast him out? We shall go find him. But I am afraid that we ourselves might be caught. What am I to do? Venus, advise me.

Absent from Catulus' rendition are the Platonic associations; this is generally true of adaptation of Callimachus' epigrams into Latin (Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2012). The "parts" of the soul have simply become one *animus*: the unspecified wrestling school has become a specific place with a Greek overseer, so marking the Greek origin of the poem's model (rather like the Greek names of Roman comedy). There is more emphasis on the imagery of runaway slaves, which in Callimachus is a playful *leitmotiv*. The simple final hemieps replaces the Callimachean *double-entendre*, which suggests a wrestling school of the type of Plato's *Lysis* (though *teneamur* keeps something of the original). One would like to find a possible solution for the textual problem of line 5 in the Callimachus epigram: Page (*EG* Callimachus 4) gives Θεύτιμον δίφησον in large part following the version of Catulus, but there is reason to hesitate here – Catulus' version really is an adaptation, with the runaway slave imagery much enhanced. A reference to the young men's disobedience would seem another likely possibility.

Similarly imbued with philosophical coloring is the Archinus epigram (42 Pf. = 8 GP), one that also had a later Roman afterlife. The poem was painted

on an interior wall of the so-called *Auditorium of Maecenas*, more likely a *nymphaeum*, on the Esquiline Hill.¹¹ The discovery of this “graffito” added a new detail to our understanding of the Augustan poets’ engagement with Callimachus, who now becomes an author who is not only accessible in a Greek papyrus text, but also one who could be viewed in a Roman setting, in a different time and place.¹² This is an illuminating example of a literary epigram that comes to be rendered almost as an inscribed epigram again (the subject of Bettenworth’s 2007 study).

Εἰ μὲν ἐκὼν, Ἀρχῖν', ἐπεκώμασα, μυρία μέμφου,
 εἰ δ' ἀέκων ἦκω, τὴν προπέτειαν ἔα.
 Ἄκρητος καὶ Ἔρως μ' ἠνάγκασαν, ὣν ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν
 εἶλκεν, ὁ δ' οὐκ εἶα τὴν προπέτειαν ἔαν.
 ἔλθων δ' οὐκ ἐβόησα, τίς ἦ τίνος, ἀλλ' ἐφίλησα 5
 τὴν φλὴν· εἰ τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἀδίκημ', ἀδικέω.

If, Archinus, I sang freely at your door, blame me a thousand times, but if I came against my will, forgive my rash act. Strong wine and love compelled me: the one dragged me there and the other did not let go my rash act. But when I came, I did not shout who I was, or whose son, but kissed your doorpost. If this is wrong, I'm guilty.

Here the poem's lines encompass a surprising range of feeling, movement, and corporeal sensation. Particularly striking is the gradual loss of self in the yielding of self-control, poignantly and ironically captured in the fifth line in the speaker's non-identification of himself, and the song of line 1 now becomes the silent kiss of line 6, a kiss not to the beloved, but to the doorpost. The physical act of kissing the doorpost comes as a poignant surprise, at the end of lines of equivocation and duality. The enjambment in the Greek text is especially effective because the physical moment is extended and the memory of the physical is left the poem's most vivid remembered moment. The epigram plays, as do several of Callimachus' epigrams, with word opposites (ἐκὼν/ἄκων), similarities of sound (Ἀρχῖνος/Ἄκρητος, ἄκων/ἦκω, and, so surprisingly, ἐφίλησα/φλὴν), and definition of word and action. The second hemieps of each pentameter highlights the speaker's role as defendant, each time with a different plea: “forgive my rash act,” “let go my rash act,” “I do wrong.” Προπέτεια as the counterpart of σωφροσύνη is found more often in rhetoric (esp. Demosthenes) and Aristotle (e.g., *Eth. Nic.* 1150^b 19), but a passage from Plato's *Laws* (792c8–e1) defines the one leading the “right life” as one who is not “given entirely to pleasure” (792d5–6 μήτ' οὖν αὐτὸν προπετὴ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς γιγνόμενον ὅλως). It is indeed possible to

imagine the speaker of *Epigr.* 42 Pf. as a self-ironizing counter-example to Plato's definition of the "right life," the result of *akrasia* and excessive passion. The comiastic *erastes* becomes the victim of his state: the final kiss to the boy's threshold reduces the drunken singer to a silent gesture.

18.3 A Poem of Catullus

In the final section of this study, I return first to Callimachus *Epigr.* 2 Pf. (34 GP), to consider it from a very different perspective, its Catullan reception. Catullus' poem to his friend Licinius Calvus, poem 50, allows for a very interesting comparative reading.

Hesterno, Licini, die otiosi
 multum lusimus in meis tabellis,
 ut convenerat esse delicatos:
 scribens versiculos uterque nostrum
 ludebat numero modo hoc modo illoc, 5
 reddens mutua per iocum atque vinum.
 Atque illinc abii tuo lepore
 incensus, Licini, facetiisque,
 ut nec me miserum cibus iuaret
 nec somnus tegeter quiete ocellos, 10
 sed toto indomitus furore lecto
 versarer, cupiens videre lucem,
 ut tecum loquerer simulque ut essem.
 At defessa labore membra postquam
 semimortua lectulo iacebant, 15
 hoc, iucunde, tibi poema feci,
 ex quo perspiceres meum dolorem.
 Nunc audax cave sis, precesque nostras,
 oramus, cave despuas, ocelle,
 ne poenas Nemesis reposcat a te. 20
 Est vemens dea: laedere hanc caveto.¹³

Yesterday, Licinius, at leisure we played much in my writing tablets, as we had agreed to be lovely; each of us writing little verses played now with this meter now with that one, giving mutual pleasure with laughter and wine. From there I went away, on fire from your charm, Licinius, and your wit, so that neither was food any help to wretched me, nor did sleep touch my eyes with rest, but overcome with passion I kept tossing about all over the couch, wanting to see the light, that I might speak with you and be together. But after my limbs, half-dead with fatigue, lay exhausted on my little bed, I made this poem for

you, from which you might appreciate my suffering. Now beware that you don't sniff at my entreaties, or spite them, my love, for fear Nemesis demand payment from you. She's a powerful goddess – take care not to offend her.

I would like to touch first on a couple of similarities of the two poems. The first is the Callimachean phrase *ὁσσάκις ἀμφοτέρωι | ἥλιον ἐν λέσχη κατεδύσαμεν* (lines 2–3). Each element appears reconfigured in Catullus' poem: *ἐν ἐν λέσχη ~ otiosi; ὁσσάκις ~ multum; ἥλιον ... κατεδύσαμεν ~ hesterno ... die*. Each poem characterizes itself as a memory. In each case the memory leads to an emotive response (one much more passionate and effusive in the case of Catullus). In each case the result of remembered pleasure is the composition of a poem (whether or not the reference of Catull. 50.16 is this poem or poem 51). There are a few smaller similarities: line 17 *ex quo perspiceres meum dolorem*, sorrow to be perceived from the composition, and *ἐς δέ με δάκρυ* (Callim. *Epigr.* 2.1). The last vivid image of the epigram, all-consuming Hades, is recalled in Catullus' poem, but may be imitated also at 3.13–14: *malae tenebrae | Orci, quae omnia bella devoratis*, a differently figured personification of death (and an evocation of death that is also, here through enjambment, metrically emphatic). That one element of an intertext may occur elsewhere than in its more prominent imitation in a later poem is a central conclusion of J. Wills' brilliant 1998 study (Wills 1998, 288 and 296); the suggestion here is that it may occur elsewhere in the same collection of short poems.

Then there are the differences. In the Callimachus epigram the association is one both temporally and spatially distant; Catullus presents the reverse, the friend is both close to the poet's recall in time (*hesterno die*) and space (*atque illinc abii ... ut tecum loquerer simulque ut essem*). Catullus 50 is replete with erotic imagery (Fitzgerald 1992, 428–30): this is largely absent in the Callimachus epigram, though the poem came to have a long reception as an erotically-tinged composition.¹⁴ The language of poem 50 is also that of a Roman elite: *convenerat, reddens mutua* evoke Roman social interchange; even *otiosi* can be understood as reflective of a specifically Roman definition (and thus the surprise effect of line 2, with its whiff of Callimachean composition (*Aetia* 1.21–22, the poet as school-boy). *Lepor, delicatus, incundus* are terms that can be understood as poetic and at the same time reflective of Roman elite social comportment of the late republic (Krostenko 2007). In this light, e.g., lines 7–8 *tuo lepore | incensus* might be something of a *double-entendre*, as *lepor/lepidus* can be understood as a rendition of *leptotes*, a poetic term often associated particularly with Callimachus (see Knox 2007, 157). And while Callimachus' poem is a six-line epigram, Catullus 50 is a poem of 22 lines in phalaecean hendecasyllables, a predominant meter of the polymetrics (and also one of the meters of Sappho Book 5).

It is worth noting in this context that Callimachus prefigures the Roman poets in his portrayal of the physicality of poetic composition, poetry as *labor*, though with a jocular touch, as in the poet as school-boy at *Aetia* 1.21–22 (καὶ γὰρ ὅτ]ε πρ[ώ]τιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα γούνασι]ν, “when I first put my tablet on my knees”),¹⁵ or Aratus’ fine verses, proof of his poetic sleeplessness at *Epigr.* 56.3–4 GP (27 Pf.): χαίρετε λεπταί | ῥήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης (“farewell fine verses, proof of the sleeplessness of Aratus”). The references to writing, and also to reading, in his poetry lay the groundwork for what will evolve as the idea of poet *qua* métier among his Roman successors.

NOTES

1. See Pfeiffer, ad loc., and Gow and Page (1965, vol. 2, 214–15). Pfeiffer prefers to ascribe the poem to Rufinus (it is ascribed to Callimachus in the *Palatine Anthology*, but apparently to Rufinus in a sequence of epigrams in the *Planudea*). The grounds for ascription either way are largely subjective: see Page (1978, 103–5) on Rufinus (XXXVIII). Were the poem in fact Callimachus’, it would be the only erotic poem extant that primarily features heterosexual love, which, given the small number of his extant epigrams, is hardly a sound reason for its exclusion.
2. Acutely characterized by G. B. D’Alessio in the introduction to his (2007 [1996]) edition of Callimachus as the “sfuggente poeta” (p. 6).
3. Among recent treatments, see especially Hunter (1992); see also Meyer (2005, 221–22); Walsh (1990); Gutzwiller (1998, 206–8); MacQueen (1982).
4. The final image ὁ πάντων | ἄρπακτῆς Αἰδῆς seems to pre-figure Catullus’ 3.13–14: *malae tenebrae* | *Orci, quae omnia bella devoratis* (“evil shades of Orcus, who devour everything pretty”). Both are rare, striking poetic images of death.
5. On the identity of the poet Heracleitus (Strabo 14.2.16 and Diog. Laert. 9.17), see esp. Hunter (1992).
6. Other than the Gow and Page (1965) entry, which still has much of great value, the only recent work of any length is L. Coco’s 1988 study, which has much useful bibliography, but is not a detailed literary commentary. The reader is better served by the Callimachus chapter in Gutzwiller (1998), and especially by the excellent notes in G. B. D’Alessio’s 2010 edition of all of Callimachus’ poetry.
7. One of Cory’s pupils, Reginald Brett, 2nd Viscount Esher (1852–1930), authored a 1923 book devoted to Cory entitled *Ionicus*, a reference to Cory’s own two-volume poetry collection *Ionica*.
8. Cf. Pl. *Prt.* 326c6 πρῳαίτατα εἰς διδασκάλων τῆς ἡλικίας ἀρξάμενοι φοιτᾶν (“setting off for one of the teachers of the young very early in the morning”); *Euthyd.* 295d5–7 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖν διενενοήμην καὶ παρὰ τοῦτον φοιτᾶν, ᾤηθην δεῖν ὑπέκτειν, μὴ με σκαιὸν ἡγησάμενος φοιτητὴν μὴ προσδέχοιτο (“since I resolved to go to him for lessons, I thought it best to yield, lest believing me to be foolish he not accept me as a student”).

9. On the presence of earlier philosophic, and particularly Platonic references in the opening of these collections see Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012, 31–47, 57–68).
10. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.105–10; I would also argue for *Carm.* 1.37.17–21 and 4.1.37–40.
11. The original publication, Vespignani and Viconti (1874), makes for fascinating reading. See further Murray (1985, 43–44); Livingston and Nisbet (2010, 52, 74–77).
12. The fragments of the painted epigram were published by Kaibel in 1878 (Kaibel 1111); Kaibel in his 1896 study of the inscription noted the Stoic usage of the term *προπέτεια*, which is attributed to Chrysippus in Diog. Laert. 7.48 (=2.131 SVF). Chrysippus (279–206 BCE) is later than Callimachus, but a Roman of the Augustan Era could bring associations to his reading of the poem different than those intended by the original author.
13. Text of Catullus throughout is the 1958 OCT edited by R. A. B. Mynors.
14. On William Johnson Cory's rendition of the poem, see now Nisbet (2013, 157, 160, 287).
15. On this image see Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012, 243–44).

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

Asclepiades of Samos

Alexander Sens

19.1 Life and Work

The work of Asclepiades of Samos is represented by a series of poems in the *Greek Anthology*, including 33 ascribed to him alone and another 14 attributed either to him or to other poets; a small handful of fragments survive by other means.¹ Asclepiades' importance in the early Hellenistic period is reflected in a passage of Theocritus' programmatic seventh idyll, where the first-person narrator, Simichidas, meets a "goatherd," Lycidas, while traveling to a harvest festival on Cos; after inviting his new companion to exchange songs, Simichidas observes that although he is universally praised as the best of singers, he cannot yet compete with Sicelidas of Samos or Philitas. The latter is Philitas of Cos, the scholar-poet alleged to have been a tutor of Ptolemy II and the author of a poem, *Demeter*, which seems to have been a model for the idyll (Spanoudakis 2002). Sicelidas is identified by the scholia as a nickname for Asclepiades. The idyll cannot be dated with certainty, but probably belongs in the early decades of the reign of Ptolemy II. Simichidas' attitude suggests that Asclepiades should be understood as an accomplished poet of a slightly earlier generation, but beyond this only speculation is possible: his pairing with Philitas of Cos may reflect their shared origins in the eastern Aegean, and, given the likely importance of Philitas' poetry for the idyll, the juxtaposition of the two poets in Simichidas' disclaimer may signal that the idyll also drew on Asclepiades' poetry. The significance of the nickname "Sicelidas," too, is uncertain, but it could possibly allude to time spent by the poet on Sicily, conceivably during the

period (365–22) in which Samians, expelled from their native island by the Athenians, sought refuge throughout the Mediterranean, including in Sicily.

The evidence of Theocritus' idyll, then, suggests that Asclepiades was alive and famous in the first several decades of the third century BCE, and this conclusion is consonant with the other external evidence for the poet's life and work. An inscription from Delphi (*FD* III:3 192; 276/5 or 273/2 BCE) juxtaposes the names Asclepiades and Posidippus, and since the work of the epigrammatist Posidippus of Pella suggests a close literary connection between him and Asclepiades, it may be that these two individuals are the poets. Beyond this, an inscription from Histiaea (*Syll.*³ 492) from the mid-260s grants the privilege of proxeny to, among others, a certain Asclepiades of Samos, son of Herodotus. The father and son mentioned in this inscription may be the same as the Herodotus and Asclepiades whose names appear on a series of Samian coins minted around 300 BCE; the connection between these two men is implied by the fact that the same obverse die was used for those coins in which the name Herodotus appears (on the reverse) as for those in which the name Asclepiad(es) appears in the same position and that the same artist seems to have cut the reverse for both series (Barron 1966, 124–40).

Within the extant corpus itself, the juxtaposition of a Macedonian and an Egyptian name in one epigram (26 = *AP* 5.185) implies an imagined setting in Hellenistic Egypt, but offers little certain evidence for the poet's biography. That the poet had some connection to Alexandria is nonetheless a reasonable speculation. In the large majority of the many cases in which Asclepiades' poetry shares points of contact with the work of other Hellenistic poets, it seems more likely to have been the model than the borrower (see further Sens 2011, li–lxv), but the assessment of these connections, and of much else having to do with the poet, is complicated by the fact that almost a third of the poems associated with Asclepiades in the *Greek Anthology* are attributed alternatively either to him or to another poet. Rarely is it possible to identify the authorship of these poems with confidence; attempts to do so largely rest on subjective and shaky grounds. As a consequence, it is often difficult to assess the poet's connection to the Macedonian royal house. A poem alternatively ascribed to Asclepiades and Posidippus (39 = *APL* 68) praises a Berenice who is probably the wife of Ptolemy I Soter. Epigram 44 (*AP* 9.752), an ecphrastic poem on a signet ring worn by a certain Cleopatra, is more probably by Asclepiades than by the first-century-BCE epigrammatist Antipater of Thessalonica, to whom it is alternatively assigned in the *Anthology*, and if this is the case, the queen it honors will have been the sister of Alexander the Great and the epigram composed before her assassination in 309/8 BCE (Gutzwiller 1995; Sens 2011, 301–2).

Beyond the epigrams attributed in one way or another to Asclepiades in the manuscripts of the *Anthology*, little of Asclepiades' poetry survives and nothing can be said with any confidence about his work in other genres; indeed the few exiguous fragments preserved in the indirect tradition may derive from epigrams.² His association with the Aeolic meter called the "asclepiad" by later writers but already used by archaic lyric poets need not mean that he composed lyric poetry; no verses in this meter, at any rate, are clearly ascribable to the poet. No fragment can be securely assigned to the hymns that Tzetzes (scholia to Lycophron, p. 3.27 Scheer) claims Asclepiades wrote (*49 is tentatively assigned to a hymn by Lloyd-Jones and Parsons in *Suppl. Hell.* 84 but to an epigram by Reitzenstein 1893, 95). A choliambic verse about the tomb of Hecuba (*50) could come from a narrative poem or an epigram. The vast majority of poems in the extant corpus of epigrams are in elegiac couplets, though 33 consists of alternating catalectic iambic tetrameters and trimeters and *47, a poem unlikely to be by Asclepiades, combines dactylic hexameter long lines with short lines in iambic trimeter.

A basic problem for assessing the scope of Asclepiades' poetic production is that the vast majority of his surviving work derives, via the *Greek Anthology*, from Meleager's *Garland*, and thus reflects that editor's own thematic and esthetic predilections; as the Milan Posidippus papyrus makes abundantly clear, the Meleagrian poems that survive in the manuscripts of the *Anthology* can give a misleading impression of the sum of an author's output. At least some individual epigrammatists must have produced more than a single collection of epigrams, and attempting to reconstruct the book from which they derive is thus inherently problematic. In the case of Asclepiades there is some ground for wondering whether Meleager was drawing on a multi-author collection that included his work. In six of the fourteen poems ascribed to Asclepiades or another poet, the alternative author is Posidippus, while in another it is Hedylus, and since these three writers are closely associated with one another in the prefatory poem of Meleager's *Garland*, Reitzenstein (1893, 100–2) suggested that his selection of poems for each of them derived from a collection containing the work of all three in which the authorship of individual epigrams was not clearly delineated, and he suggested that this edition might be the mysterious *Soros* mentioned in connection with Posidippus in a Homeric scholion (on *Il.* 11.101; see Maltomini in this volume). Since Hedylus seems likely to have been writing somewhat later, Cameron's suggestion that Meleager had at his disposal a collection organized by Hedylus in which that poet juxtaposed his own work to that of his predecessors Posidippus and Asclepiades is plausible (Cameron 1995, 369–76). Ultimately, however, it is impossible to ascertain what source(s) Meleager used for his selection of poems by Asclepiades or to

reconstruct with any confidence the scope and organization of any single book organized by the poet himself (Sens 2011, xc–xcv), though thematic and verbal connections among a number of the poems preserved in the *Anthology* make it reasonable to suppose that they might have been designed to coexist within a single epigram book; if that was so, these poems will have resonated in interesting ways against one another. Whatever the case, however, any assessment of Asclepiades’ work and its place in the tradition of literary epigram must begin by acknowledging that what survives represents only a partial, and perhaps a misleading, picture of his work.

19.2 The Asclepiadean Corpus and Its Innovations

Some of the epigrammatists whose work has survived in the *Anthology* surely composed on commission epitaphs and dedicatory epigrams intended for inscription, and Asclepiades himself may have done so, but none of the extant poems seems securely to have been composed for inscription to mark a real-life burial or dedication. A number of poems draw on the conventions of inscriptional epitaphs or present themselves as recording burials. These include an obviously fictive epigram purporting to mark the tomb of Ajax (29 = *AP* 7.145) and another spoken in the voice of Lyde (28 = *AP* 9.63), the eponymous honorand of a poem by Antimachus of Colophon. Apart from these obviously “literary” epitaphs, 33 (*AP* 13.23), composed not in elegiac couplets but in alternating catalectic iambic tetrameters and trimeters, opens, like numerous real-life epitaphs, by addressing a passer-by, and seems initially to be recording the life and death of a man named Botrys, whose “troubles” the passer-by is invited to learn. As the poem progresses, however, it emerges that Botrys’ troubles consist in having been forced, late in life, to bury his son, who is never named. That the whole poem may be so easily read as a creative reworking of funerary topoi is, if not absolute proof that it never graced a real grave marker, at least a powerful reason to doubt that it did. Similarly, 31 (*AP* 7.500) consists of a cenotaph in which the names of the deceased and his father resonate ironically in context, and although some scholars have thought it a real epitaph, the studied structure of the poem plays on the problem of voice in poems where the deceased is imagined as simultaneously present and absent. The same may be said about those poems that purport to record dedications. These include 6 (*AP* 5.203), in which the spurs and whip said to have been dedicated by a woman called Lysidice form part of an amusing double entendre playing on the metaphorical treatment of sex as horse riding, and another, obviously playing on poems celebrating the real conquests of grown-up victors in athletic competitions,

in which the dedicated object is a comic mask that claims to be dedicated in honor of a boy's victory in a contest of handwriting (27 = *AP* 6.308).

A particularly notable feature of Asclepiades' poetry is the way that it blurs the conventional thematic and formal boundaries between inscribed epigram and other genres. Asclepiades is often described as the inventor of erotic and sympotic epigrams, and even though this claim cannot be shown to be literally true, he surely played an important role in the development of these forms. A number of his poems depart from the traditional content of epitaphs and dedications and make *eros* a central theme. Epigram 1 (*AP* 5.169), consisting of a priamel on the topic of what is sweetest for humans, seems (directly or indirectly) to be based on an inscriptional model, a famous epigram inscribed at Delos, though the theme is also richly attested elsewhere (cf. Thgn. 255–56; Sappho 16.1–4; Soph. fr. 356). Whereas in the inscription an enumeration of pleasurable activities provides a foil for the speaker's abstract preference for "what one loves," in Asclepiades, the sweetest of all activities is identified concretely as love-making that brings mutual satisfaction. Many other poems have no obvious inscriptional model: in some of these, the speaker represents himself as standing outside a would-be lover's door; in other poems he (or in one case, she) complains about the painful effects of love, comments on its symptoms, or attempts to seduce the object of his attentions. Several poems have the symposium as their imagined setting, and in two the speaker gives a servant orders for preparing a dinner party.

Such poems clearly reflect the influence of other poetic forms, including lyric, comedy, and mime, but the relationship of Asclepiades' work to elegy is of particular interest because of the obvious formal similarity (via their shared elegiac meter and, at least in the case of some of the individual poems in the Theognidean corpus, their length) between elegy and epigram, a similarity that must surely have facilitated the introduction of subject matter traditionally associated with elegy into epigram (cf., e.g., Gutzwiller 1998, 5, 122–50). A number of Asclepiades' poems on erotic and sympotic themes also play on the conventions of epitaphs and dedications, and thus subtly evoke the inscriptional origins of the form even as they depart from it (cf. Magini 2000). Several poems, for instance, self-referentially evoke the process of making or reading an inscription, as in 4 (*AP* 5.158), where information about the speaker's relationship to an attractive woman is conveyed by words inscribed on her garment, and in 25.12 (*AP* 5.181.12), where the verb that means "inscribe" is used of the marks of love-making impressed on a bed. In others, the amatory content clearly resonates against the traditional sepulchral function of the genre. Thus, in 5.1 (*AP* 5.210.1), the idea that an attractive woman has "snatched" (συνήρπασεν) the narrator evokes the common use of ἀρπάζω ("snatch") and its cognates in the context of sudden

death. In 15 (*AP* 12.46), for instance, the speaker opens by asserting that, though he is only 22 years old, lovesickness has made him tired of living, and he goes on to imagine that the Eroles (“Loves”) will convert his bones into toys in the aftermath of his death. In this poem, the specification of the speaker’s age plays on real funerary epitaphs that list the deceased’s age at the time of his or her death. His claim to be ready to die also resonates ironically against the pathos of the many inscribed epigrams that record premature death, and the content of the poem acquires meaning from its formal context: despite what the speaker may feel, he will not die from lovesickness, and his willingness to do so is fundamentally misguided.

Epigram 2 (*AP* 5.85) provides an excellent example of the way in which amatory content can resonate against the thematic and formal conventions of epigram. In this poem, the speaker attempts to seduce a young virgin by pointing out that no pleasure will be available to her after death:

φείδη παρθενίης. καὶ τί πλέον; οὐ γὰρ ἐς Ἅιδην
 ἔλθοῦς' εὐρήσεις τὸν φιλέοντα, κόρη.
 ἐν ζωοῖσι τὰ τερπνὰ τὰ Κύπριδος· ἐν δ' Ἀχέροντι
 ὁστέα καὶ σποδὴ, παρθένε, κεισόμεθα.

You are saving your virginity. But to what profit? For after you arrive
 in Hades you will not find someone to love you, girl.
 The pleasures of Aphrodite are among the living; in Acheron
 we shall lie, maiden, as bones and ash.

Here the point depends in large part on the poem’s engagement with an idea that appears commonly in inscribed epitaphs for young women who have died before marrying, namely that their demise constitutes a “marriage” to the god of the Underworld. The speaker’s claim that “going to Hades” the girl will not find her lover plays on the polyvalence of Hades as a metonym for the Underworld and the name of the god (cf. Cairns 1993 and 1996). In this sense, the relationship between form and content is essential to the meaning: the poem has a length and metrical structure that would befit an inscribed epitaph, but turns a basic commonplace of sepulchral poetry to a very different end.

Several epigrams are constructed in such a way that they resist easy generic categorization. Perhaps most striking is an epigram celebrating the Colophonian courtesan Archeanassa (41 = *AP* 7.217). The opening words of this epigram “I hold Archeanassa” leave the character of the speaker ambiguous, since they would be equally appropriate as coming from the voice of her tomb or of her lover – or, put another way, the tomb of Archeanassa speaks

as if it were her lover, and in this context the speaker's treatment of the heat of passion experienced by her former lovers as a "pyre" serves as a hinge that blends the two ideas at the conclusion of the poem. Similarly, in 21, the addressee might equally be a young man or an image of one. Whether the poem is "ecphrastic" or "amatory" is thus ambiguous, as is the speaker's relationship to the addressee: is he a would-be lover, or an appreciative art critic?

Such poems invite the reader to participate actively in reconstructing the imagined circumstances, and the challenge and fun reside in the difficulty of determining precisely who or what is speaking, and in what context: one of the most distinctive features of Asclepiades' poetry is the way in which it plays with voice. In a basic sense, he is in this regard typical of the epigrammatists of the early Hellenistic period, who regularly exploited in creative ways the variability and mutability of voice inherent in inscribed epigrams from the earliest period. Thus, for example, 28 (*AP* 7.11), adopts the formal features of epitaphs that open by asserting, "this is the tomb of" of such and such a person, though in this case the speaker is the "labor" of the poetess of Erinna, so that the poem makes its imaginary physical context not an inscribed tomb but a papyrus roll containing Erinna's verse. At the same time, the epigram exploits the tendency of inscribed funerary epigrams to shift between the voice of the tomb and that of the deceased, as already in a sixth-century Attic epitaph for the virgin Phrasicleia (*CEG* 24): at the end of the Asclepiadean poem, the speaker is no longer the "labor" but rather the dead girl herself. Other poems reveal Asclepiades' interest in voice and perspective. Thus, for instance, 25 (*AP* 5.181), a poem clearly influenced by the genre of mime, appears to be a monologue in which the speaker repeats back the words of his slave, with whom he is imagined to be conversing. In 14 (*AP* 5.167), the manipulation of voice is complex: though the interpretation and text remain uncertain, the speaker seems to interrupt his account of a night spent outside a would-be lover's house by apostrophizing an unnamed addressee, but the switch from narration to address is not marked, and the identity emerges implicitly in the final verses, where the narrator quotes a complaint made to Zeus in the past; the epigram thus blurs the boundaries between narrative and apostrophe, and between past and present.

The poet's manipulation of voice means that epigrams in which a first-person speaker describes his own state are not a lens into the biography or romantic and emotional life of the poet himself. Instead, his narrators are literary personae, as is clear from 19 (*AP* 12.153), where the speaker is a lovesick woman, and even in 16 (*AP* 12.50), in which someone addresses the poet by name, the setting is a fictional one drawn from lyric poetry (cf. Alc. fr. 38, 346). As we shall see, indeed, much of the wit and humor of

Asclepiades' poetry depends on the gulf between the author and his narrators, whose words sometimes resonate ironically against the literary tradition or against the formal features of the epigram in which they appear.

19.3 Language, Dialect, and the Linguistic Characterization of the Speaker

Asclepiades' diction includes words found in the epic tradition and in other elevated poetic genres, but also draws on the ostensibly "unpoetic" words that, while rare in poetry, are well attested in the literary koine. The juxtaposition of words from different stylistic registers, indeed, sometimes contributes to the characterization of the speaker, as in 11 (*AP* 5.64), where some of the fun resides in the juxtaposition of bombastic and quotidian language. Broad generalizations about the poet's language must be made cautiously, since the diction of an individual epigram may reflect the broader generic context; thus, for example, the high-style compounds of 6 (*AP* 5.203) befit and contribute to the evocation of epinician poetry, while in 25 and 26 (*AP* 5.181, 185) the diction reflects the influence of comedy and mime. Broadly speaking, however, Asclepiades' diction gives an impression of simplicity that belies nuance and sophistication, and although the poet engages intensively with antecedent texts of a variety of genres, he generally wears his learning lightly. The corpus evinces only a limited interest in *recherché* vocabulary, at least by contrast with some of Asclepiades' contemporaries. Unlike the corpus of Leonidas of Tarentum, for example, Asclepiades' epigrams contain relatively few *hapax legomena* or elaborate compound epithets; obscure forms appear only occasionally. Only infrequently can one see in the poet's usage traces of a contemporary debate about its meaning or morphology. Although the corpus includes words originating in the epic tradition as well as a few other specifically Ionic features, the epigrams generally avoid markedly Homeric morphology and diction. Some of the fun nonetheless derives from the way that the poems play upon ambiguities of language that seems superficially straightforward. In several cases, the sense of a word used early in a poem is slowly clarified as the epigram proceeds (Arnott 1969). Thus, for instance, in epigram 4 (*AP* 5.158) the adjective *πιθανή* applied to a woman called Hermione in the first verse seems initially to be used in the sense "attractive, compelling" but the final line, where an inscription on the girl's girdle advertises her sexual availability, retrospectively suggests that the alternative meaning "persuadable," "sexually compliant," is at least equally fitting.

The dialect of poems preserved in the *Anthology* poses a difficult critical challenge, since the manuscript witness often differ on questions of dialect, and since papyrus evidence shows that dialect features are often lost or distorted in the process of transmission (Sens 2004; Gutzwiller 2014). In most of the extant poems the underlying dialect substrate is the Ionic koine (η rather than α is the reflex of the inherited long *a* sound even in the endings of first-declension nouns whose stems terminate in ρ, ι and ε), occasionally with the admixture of features drawn from the Ionian epic tradition or from Attic. Several other poems are composed in Doric, and it may be that other Doricisms may have been lost in transmission, as they are in the case of other authors. The principal marker of Doric is the use of alpha as the reflex of inherited long *a*, though other features (first-declension genitive plural in -āv) appear occasionally. The reason that a particular epigram has been composed in a particular dialect is not always clear, but in some cases, at least, the choice of dialect seems to be connected to the subject matter. Thus, in 28, in which the speaking voice is Erinna's poetry or Erinna herself, the Doric coloring may reflect the role of Doric in Erinna's poem, *Distaff* (see below). Two poems (both of dubious ascription) on members of the Macedonian elite (39, 43) are in Doric and may reflect an association of Macedonian speakers with that dialect (cf. 26.4), but the connection between the Hellenistic royalty and Doric is not consistent, and 43, on a statue by Alexander the Great by Lysippus, may equally reflect the artist's origins in the Doric-speaking community of Sicily.

Such linguistic characterization is, in any case, an important and distinctive feature of Asclepiades' poetry. In many epigrams, the poet's narrators are made to use language that resonates ironically against the literary tradition or that stands at odds with the formal characteristics of the epigram in which it appears. Such poems thus depend on a basic distinction between Asclepiades and his speakers, between what the speaker and what the reader understands about the implications of the poem's language, or between their form and content. In some places, for example, the speaker seems unaware of the implication of his words, as in 11 (*AP* 5.64), where an excluded lover points out that Eros has the power to compel even Zeus, and where the example he cites, the story of Zeus entering Danae's chamber as golden rain, implicitly distinguishes the god's successful access to his lover from his own exclusion.

At times, the speaker's emotional intensity stands at odds with the formal characteristics of the poem (cf. Garrison 1978). Epigram 17 (*AP* 12.166), the basic contours of which are clear despite corruption in the transmitted text, offers an excellent example:

τοῦθ', ὃ τι μοι λοιπὸν ψυχῆς, ὃ τι δήποτ', Ἑρωτες,
τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν πρὸς θεῶν ἡσυχίην ἄφετε·

ἢ μὴ δὴ τόξοις ἔτι βάλλετέ μ', ἀλλὰ κεραυνοῖς,
καὶ πάντως τέφρην θέσθε με κἀνθρακίην.
ναὶ ναὶ βάλλετ', Ἐρωτες· ἐνεσκληκῶς γὰρ ἀνίαις 5
†ἐξ ὑμέων τούτων, εἴτ' ἔτι† βούλομ' ἔχειν.

Whatever is left of my soul, whatever it is, Eroses,
allow it, at least, to be in peace, in the name of the gods;
or strike me not with your bow and arrows any longer, but with thunderbolts,
and turn me completely into ash and coal.
Yes, yes, Eroses, strike me! For dried up with anguish
I wish to have ... from you.

The poem is carefully structured: its three couplets are independent of one another grammatically, and each marks a new development of the speaker's thinking. In the first, he asks the Eroses to cease tormenting him (in the context of a request made to a group of gods, the exclamation *πρὸς θεῶν* is surely humorous); in the second, he suggests a second possibility, that they destroy him utterly; and in the third, enthusiastically endorses the latter option. Despite the textual difficulties that attend the transmitted text, it seems clear that the language of the third couplet corresponds to that of the first (cf. 1, 5 Ἐρωτες; 2, 6 ἔχειν, 1-2 τοῦθ'... τοῦτο, 6 †τούτων†). . The balanced structure of the epigram stands at odds with the language of the speaker, whose frantic emotional state is reflected in the verbal repetition found both at the outset and conclusion of the epigram, and whose hyperbolic fantasy of being incinerated by the Eroses not with their usual arrows but rather with a thunderbolt, the conventional weapon of Zeus, comes across as ironically self-involved. Furthermore, even as the speaker wishes that the Eroses immolate him entirely, his language evokes the commonplace representation, in the corpus and elsewhere, of passion as a type of burning, and what the speaker seems to intend as a wish for death – a wish that, as in 15 (*AP* 12.46), resonates humorously against the pathos of funerary epigram – simultaneously implies a desire to be completely consumed with passion. Some of the poem's richness thus resides in the contrast not only between the poem's form and its content, but also between what the speaker appears to intend and what his words imply in context.

19.4 Asclepiades' Artistic "Program"

As has already been noted, Simichidas' reference to Asclepiades in Theocritus' seventh idyll implies an admiration for the qualities of his poetry. But although Simichidas seems to cite the Samian as a model for the highly

refined, small-scale poetry that is embodied in the idyll and defended in, for instance, the prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia*, Asclepiades' place in contemporary debates about literature is unclear. An ancient commentary on the *Aetia* prologue places Asclepiades among the detractors against whom Callimachus defends himself, and the claim must at least be taken seriously, though the many passages in which one of these poets engages with the other suggest no obvious hostility between them. Callimachus, at any rate, seems to have parodied an Asclepiadean epigram on Antimachus' elegiac poem, *Lyde*, a work that Asclepiades appears to admire but Callimachus calls "fat and not clear." Unfortunately, however, neither the precise qualities on which the two disagreed nor the extent to which their views on Antimachus reflect a broader esthetic conflict are clear (for discussion, see Krevans 1993; Cameron 1995, 305–6).

In addition to the poem on Antimachus, a few other epigrams comment on the work of artists, including both poets and sculptors, and these offer some insight into the poet's own approach. An excellent example is an epigram (28 = *AP* 7.11) in praise of the poetess Erinna, author of a work known as the *Distaff* (on which see Bowman in this volume). Here, the first-person speaker, represented as Erinna's assembled oeuvre, explains its small scope as the product of her premature death, and goes on to note that even so it was "more powerful" than many others. One of the striking features of the epigram is that it appears to construct for Erinna a biography that corresponds to that which Erinna herself attributes to the honorand of the *Distaff*, Baucis. The poem thus playfully identifies Erinna with her subject Baucis, who in the *Distaff* is represented as a young woman engaged in labor cut short, just as Erinna's composition of poetry is, in the epigram, curtailed by the early arrival of death. This identification extends analogically to the relationship between Asclepiades himself and his subject Erinna: in associating the speaking voice of his own epigram with the word "labor" of a literary ancestor, Asclepiades appropriates for his own work the stylistic qualities he attributes to his honorand. In 28, then, the emphasis on the small size of Erinna's oeuvre serves an implicit assertion of the powerful potential of brief poetry, including the poet's own epigram, much as the characterization of her poetry as a *ponos*, "labor," reflects a quintessentially Hellenistic depiction of poetic composition as hard work (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 7.51).

A related point may be made, cautiously, about an epigram praising Lysippus' realistic representation of Alexander the Great in 43 (*APL* 120), an epigram doubly ascribed to Asclepiades or Archelaus but perhaps more likely by the Samian. In this ecphrastic poem, the speaker remarks on the realism with which the sculptor has captured the king's *τόλμα*, "daring,

boldness,” an ambiguous word that is clarified by the final lines of the poem, where the speaker represents the statue addressing Zeus and laying claim to the entirety of the earth:

τόλμαν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὅλαν ἀπεμάξατο μορφὰν
 Λύσιππος· τίν' ὀδὶ χαλκὸς ἔχει δύναμιν.
 αὐδασοῦντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος ἐς Δία λεύσσω·
 “γὰν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι, Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὀλυμπον ἔχε.”

The boldness of Alexander and his entire form were imitated by
 Lysippus. What power this bronze has!
 The brazen man, as he looks at Zeus, resembles someone about to say,
 “I subject the earth to myself; Zeus, you keep Olympus!”

The language of the poem, one of a number of Hellenistic epigrams in which a speaker expresses wonderment at the lifelikeness of an image, neatly captures the difficulty of distinguishing Lysippus' work from its model by treating the sculpture in terms applicable to both. Thus, the exclamation of the second verse, “what power this bronze has,” plays on the semantic range of δύναμις (“power”), which in context evokes not only the capabilities of bronze as a sculptural medium but also the military and political power of the king in real life. So, too, in the third verse, the description of the image as ὁ χάλκεος (“the brazen man”) is appropriate to both Alexander, whose brazen character is illustrated by the quotation that follows, and his bronze image. In this sense, the poem enacts the blurring of the distinction between the artifact and its subject matter: the bronze from which the statue is made reflects the brazenness of the man as it is represented in the poem. In this slippage lurks a reflection on the ability of art, including the epigram itself, to imitate reality, and in this sense the speaker's quotation of the bombastic words he imagines Alexander about to say embodies the act of mimesis for which he praises Lysippus.

Another epigram adopts a more light-heartedly self-referential posture. Epigram 27 (*AP* 6.308) purports to be a schoolboy's dedication:

νικήσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπεὶ καλὰ γράμματ' ἔγραψεν
 Κόνναρος ὀγδώκοντ' ἀστραγάλους ἔλαβεν,
 κάμ' ἐχάρην Μούσαις τὸν κωμικὸν ὦδε Χάρητα
 πρεσβύτην θορύβῳ θῆκ' ἐνὶ παιδαρίων.

By defeating the boys when he wrote nice letters
 Connarus got 80 knucklebones.
 And as a gift to the Muses he placed me here, the comic character Chares,
 an old man among the din of the boys.

As often, the point and wit emerge obliquely. The form of the poem resembles that of real dedications celebrating real victories in athletic games, but here the competition which Connarus is said to have won is for writing beautiful γράμματα, a word that can mean “words,” “letters,” or even “poems.” The speaker, on the other hand, represents himself as the “comic old man” Chares, omitting the fact that he must be a mask representing a character of that name, as in a poem by Callimachus in which the speaker is a tragic mask of Dionysus listening to children quote Euripides’ *Bacchae* to him (*AP* 6.310). As in that epigram, the point here must be that Connarus has set up a mask of the comic character as a thank offering to the Muses for his victory in a handwriting contest, and in this context, the elision of any distinction between the physical object and the character it represents is part of the fun: old men were regularly represented as irascible in comedy, and the implicit point is that “old man” is annoyed by having been set up in a schoolroom, among the “din” of school children. The poem as a whole resonates against epigrams like 32 (*AP* 9.63), in which Antimachus’ *Lyde* is itself praised as a different type of γράμμα: that Chares is a character treated as drawn from literature implicitly calls attention to the obvious contrast between the meaning of καλὰ γράμματα in the context of a puerile contest and the potential of the same phrase to denote composition of a more artful sort. At the same time, there is wit in the fact that the poem, while presenting itself as the celebration of a schoolboy’s rudimentary literacy, is itself an example of the latter type of γράμμα. In this sense, the epigram, like so many of Asclepiades’ surviving poems, constitutes a slyly self-referential miniature masterpiece that purports to be far simpler than it is.

NOTES

1. This chapter condenses arguments made in Sens (2011) to which it is heavily indebted. The enumeration of poems follows that edition, itself indebted to that of Gow and Page (1965) and Guichard (2004). The text and translation of epigrams quoted in this chapter are from Sens (2011).
2. *P.Tebt.* 3. 26–31 (*48 Sens), containing line ends of an epigram on a theme well developed by later poets, includes a fragmentary ascription that may be to Asclepiades. Other fragments consist of brief quotations in other authors. The Vienna incipit list contains the first lines of a number of epigrams, including two apparently by Asclepiades.

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FURTHER READING

Asclepiades' epigrams and fragments have recently been edited and commented on by Guichard (2004) and Sens (2011); Guichard (2004) offers the fullest account of the witnesses, including the apographs of the *Palatine Anthology*. Gutzwiller (1998) contains acute treatments of the poems individually and as a group. Cameron (1995) treats the relationship of individual epigrams to other Hellenistic poetry and to the broader context. Magini (2000) explores the relationship between the amatory poems and the conventions of inscribed epigrams.

CHAPTER TWENTY

Posidippus and Ancient Epigram Books

Kathryn Gutzwiller

Among the extraordinary papyrological discoveries of the last half century is the Milan papyrus (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309), which consists of over a hundred new epigrams almost certainly composed by Posidippus of Pella.¹ Importantly, it provides our earliest extant copy of a Hellenistic poetry book. As a result of this discovery, first published in 2001, Posidippus' reputation as a poet of a few, mostly erotic-sympotic epigrams has changed dramatically as we have now come to recognize him as an innovative epigrammatist whose poetic production over the course of a long life extended to hundreds of epigrams in a wide variety of types. The focus in this chapter will be on what we have learned about Posidippus' expanding poetic oeuvre in the context of our growing knowledge about ancient practices of collecting epigrams in book format.

20.1 Biography

A native of Pella, the capital of Macedonia, Posidippus was likely born in the last quarter of the fourth century. His early life thus corresponded with a period of political upheaval as contenders vied for control of what became the Antigonid kingdom; it was also a period of cultural enrichment when Macedonian social and artistic traditions were adapted to trends in the broader Greek culture, as the archaeological recovery of Pella and of royal burial sites at Vergina and Amphipolis continue to reveal. In the manner of

other wandering Hellenistic poets who left their homelands to make a name for themselves (Petrovic 2009), Posidippus came to practice his trade as an epigrammatist not just in Macedonia but also in northern Greece and throughout the Aegean arena; his poetry testifies to extensive celebration of the Ptolemies and so likely direct knowledge of Alexandria. Our evidence for his recognition as a poet of note by the beginning of the second quarter of the third century comes from a decree of proxeny (a form of guest-friendship) from Delphi (ca. 276/75), and another from Thermon (263/62), where he is called an ἐπιγραμματοποιός (“epigrammatist”; T 2–3 AB). In a long epigram (118 AB), labeled a *sphragis* by Lloyd-Jones (1963, 96), an older Posidippus contemplates receiving an honorary statue in his hometown as well as honors from other cities; perhaps diplomatically, he avoids mention of his Ptolemaic connections. An epigram from the Milan papyrus (79 AB) celebrating an equestrian victory by Queen Berenice II in Nemea in the 240s (less likely 252 if another Berenice is meant; Thompson 2005) proves that he lived into the reign of Ptolemy III.

In several sources Posidippus is linked with two other third-century epigrammatists, Asclepiades and Hedylus, both of Samian heritage. The Delphi proxeny decree honors Asclepiades together with Posidippus, and what we know of the two indicates that they were close contemporaries. In the preface to his *Garland* (AP 4.1.45–46), Meleager devotes a single hexameter to Posidippus and Hedylus coupled as “wild flowers of the fields,” followed in the pentameter by the anemone Asclepiades (called by his pseudonym Sicelides; Sens 2011, xxix–xxxi). By this association Meleager signals the importance of the three, especially Posidippus and Asclepiades, as models for his own erotic compositions, although he may also be alluding to some personal or literary connection among them. Another piece of evidence comes from a scholion on Callimachus’ prologue to the *Aetia*, where Asclepiades and Posidippus are named among the grumbling Telchines who criticized Callimachus for the slenderness of his poetry (*Schol. Flor. Callim. ad fr.* 1b.4–6 Harder). This notice suggests that Callimachus engaged in a theoretical rivalry about literary principles (cf. Callim. fr. 398 Pf. with Asclepiades AP 9.63) with the two epigrammatists, a rivalry that may be associated with our lack of evidence that Asclepiades and Posidippus were ever court poets resident in Alexandria. Prioux (2015, 93) suggests that the connection between the two was through Posidippus’ presence on Samos, and it may be that the literary rivalry with Callimachus had to do with different approaches to Ptolemaic culture from the perspective of the Ionic traditions of Samos versus the new, more eclectic culture in Alexandria. Political aspects should not be overlooked in assessing the literary debates of the era.

20.2 “Old” Posidippus

The term “old” Posidippus is shorthand for the epigrams attributed to Posidippus that were known before the publication of the Milan papyrus, most simply the 24 printed under the heading “Posidippus” in the Gow–Page edition. Most of these were transmitted in the *Palatine* and *Planudean Anthologies* and ultimately derived from Meleager’s *Garland*; four come from Athenaeus, one from Tzetzes, and three from papyri. Six additional epigrams, printed in the “Asclepiades” section of the Gow–Page edition (GP 34–39), bear alternate attributions, all derived from Meleager’s erotic sequences, and the five of these with the lemma in the form Ἀσκληπιάδου ἢ Ποσιδίππου (“of Asclepiades or of Posidippus”) may go back to ancient copies of the *Garland* (Gow 1958, 32–33). Although the assignment of these epigrams to one poet or the other remains uncertain, the “racy” AP 5.202, on a sexual “horse-riding” contest between two hetairas, has generally been deemed the work of Posidippus.

Before the Milan papyrus, Posidippus was best known as an erotic-sympotic poet. In one epigram (AP 12.120) Posidippus presents himself struggling to resist Eros, who takes possession of him when he is impaired by drink, and in another (AP 12.98) he names himself a “cicada of the Muses,” who once labored over his books but is now bound by erotic longing on a bed of thorns and tortured. In both these and other erotic epigrams he adopts the persona of a lover who repeatedly gives in to desire despite the known advantages of restraint as taught in Hellenistic philosophical systems. This position is made clear in a sympotic epigram (AP 5.134) where a call for wine accompanies a rejection of Stoic philosophers in favor of Eros (also a rejection of Antigonos Gonatas’ interest in Stoicism?), and in another poem (AP 12.168) a voice easily identified with that of the poet calls for a mixed cup of inspiration consisting of his favored predecessors, balanced so as to produce poetry exhibiting qualities of both sobriety and drunkenness.

In the late nineteenth century, before almost all the papyrological discoveries of Posidippus’ poetry, Richard Reitzenstein (1893, 94–102) advanced an ingenuous theory about the trio of Asclepiades, Posidippus, and Hedylus, which still exerts influence on scholarly thought, although often critiqued or modified.² It pertains to an important piece of evidence about early collections of Posidippus’ epigrams, a scholion (A) on *Iliad* 11.101 where the discussion concerns different scholarly views on a textual reading. Zenodotus, an early Hellenistic editor of Homer, had read βῆ Ἴσον, “[Agamemnon] went [to kill] Isus” (a son Priam), whereas the Homeric scholar Aristarchus of the second-century BCE preferred the slightly different βῆ ῥ’ Ἴσον. To quote

the scholiast, “Aristarchus says that Βήριςος [the name ‘Berisus’] is not now in the epigrams of Posidippus but he did find it in the so-called Σωρός (‘Heap’), and he says that when he [Posidippus] was criticized, he likely removed it.” Reitzenstein concluded, on the basis of reports about symposium games in which guests made up short poems called *skolia* beginning with the sequential letters of the alphabet, that Posidippus’ Berisus, an otherwise unknown Greek name, was a Homeric warrior invented as a clever play on this minor text *crux*, made in alphabetical response to Asclepiades’ epitaph for the hero Ajax (*AP* 7.145). He also proposed that the *Soros* in which Aristarchus found the Berisus epigram was a joint collection of epigrams by Asclepiades, Posidippus, and Hedyllus, in which the authors’ names had been omitted or lost (cf. Maltomini in this volume); on that basis, he suggested that the uncertainties of authorship descending from the *Garland* originated in the *Soros*. A number of unsupported assumptions lie behind Reitzenstein’s thesis, including the adaptation of symposium games played in fifth-century Athens to unattested epigram games at symposia in third-century Alexandria and the leveraging of evidence for an epigram by Posidippus found in a collection called the *Soros* to the existence of a joint poetry book by three epigrammatists where author names were omitted. All we know for certain about the *Soros* is that it included one epigram by Posidippus (Gutzwiller 1998, 152–53). The *Iliad* scholion does, however, provide evidence that a collection of Posidippus’ epigrams was available in Alexandria in the second century BCE and that Posidippus had had some opportunity to exclude poems from that collection. Its generic name, ἐπιγράμματα, would suit a comprehensive collection of his epigrams. I discuss Reitzenstein’s theory at some length because it has tended to influence interpretations of later papyrological discoveries, sometimes to the detriment of open-minded assessment that should be granted to the range of possibilities offered by our growing body of evidence.

The other epigrams of the “old” Posidippus once seemed rather a hodgepodge, of much less interest to scholars than the erotic-sympotic group. For instance, the epigram on Lysippus’ statue of Alexander (*APL* 119) was treated as an isolated example of an ecphrastic epigram (despite Posidippus’ epigram on Lysippus’ Kairos, *APL* 275) until it showed up on the Milan papyrus in a section on bronze statues. The other previously known epigram in the Milan collection (15 AB), ascribed by Tzetzes to Posidippus, had been deemed of doubtful authenticity (Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 500); its subject, a snake stone engraved with a chariot, was thought an oddity unworthy of Posidippus until a whole section on stones, many engraved, presented a new epigram type. So too a single poem on a man who died in a shipwreck (*AP* 7.267) now joins a section of six new epigrams on shipwrecks, and an

epigram on a dead child (*AP* 7.170) would easily fit in the epitaphic section of the papyrus roll (cf. 54, 56 AB). Posidippus' interest in "Sapphic columns" appears now not only in an epitaph for Doricha (*GP* 17, *ap. Ath.* 13.596C), the Naucratic prostitute excoriated by Sappho as her brother's corruptor, but also on the new papyrus where Fate has deprived a deceased maiden of her "Sapphic conversations" (55 AB). Three epigrams on Arsinoe II's shrine at Zephyrium are now known, one from Athenaeus (7.318D, *GP* 13), one from *P.Firmin-Didot* (*GP* 12), and another from the Milan papyrus (39 AB), the latter being part of a four-epigram sequence on that queen in the dedicatory section. Two epigrams on the topic of gluttony from Athenaeus (10.412D, 414D) – one voiced by a statue of a famous athlete who once ate an ox (*GP* 14) and another satirizing a parasite in a pseudo-epitaph (*GP* 16) – raise the possibility that Posidippus produced a series of such epigrams perhaps placed together in a collection (cf. *Hedylus GP* 7–9, *ap. Ath.* 8.344F–345A). The non-erotic epigrams are not then outliers, but mere morsels from the rich feast of epigram types practiced, or even invented, by Posidippus.

20.3 Earlier Discoveries of Posidippus Epigrams

Several discoveries in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on papyrus or wax tablet, indicate that Posidippus' epigrams remained popular at least through the first century CE; they also provide a sample of the different contexts in which his epigrams were assembled, from carefully produced editions to private assemblages. The earliest of these, *P.Petri.* II 49a = *Suppl. Hell.* 961 (mid-third century BCE), preserves at the beginning of an epigram book fragments of an introductory epigram of 24 lines celebrating Queen Arsinoe (most likely Philadelphus). Written on the back of the papyrus is the title σύμμεικτα | ἐπιγράμματ[α, "mixed epigrams," followed below by "of Posidippus." It remains unclear whether or not Posidippus was being designated as the sole author of the collection, but scholars have determined that other poet names did not follow on the papyrus (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983, 465). In addition, there are a number of possible meanings for σύμμεικτα so that the word could refer to a mixture of authors or to a mixture of poetic types by one author (Gutzwiller 1998, 25). As a result, we cannot be certain whether this is a collection of Posidippian epigrams or a miscellany of poems by various hands.

The epigram collection involving a Ptolemaic queen was surely quite different from the personal anthology found on the *Firmin-Didot* papyrus (second century BCE; Thompson 1987). It includes passages from tragedy

and comedy as well as two epigrams by Posidippus (GP 11–12) headed [Ποσ]ειδίππου ἐπιγράμματα. Each poem celebrates a Ptolemaic courtier who was responsible for constructing a famous monument near Alexandria – Sostratus of Cnidus, who built the Pharos lighthouse (ca. 280), and Callicrates of Samos who erected the Zephyrium shrine to Arsinoe-Aphrodite (ca. 270). Posidippus’ epigram on the lighthouse appears to be an expanded version of an actual inscription quoted by Lucian (*Hist. conscr.* 62). We are left to wonder whether Posidippus was commissioned to write the epigrams as more literary versions of actual inscriptions, or perhaps chose to compose them in order to curry favor with the Ptolemaic elite. The graphic layout and structural similarity between the two – both are ten lines long and personalized by an address (to the mythical Proteus) or a first-person voice (of the shrine) – suggests that they were extracted from a collection where they formed a pair (Obbink 2004, 24–27). Remnants of Posidippian epigrams have been found with other epigrams on two small papyri, both dated to the first century BCE. *P.Freib.* 4 = *Suppl. Hell.* 973 contains fragments of six epigrams, including one by Theodoridas (*AP* 9.743) and Posidippus’ epigram on Lysippus’ Alexander (*APL* 119 = 65 AB). *P.Tebt.* 3 contains, along with other epigrams, two sequential poems most probably ascribed (only the last part of the names survive) to Posidippus (GP 24) and to Asclepiades (GP 47, Sens 2011, *XLVIII).

Of particular importance is the so-called *sphragis*, an epigram of 28 lines (118 AB = *Suppl. Hell.* 705) informally copied out on a wax tablet (first century CE). Posidippus begins by calling upon “citizen Muses,” apparently those of Pella, asking them to sing a song with him about his hateful old age, writing it down in the golden columns of tablets, and then leaving Mt. Helicon to come to Thebes (where the elderly poet was perhaps living or performing at a festival). He also calls upon Delian Apollo to issue decrees (as he once did for Archilochus, if we correctly read the damaged text) so that Posidippus might receive honors from the Macedonians as well as the inhabitants of the islands and the Asian shores. Proclaiming himself a native of Pella, he utters a hope that a statue depicting him holding a bookroll will be set up in the agora of his city. In conclusion, he prays to travel the mystic path to Hades (a reference to the Dionysiac mysteries popular in Macedonia) – beloved by his own community, steady on his feet, right-speaking, and bequeathing a home and wealth to his children. As Lloyd-Jones observes (1963, 96), this poem would make a suitable beginning (his preference) or conclusion for an epigram collection, perhaps the Milan collection (Gutzwiller 2005a, 317–19). In defining his relationship with the Muses and Apollo and in acknowledging the composition of poetry on tablets (γραφάμεναι δέλτων ἐν χρυσέαις σελίσιν, “inscribing the golden pages

of your tablets,” 6), he evokes motifs that appear in Callimachus’ aesthetic pronouncements at the opening of his *Aetia* (fr. 21–22, 37–38 Harder). Through those allusions, it seems, Posidippus situates himself in the larger climate of contemporary Hellenistic poetry.

20.4 “New” Posidippus

The Milan papyrus has provided a wealth of new information not only for the study of Hellenistic literature but also for the culture, history, and art of the period. As reconstructed, it consists of a bookroll with 16 columns containing the remains of about 112 epigrams in 606 verses. The first column probably, though not certainly, preserves the beginning of the bookroll, but no title or author’s name is preserved. How much of the bookroll is missing at the end is not known, but it could easily have continued to a thousand lines or more. Initially, the most surprising aspect of the collection was its division into sections, each headed with a descriptive title. Apparently following the anthologies of Meleager and Philip, the Byzantine compendium of epigrams made by Cephalas of Constantinople, known through the *Palatine* and *Planudean Anthologies*, was divided into generic sections of book length, with labels including *erotica* (amatory), *anathematica* (dedicatory), *epitumbia* (sepulchral), *epideictica* (epideictic, likely a Byzantine term), *sympotica* (sympotic), and *scoptica* (scoptic). The Milan papyrus presents standard sections on dedicatory and sepulchral epigrams but also offers novel categories such as stones and omens; nor are the standard categories strictly adhered to, so that in addition to the *epitumbia* another section is devoted to shipwrecked dead and yet another on dead persons with peculiar personalities. Clearly the organizer of the collection shows little interest in “correct” categorization of epigrams by subgenre and prefers creative groupings of epigrams where themes can emerge.

The nine recognizable sections on the Milan papyrus are as follows:

- lithika* (“on stones,” heading mostly lost)
- oionoskopika* (“on omens”)
- anathematica* (“on dedications”)
- epitumbia* (“sepulchral,” heading lost)
- andriantopoiika* (“on statues”)
- hippika* (“on equestrian victories”)
- nauagika* (“on shipwrecks”)
- iamatika* (“on cures”)
- tropoi* (“characters”).

The first two categories are the most innovative, containing epigrams that for the most part were surely not inscribed; both sections are quite possibly based on prose texts devoted to collecting and describing, such as Sotacus' *On Stones* (Gutzwiller 1995, 388) and Theophrastus' *On Signs* (Sider 2005, 166–76). Posidippus' technique for shaping epigrams out of information gleaned from prose treatises was to turn a factual description of a stone into a personalized focus on the beauty or uniqueness of such a stone as experienced by its owner or the artist who engraved it or to turn a didactic list of everyday omens into a series of events affecting some individual who ignored or who heeded such an omen. Both sections are overlaid with a political framework in which Macedonian conquest connects to Ptolemaic empire. The geography of the *lithika* tends to the lands of the East, as the fragmentary first epigram begins with the Indic Hydaspes River (the boundary of Alexander's march), another (8 AB) features a huge carnelian depicting the Persian king Darius (Darius III presumably, who was defeated by Alexander), and the last offers a prayer to Poseidon that the movement of great boulders in Greece not produce earthquakes to harm Ptolemaic Egypt (19–20 AB, likely one epigram). Several scholars have likened this cycle of epigrams to a cabinet of precious stones belonging to the Ptolemies, who are thus presented as successors to the kingdoms of the Persians and cultured patrons of Hellenistic aesthetic principles (Kuttner 2005; Prioux 2010). The second section begins with bird signs and turns later to other kinds of omens, playing on the ambiguity of its title *oionoskopika* inasmuch as οἰωνός means "bird" but by association "omen." The section ends with two epigrams on prominent seers of recent history, Damon of Telmessus (34 AB) and Strymon (35 AB), Alexander's most trusted diviner. In the form of an epitaph, the poem on Strymon appropriately brings closure to the section, as it plays on the polyvalence of the word σημήνατο, its "sign" (σήμα) being ambiguously omen, tomb, or the emblem of the prophetic crow depicted on the seer's tombstone.

The dedications section features four epigrams on Queen Arsinoe, the first (36 AB) on a gift from a Macedonian maiden and the second (37 AB) on a gift of Arion's lyre which had been saved by a dolphin. As a sequence, the four dedications celebrate Arsinoe's devotion to military security and to poetry and offer thanks for her protective kindness to a freed slave woman and to sailors. Like the *anathematica*, the sepulchral section contains epigrams that were possibly composed on commission for inscription, later selected and perhaps revised for the poetry book. A variety of burial places or origins are mentioned (including Pella), but the great majority of the epigrams are for women and girls. A kind of ring composition appears in the balancing of a woman who died at the age of 100 in the first epigram (42 AB) with the

elderly Aristippus in the last (61 AB). Aristippus' longevity, the lack of tears at his death, and the blessing of burial at the hands of his children recall themes in Posidippus' *sphragis*, again bringing special meaning from the placement of the epitaph in final position in its section.

The section on statues has attracted strong attention from scholars, because it so clearly demonstrates a close connection between the aesthetics of art and of poetry. It begins with an address to sculptors to imitate the new artistic style of Lysippus rather than the rigid forms of archaic sculptors, since Lysippus surpasses with his novelties any of the more modern artists (62 AB). Next is an epigram praising the bronze statue of the scholarly poet Philitas made by Lysippus' student Hecataeus (63 AB). Like the naturalistic creations of Lysippus, this study of the elderly Philitas offers a highly realistic and accurate depiction, dedicated by Ptolemy (undoubtedly Philitas' former pupil Philadelphus) to the Muses (that is, in the Museum). This important epigram reveals a previously unknown line of descent from Alexander's favorite sculptor to his protégé who took commissions from Ptolemy II in Alexandria. It also helps to fill out our picture of the famed Philitas, whose erudite poetry was acknowledged as a model by both Callimachus and Theocritus, since it shows that similar aesthetic vocabulary – accuracy, human scale, canon of truth – defined realism in both the art and the poetry of the age (Stewart 2005; Prioux 2007, 19–74; Queyrel 2010). The statue epigrams form the most highly structured section, pairing archaic/classical sculptors with Hellenistic ones and framed by praise of Lysippus as the artist best loved by Alexander (Gutzwiller 2002). Like the stones and omen sections, this cycle of epigrams on bronze statues apparently adapts material from theoretical treatises on art history to the parallel verbal medium of literary epigram.

The equestrian section, perhaps containing inscriptions commissioned for monuments, is remarkable for its epigrams on victories by Ptolemaic monarchs and courtiers at the great games in Greece (Fantuzzi 2005). Dynastic achievement is celebrated in several (78, 79, 82, 87, 88 AB) with a surprising focus on victories by the queens, beginning with Berenice I. This section offers a parallel to Callimachus' celebration of Berenice II's victory at Nemea at the opening of *Aetia* Book 3. The epigrams on shipwrecked men in the next section are distinguished from the *epitumbia* by the paradox that the epitaphs mark the trauma of mourning the dead whose physical remains will never be recovered by their loved ones (Di Nino 2010, 77–186). The epigrams on cures bear resemblance to prose inscriptions found in sanctuaries of Asclepius but feature curious anecdotes about individuals who were healed of their disabilities (Bing 2004; Di Nino 2010, 255–69). An opening poem about a physician named Medeus who served Ptolemy II (95 AB; Bing 2002)

and a closing poem praising good health and moderate wealth as gifts granted by Asclepius (101 AB) encircle the section, making clear a designed arrangement involving Ptolemaic reference and summary moralizing (Wickkiser 2013). The *tropoi* section presents another subcategory of epitaph, in which a dead person speaks to a passer-by, in a voice that seemingly conveys the deceased's personality. Of the tenth section almost nothing survives except an opening reference to spring and Zephyr.

We turn now to two general issues about the papyrus raised by scholars. Bastianini and Gallazzi (2001) attributed all the epigrams in the collection to Posidippus on the basis of two epigrams that were ascribed to him elsewhere, 15 AB on a snakestone and 65 AB on the Alexander statue. Since none of the Milan epigrams bear author names and none were elsewhere attributed to another poet, these editors reasoned that Posidippus was in all likelihood designated the author in the lost opening column. Objections were raised by Lloyd-Jones (2003a, 279–80; 2003b, 615), who preferred to assume that the Milan papyrus was the lost *Soros* containing unascribed epigrams by the triad of Asclepiades, Posidippus, and Hedylus. Despite an attempt to dispute the Posidippian quality of the Milan epigrams by Schröder (2004), scholars have demonstrated stylistic and metrical similarities with the “old” Posidippus (e.g., Fantuzzi 2002). The papyri from the Hellenistic age show that epigrams, like passages from other types of poetry, were often rearranged in personal “remixes” or in more formal anthologies, but this in no way stands as evidence against the existence of single-authored collections, likely often produced by the authors themselves from the third century on. The survival on papyri of poetry books with sophisticated arrangements – most prominently Callimachus’ *Iambi* and *Aetia* and Herodas’ *Mimiambi* – offer conclusive evidence for third-century authorially arranged poetry books. There is no reason to suppose that epigrams were an exception.

The second issue concerns the interpretation given the arrangement of the epigrams on the papyrus, which is linked to the question of whether Posidippus himself organized the collection or whether it was compiled and arranged by an editor working sometime between the 240s and the production of the surviving copy likely before the end of the third century BCE. Krevans (2005) has read the grouping of epigrams into sections as utilitarian. She points out that arrangement within sections resembles the mechanical groupings found in prose works, with odd epigrams added towards the end: for instance, the *lithika* begin with gemstones but end with boulders or the omens section begins with bird signs but ends with a dead diviner. With a greater focus on reader's reception than editorial intention, I have argued for poetic design based on a symbiosis of topics with themes, detectable both within the sections and shaping the whole, producing a literary cosmos

where the physical world is linked with the political and cultural realm of the Ptolemies (Gutzwiller 2005a; cf. Cortesi 2013). That said, the Milan collection does not seem to be a “perfect poetry book” (Barchiesi 2005), such as Vergil’s *Eclogues* or Meleager’s *Garland*, exceptional cases that should not define a standard for identifying whether a book was arranged by the author.

One of the most carefully designed sections is the one on statues, in which the perfection of Lysippan naturalism is played off against earlier sculptors who served as his models and later artists who followed his manner, a motif introduced in the first epigram with its call to sculptors to imitate the new art of the master (62 AB). The arrangements in other sections are not in fact utilitarian but have various purposes, often linking the Ptolemies to Alexander and their Macedonian heritage or symbolizing the geographical shift of Hellenic culture from Greece to Egypt or forming meaningful ring composition (Baumbach and Müller 2015). Scholars (e.g., Schur 2004; Petrain 2005; Prioux 2010) have also given metapoetic readings to certain sequences, particularly the enticing *lithika*, and there is wide agreement that the statues section enunciates Ptolemaic aesthetic principles. As with any collection, much is in the eye of the beholder, but designs that are widely recognized should be taken as probative about the nature of the collection at hand.

20.5 Other Epigram Collections

How does the Posidippian collection on the Milan papyrus fit with our growing evidence for other epigram collections? In the *Greek Anthology* there remain extracts from epigram sylloges ascribed to Simonides and Anacreon, containing poems that were likely preserved in collections from possibly as early as the fifth century, although with accretion of later compositions. Consequently, the concept of a collected grouping of epigrams by a single author was surely present by the third century, a time when scholarly poets were much concerned with authenticity and textual criticism. It is difficult to believe that such poets, whether they were considered primarily *ἐπιγραμματικοί* or prided themselves on composing in a variety of genres, did not gather their epigrammatic production into collected form. Epigrams that have the appearance of introductory or closing poems, as found among the compositions of Anyte (AP 9.313, *APL* 228), Nossis (AP 5.170, 7.718), Leonidas (AP 6.300, 7.715), and Posidippus (AP 5.134, 12.168), indicate the existence of author-composed collections in the third century (cf. Strato AP 12.1–2, 12.258 for later examples), as often does the title *Epigrammata* in later sources (Argentieri 1998, 5–7; Gutzwiller 1998).

Of particular importance is the list of epigram incipits (first words) found on the Vienna epigram papyrus (*P.Vindob.* G 40611; Parsons, Maehler, and Maltomini 2015), described in Maltomini's chapter. Parsons (Parsons, Maehler, and Maltomini 2015, 17) imagines the collection from which the incipits were derived to have been a miscellany, perhaps even the *Soros* as envisioned by Reitzenstein.³ Since the only identified incipit is from a poem by Asclepiades (*AP* 12.46), a collection devoted to his sympotic/erotic epigrams is also an obvious possibility, in parallel with the Posidippus collection of similar date.⁴ These two third-century collections recovered through papyri present, then, the two broad types of epigrams that developed in the early Hellenistic period, those based on inscriptions, as in books 6 and 7 of the *Greek Anthology*, and those based on a personal voice speaking to self or to another often in an imaginary setting, as in books 5 and 12.

The only Greek epigram collection that has come down to us through manuscripts is that of Theocritus. The bucolic manuscripts preserved a set of epigrams (1–22 Gow 1952) which show a purposeful arrangement, being divided into three sections by epigram type: 1–6 on bucolic themes, 7–16 of the sepulchral and dedicatory types, and 17–22 in various meters and all except one (20) on poets. The first epigram, a dedication of rustic offerings to Apollo, is clearly introductory, and the last celebrating a bronze statue of the poet Pisander set up by the people of Camirus long after his death brings an appropriate conclusion through its reference to poetic immortality. Since Meleager did not include Theocritean epigrams in his *Garland*, it has been disputed whether the collection was Hellenistic. I have argued that Vergil made allusion to the collection in his *Eclogues* (Gutzwiller 1996), and I now consider it possible, even if some epigrams may be spurious, that Theocritus himself formed such a poetry book. A poet who shopped his compositions to wealthy patrons as we find Theocritus doing in *Idyll* 16 would comfortably have written the inscriptional epigrams in the collection, one of which – on a dedication of an image of Asclepius – recalls Posidippus' *iamatika* section (especially 95 AB). Theocritus' epigrams on statues of Anacreon, Epicharmus, Hipponax, Archilochus, and Pisander (17–19, 21–22 Gow 1952) offer contemporary parallels to Posidippus' epigram on the Philitas statue (63 AB) and comport with that epigrammatist's vision of his own statue in Pella (Ma 2013). At the very least, Theocritus' collection, though preserved without section titles, provides a likely Hellenistic parallel for the arrangement of an epigram book by topics and types.

Initially it appeared that the Milan epigram collection differed significantly in its arrangement from Meleager's *Garland* (early first century BCE), which is renowned for its complicated interweaving of themes and authors as well as its use of metapoetic imagery, especially the garland motif. Literary and

metapoetic readings of the Milan collection now, however, encourage a fresh look at the relationship between the aesthetics of the *Garland* and Posidippian collections. In constructing the *Garland*'s erotic book, Meleager intermingled his own compositions with those of earlier Hellenistic poets who were his models. He most likely took Callimachus' epigrams from a collected edition known later as *Epigrammata*, but the source for the *Garland* epigrams of Posidippus and Asclepiades is less clear. It should be noted, however, that when the longest *Garland* sequences of erotic epigrams from the *Palatine Anthology*, *AP* 5.134–215 and 12.37–168, are reassembled as a single sequence (after Byzantine division into two books), epigrams by Posidippus of a programmatic character occur at or very near the opening and the end, one issuing an invitation to drink and sing of Eros (*AP* 5.134) and the second imaging the poets who influenced Posidippus as a cup of song (*AP* 12.168). It is not unreasonable to speculate that Meleager borrowed this similar placement, with its metapoetic implications, from some collection of Posidippus' sympotic/erotic poetry, if not an intermediate anthology of such epigrams.

We should also note that the surviving long sequences from Meleager's dedicatory and sepulchral sections (books 6 and 7 of the *Anthology*) are arranged by topics in a manner that recalls the epigram collection on the Milan papyrus. For instance, Meleager's group of poems on deaths at sea (*AP* 7.494–506, combined with 7.650–54, 738–39 as parallel selections from the same original) mirror Posidippus' *nanagika*, and Meleager's grouping of dedications and epitaphs on the basis of gender bear similarity to Posidippus' focus on women in his *epitumbia* and on Arsinoe in the *anathematica* (Gutzwiller 1998, Tab. IV–V). Similarly, the concluding poems in the *Garland* epitaphic book, on the protreptic theme of the perishability of wealth (*AP* 7.507a, 7.655–56, and 7.740), may be compared to Posidippus' focus on the value of wealth and health at the conclusion of his *iamatika* (101 AB). Although Meleager apparently did not know the collection preserved on the Milan papyrus, he was in all likelihood familiar with epigram books ordered in similar ways, where themes were developed and arrangements given aesthetic purpose within and across sections. Despite major differences in the manner of arrangement in the Milan papyrus and Meleager's *Garland*, there are also similarities that suggest the process of development from single-authored collections to multi-authored anthologies.

The success of Meleager's *Garland* set a model for later epigram anthologies. Philip's *Garland* (mid-first century CE) was organized in alphabetical sequences that seem to have had aesthetic design, and Cephalas probably drew on imperial anthologies such as the *Anthologion* by Diogenian (Cameron 1993, 78–96). At the same time, single-authored collections continued, like

that of the Nicarchus of the imperial age (*P.Oxy.* 4501 and 4502). Often overlooked is Diogenes Laertius' *Pammetros*, a collection of his own epigrams on philosophers which were later included in his *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (1.39, 63).

The continuity of single-authored epigrams collections from the third century BCE to the later imperial period has recently been documented by the

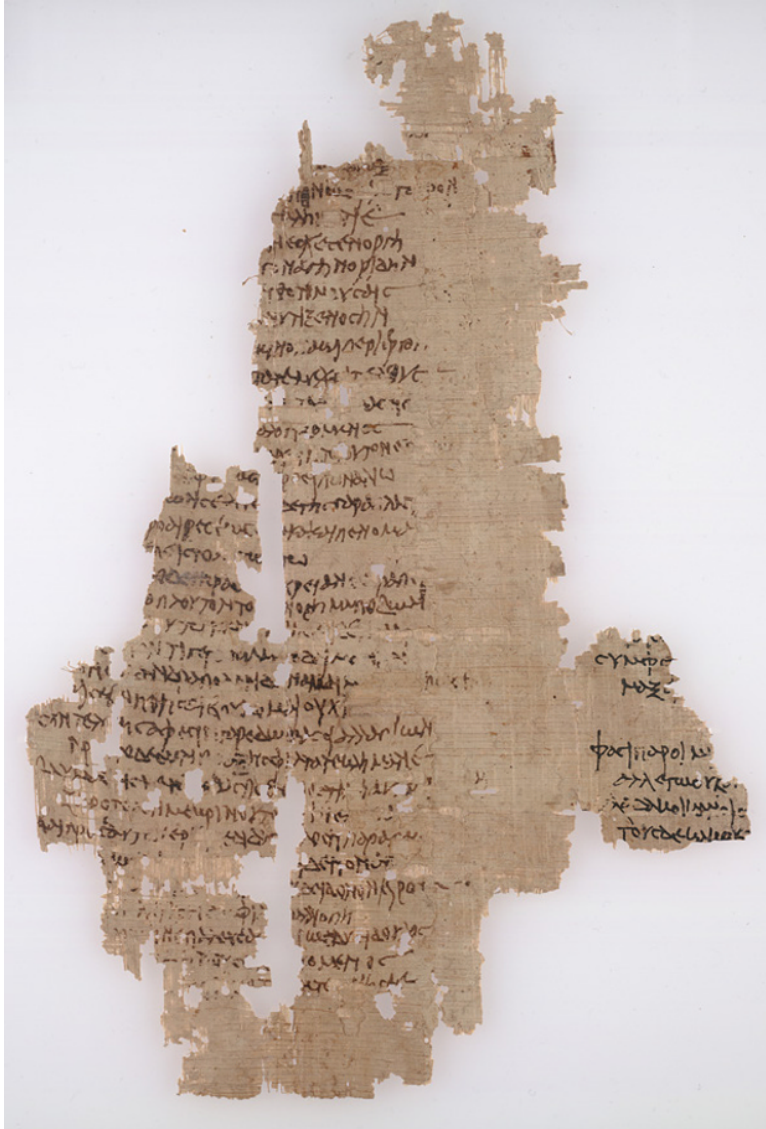


Figure 20.1 *P.CtYBR* inv. 4000, frame 1 (front)=pages 4 and 21, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

publication of a papyrus codex of the late third or fourth century CE containing about 60 very fragmentary Greek epigrams (Wilkinson 2012). Based on two epigrams that appear in the *Greek Anthology* (AP 9.127 and 9.379), the editor has judged it a single-authored compilation in all probability by Palladas, the best-known epigrammatist of the period between the second and sixth centuries CE.⁵ The epigrams, which seem largely of the scoptic type, are separated by subject headings (as in the Nicarchus papyri) or by ἄλλο or ἄλλο ὁμοίως (“another”/“another in like manner,” as in the Firmin-Didot papyrus, and commonly) to indicate a similar subject. There is no indication of sectioning by generic types as on the Milan papyrus, but thematic and topical groupings suggest some degree of editorial design (Wilkinson 2012, 30–33). Palladas was a prolific epigrammatist, as shown by the 150 or so epigrams ascribed to him in the *Greek Anthology*, some of which remain in sequences that surely descend from a poetry book of thematic design. As the Milan papyrus indicates for Posidippus, the Vienna papyrus possibly for Asclepiades, and *P.Oxy.* 3724 arguably for Philodemus, the Yale Codex indicates that Palladas’ lifetime production of epigrams was much greater than suspected in the past, easily running into the hundreds of poems. As our evidence for ancient epigram collections continues to grow, it becomes increasingly obvious what a very small percentage of ancient epigrammatic verse was preserved through the anthologies used by Cephala in making his Byzantine compilation.

The central thesis of my *Poetic Garlands* was that epigrams, often encountered individually in inscription, recitation, or quotation, may acquire an expanded literariness through collection, where aggregation becomes a tool to produce enhanced meaning. This is why the advent of poetry books arranged by authors with aesthetic design in the third century BCE corresponds to the simultaneous explosion of epigrammatic compositions by known authors with individual styles, themes, and points of view. The difficulty in assessing this phenomenon has to do with the mutability of the contexts in which epigrams are found – their portability from inscription to poetry book, and from poetry book to private copy, to smaller sylloges, to anthologies, and to yet larger anthologies based on anthologies. Because of the Milan papyrus, Posidippus has become our best case study for this view of Greek epigram in collection. To my own taste, no known epigram by Posidippus displays the poetic merit of the best epigrams by Callimachus, Asclepiades, or Theocritus. But the Milan collection, if read as a designed poetry book, offers a different standard by which to measure Posidippus as an epigrammatic poet, a standard that loss of other epigram books denies us for his contemporaries. The surviving portion of the papyrus evinces an aesthetic vision of art and poetry, both past and present, that links subtly but

recognizably to the political and cultural vision of the Ptolemies, who act as a unifying focal point for the historical, geographical, and artistic references in the epigrams. By the segmentation of text inherent to collected epigrams and only partially countered by division into topical sections, miscellany becomes the means by which time and space can be made to converge on the thematic center of the book.

NOTES

1. The *editio princeps* of the Milan Papyrus, published by Bastianini and Gallazzi in 2001, contains text, commentary, and photographs of the papyrus. Most often cited is the 2002 edition of Austin and Bastianini (AB) with Italian and English translations of the entire corpus of Posidippus, including poems and fragments uncertainly or hypothetically ascribed and testimonia. The text of the papyrus with extensive commentary and German translation produced under the direction of Seidensticker, Stähli, and Wessels (2015) is based on version 12.1 (2011) of the Center for Hellenic Studies Online-Text; included without commentary are the other poems from AB. The standard edition of the older epigrams of Posidippus is that of Gow and Page (GP), supplemented by Lloyd-Jones and Parsons in *Suppl. Hell.* 700–5.
2. E.g., Wallace and Wallace (1939); Lloyd-Jones (1963, 96; 2003a; 2003b); Parsons (Parsons, Maehler, and Maltomini 2015, 12, 17). Cameron (1993, 369–76) offers a modified version of the theory, with Hedylus as compiler, although he rejects unsigned contributions. Others who find the theory too speculative include Gutzwiller (1998, 18–19, 155–56), Sens (2011, xciv–v), and Bing (2017), with various possibilities for the meaning and content of the *Soros*.
3. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 3724 (later first century CE), an incipit list of ca. 175 epigrams, 25 ascribed to Philodemus and many others likely to be his (Sider 1997, 203–25). Since three of the epigrams are known from the Anthology, one anonymous and two by Asclepiades, it seems a mixed collection focused on Philodemus.
4. Parsons (Parsons, Maehler, and Maltomini 2015, 11) deduces that the epigram book from which the incipits were drawn had about 800 epigrams in about 4000 lines in all and compares Meleager's *Garland*, which Cameron (1993, 24–26) calculates larger by half as many lines (6000). His implication is that the four-book compilation more likely contained a mixture of multiple authors rather than epigrams only by Asclepiades. If, however, we accept the Milan collection as the work of Posidippus alone as most do, and if we apply its ratio of two previously known epigrams to 110 unknown ones (i.e., 55 lost for each one surviving in manuscript) to the other epigrams by Posidippus, we can extrapolate from his 20 epigrams preserved in manuscript (discounting those of doubtful or disputed authenticity, among which I include *AP* 5.215 but not *AP* 9.359) that his not-transmitted epigrams would number in the range of 1100 (20x55). If we apply the same mathematical reasoning to Asclepiades, whose transmitted

epigrams (discounting disputed and alternate ascriptions) number 33, then we can extrapolate that his lost poems number about 1815 epigrams (33×55). Of course these numbers are entirely speculative; however, they demonstrate, if we accept the general opinion about the authorship of the Milan collection, that the possible 800 epigrams in the four-book collection from which the incipits were taken could easily all be by Asclepiades, being less than half the number in his projected corpus.

5. Although general acceptance of Wilkinson's ascription to Palladas is developing, some (e.g., Cameron 2016, 91–112; Floridi 2016) have raised doubts due to the weakness of the ascriptions in the manuscript sources and concerns about Wilkinson's re-dating of Palladas to the Constantinian era (280–340 CE).

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CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Taking Position: Later Hellenistic Epigrammatists

Annette Harder

21.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the epigrammatists of late third–early second century BCE and on the way in which these poets are taking position in the Greek literary tradition in general, in the tradition of epigram, and in the contemporary world. These aspects will be discussed in three separate sections.

There is a useful chronological survey of epigrammatists in Argentieri (2007, 147–48): after the first two generations (Anyte, Nossis, Leonidas, and Asclepiades, born ca. 330 BCE; Callimachus, Theocritus, Posidippus, and Hedylus, born ca. 300 BCE), the next generations included Euphorion, Rhianus, and Hegesippus (born ca. 270 BCE), Nicaenetus, Damagetus, Mnasalces, Dioscorides, Theodoridas, and Phaedimus (born ca. 250 BCE), Samius and Alcaeus (born ca. 230–20 BCE), and Antipater of Sidon, Phantias, and Polystratus (born ca. 180 BCE).

From these poets I have selected Alcaeus, Damagetus, Dioscorides, Mnasalces, Nicaenetus, Phaedimus, Samius, and Theodoridas, i.e., the poets born around 250–20 BCE. Whereas Euphorion, Rhianus, and Hegesippus may still be regarded as younger contemporaries of the generation of Callimachus and offer only a very small corpus of texts, the poets I have chosen form a reasonably substantial group and chronologically clearly represent a new stage in the history of epigram. Then with Antipater of Sidon and his contemporaries another stage seems to begin (see Ambühl in this volume).

A complicating factor is that for some reason this corpus is rather small. Gutzwiller (1998, 228) writes that “for reasons that remain unclear” Meleager included only a few of their poems, but Argentieri (2007, 248–49) judges more severely that “already for mid-third-century poets ... traditional themes had gone stale” and “maybe Meleager was not wrong in disliking second-century epigram.” In any case one has to be aware of the fact that Meleager may have left out many epigrams that could possibly modify our picture.

21.2 Taking Position Towards the Older Literary Tradition

We find many references to archaic and classical poetry in the epigrammatists of the third generation. They often mention names of earlier poets explicitly, but their work also contains allusions, just like the epigrams of the earlier generations. Therefore earlier epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry seems to have been well-known to this generation.

Often the epigrams refer explicitly to biographical details of early epic poets (on epigrams on poets see Gabathuler 1937; Bolmarcich 2002; Rosen 2007). Alcaeus 11 tells how Homer was buried on Ios and 22 how his place of birth was Chios.¹ Alcaeus 12 is about Hesiod’s tomb in Locris and Mnasalces 18 about his tomb in Orchomenus. Clearly these epigrams reflect scholarly information and discussions about the poets’ biography and must rely on knowledge collected in the Hellenistic age. Besides, the epigrams also contain aesthetic judgments: Alcaeus 11 tells how the Nereids washed Homer’s body with nectar (3) and how Ios is the most blessed of islands, containing “the star of Muses and Graces” (7–8); Alcaeus 12 records how Hesiod’s body is washed by the nymphs and shepherds bring him milk and honey and how he had “tasted from the pure drops (καθαρῶν ... λιβάδων) of the nine Muses” (5–6), while Mnasalces 18 praises Hesiod because “his fame is greatest among men when men judge him by the test of poetic skill (σοφίης)” (3–4). The judgments on Hesiod echo earlier texts by Callimachus, as Alcaeus 12.6 recalls Callim. *Hymn.* 2.111–112 and the notion of Hesiod’s sweetness in 12.4–5 is reminiscent of Callim. *Epigr.* 27.2 (Gabathuler 1937, 91), while Mnasalces 18.4 (σοφίης used of poetic skill) recalls Callim. *Aet.* 1.18. Clearly these poets still share in the large amounts of knowledge accumulated in Alexandria and adhere to the ideas of earlier generations.

Iambic and lyric poets are also mentioned in our corpus. Thus Alcaeus 13 emphasizes that Hipponax’s character after death is as nasty as when he was alive and that passers-by must pray that he will remain asleep in his tomb. The epigram

This epigram suggests knowledge of scholarly material (Gabathuler 1937, 81) and fits in with a tendency in epigram to rehabilitate the daughters of Lycambes, with the girls now in the position of attackers (see further Rosen 2007, 472–74). As to the phrasing the use of the rare verb *ἐφλυσεν* in 6 is striking, as it recalls Archil. fr. 45 ὕβριν ... ἀπέφλυσαν (“they gave vent to their insolence”). Similarly Dioscorides 18 contains a mix of aesthetic and generic observations and biographical details, which suggest knowledge of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho and biographical work on the poetess (see Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani 2007, 439–40). We read how Sappho wrote love poetry, epithalamia, and songs of mourning, inspired by the Muses, and how her songs raised her to the level of the

gods, but also find the biographical detail that she was from Eresus, which, as Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani (2007, 440) observe, may reflect Dioscorides' access to the work of Phanas of Eresus in the Alexandrian library. In 18.9 χαῖρε θεοῖς ἴσα ("rejoice like the gods") recalls Sapph. fr. 31.1 ἴσος θεοῖσιν ("similar to the gods"). So, as in Dioscorides 17, a small detail of vocabulary refers the reader to the poet's text and may alert him to other allusions.

The work of Anacreon apparently was less well preserved in the third century BCE and epigrams focus more on his personality and biography than on his work (Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani 2007, 442). Even so, some knowledge of the actual text of the poet may be behind Dioscorides 19, which refers to Anacreon's beloved Smerdies and Bathyllus and his mistress Eurypyle (see Gabathuler 1937, 80–81; Waltz 1960, ad loc.; Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani 2007, 443) and contains a wish that the poet may have a happy life after death, with drink, flowers, and "golden Eurypyle."

As to drama, a series of epigrams on Thespis, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Sositheus, and Machon in Dioscorides 20–24 is of interest. Dioscorides seems to present these epigrams as a small literary history, with – as far as can be judged – a tendency to prefer the older forms and to praise contemporary poets as far as they went back to those forms (therefore apparently excluding Euripides and new comedy).² As Fantuzzi (2007, 495) observes, when compared to Asclepiades and Callimachus, Dioscorides shows more awareness of the importance and qualities of early dramatic poetry, but seems to share their negative view of contemporary drama. The first epigram (Dioscorides 20) is on Thespis as the inventor of tragedy. He explains what he has done, referring to the presumed rustic origin of tragedy, and points out that subsequent generations will add new inventions. The epigram seems to reflect scholarly work on tragedy, like the epigrams referring to epic and lyric poetry.

In the next epigram (Dioscorides 21) we read how the rustic invention of Thespis was elevated and refined by Aeschylus. The first two lines recall Dioscorides 20.1–2, and lines 2–6 describe the innovations announced in 20.4–6, so the epigrams were clearly intended to be read together. As in the epigrams on the lyric poets, here too Dioscorides gives evidence of knowledge of relevant texts, in this case passages about Aeschylus and Euripides in Aristophanes' *Ranae* (listed by Gow and Page 1965, ad loc.; Fantuzzi 2007, 488).

In Dioscorides 22 the speaker is a golden satyr guarding the tomb of Sophocles. This points to Sophocles' skills as a writer of satyr plays, but the epigram also praises his skill as a tragedian: a passer-by asks whose mask the

satyr is carrying and he answers that it may be Electra's or Antigone's mask and that both are ἄκρον, "supreme." This suggests a state of perfection which surpasses the improvements of Aeschylus (Fantuzzi 2007, 487–90) and recalls, e.g., Callim. *Hymn.* 2.112 ἄκρον ἄωτον ("the choicest gift").

Next one would expect an epigram on Euripides, but Dioscorides 23 is about Sositheus, a third-century poet of satyr plays. The speaker is a satyr guarding the poet's tomb and presents himself as a colleague of the satyr of epigram 22, thus connecting the two epigrams. The view on literary history here is interesting, because, as Fantuzzi explains, the satyr indicates that after the perfection of Sophocles Sositheus took the only possible way to improve satyr play, which was to go back "to the robust rudeness of its origins" (Fantuzzi 2007, 491). The last epigram in the series, Dioscorides 24 about the comic poet Machon, a contemporary of Callimachus, is a request to ivy to cover his tomb. The poet is praised as a worthy successor of the comic poets of Athens on the banks of the Nile. Thus Dioscorides offers a coherent view of Greek drama, with hints of knowledge of literary criticism.

Like the epigrams about Sositheus and Machon, other epigrams too show that the poets did not confine themselves to what we would now consider as the "canon" of ancient Greek literature. Thus we find epigrams on Heraclitus (Theodoridas 16), a certain Praxiteles (Damagetus 8), Philaenis (Dioscorides 26), and on artists who may have performed works of Timotheus (Alcaeus 10 and 14).³ Whereas the epigrammatists' list of archaic poets of importance seems to overlap with ours and was probably the result of a long period of selective transmission, it seems as if from the classical age onwards selection was still an ongoing process and that authors who later largely disappeared were still considered a fit subject for epigram in the late third century BCE.

Apart from explicit references to earlier poets in epigram, there are also more implicit references. These too suggest an active engagement with earlier poetry. Here most instances of intertextuality are found in erotic epigrams alluding to archaic lyric.

Thus the three erotic epigrams in Alcaeus 6–8 are striking not only because they are not from the symposiastic setting familiar from Asclepiades and Callimachus, but also because they recall the grim view of love in archaic lyric. In Alcaeus 6 Eros appears as a cruel persecutor, who shoots and burns men, and the speaker emphatically declares ἐχθαίρω τὸν Ἔρωτα (1) ("I hate Eros"). This recalls, e.g., Anac. *PMG* 413 about Eros as a cruel blacksmith or Ibyc. *PMG* 286 about Eros as a fiery Thracian storm. Alcaeus 7 contains the concept from Sapph. fr. 1.21–24 about the quick changes of mind in one's beloved and in Alcaeus 8 the reference to old age reminds one of, e.g., Mimn. fr. 1 and 2.

The epigrams of Dioscorides show a similar engagement with archaic poetry, but the intertextual links are even more specific. Thus several poems show a strong influence of Sappho (see Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani 2007, 450–51) and the erotically rather outspoken Dioscorides 5 (see Mulligan in the volume) recalls Archil. fr. 196a at several points:

Δωρίδα τὴν ῥοδόπυγον ὑπὲρ λεχέων διατείνας
 ἄνθουσιν ἐν χλοεροῖς ἀθάνατος γέγονα.
 ἢ γὰρ ὑπερφυέσσι μέσον διαβᾶσά με ποσσὶν
 ἦγνυν ἀκλινέως τὸν Κύπριδος δόλιχον,
 ὄμμασι νωθρὰ βλέπουσα· τὰ δ' ἥύτε πνεύματι φύλλα, 5
 ἀμφισαλευομένης ἔτρεμε πορφύρεα,
 μέχρ' ἂπεσπείσθη λευκὸν μένος ἀμφοτέροισιν,
 καὶ Δωρὶς παρέτοις ἐξεχύθη μέλεσι.

Keeping rosy-rumped Doris stretched out above my bed in pale-green flowers
 I have become immortal. For she, bestriding me with her enormous legs, completed without swerving the long run of Cypris, looking at me with indolent eyes; and these, like leaves in a breeze, quivered brightly as she was tossing about, until the white force was spent for both of us, and Doris lay spread out with relaxed limbs.

Here 2 ἄνθουσιν ἐν recalls Archil. fr. 196a.42 ἐν ἄνθε[σιν and 7 λευκὸν μένος recalls fr. 196a.52 λευκ]ὸν μένος.⁴ Even so Dioscorides has created a very different poem, as it is the woman who is most active and obviously enjoying the love-making (Zanker 2007, 247). Another intriguing link with the epic and lyrical tradition is the way in which Dioscorides calls Doris τὴν ῥοδόπυγον (1), which recalls ῥοδόπηχυς, there used of divinities (see Schrier 1979, 310–12).

Some references to other genres may be discovered in Dioscorides 7, which may recall didactic poetry in the instructions for a husband of a pregnant woman, addressed as “you” like the addressees of didactic poetry, as to how to approach her sexually, or in Phaedimus 3.4–6, where we find the idea that the arrows of Eros will make men brave in battle through the love for their boyfriends. This recalls Pl. *Symp.* 179a1–8, where Phaedrus states that love leads to courage in war.

Summarizing one may infer that the epigrammatists of the third generation were well acquainted with earlier Greek literature and able to use it in their poetry in a selective and creative way. Thus they created a kind of continuity which went across the borders of genres and embedded themselves in the larger tradition.

21.3 Taking Position Towards Other Hellenistic Poets

Explicit references to other Hellenistic poets are relatively rare among our poets, but we have two instances in Theodoridas 14 and 15. Both are funeral epigrams (for Euphorion and Mnasalces respectively) and both seem to be polemic. Gow and Page 1965 *ad loc.* argue that 14 probably was not really a funeral epigram, but rather an attack on Euphorion's morals. In 15 the attack on Mnasalces seems to concern his poetic style and the way in which he is imitating Simonides. These epigrams suggest that interaction and discussion between poets, an important feature of the generation of Callimachus (cf., e.g., Callimachus 34, 56; Asclepiades 32), was still going on, but it is difficult to judge whether it was very prominent.

Implicitly, i.e., by means of allusions, there is much interaction with earlier Hellenistic poets, partly with their epigrams, but also with their larger works, with which the later epigrammatists seem to be well acquainted and which may have been in the process of acquiring "canonical" status.

The interaction with earlier epigram includes the kind of variation on a small scale typical of epigram as described by Gutzwiller (1998, 227–36). There is a large group of epigrams which contains variations of older themes and forms, such as funeral epigrams (Damagetus 10, Dioscorides 27–29 and 38–40, Mnasalces 8–13 (partly on animals, as in Anyte), Theodoridas 7–9), epigrams for those drowned at sea (Alcaeus 15, Damagetus 9, Theodoridas 13 and 19), dedicatory epigrams (Dioscorides 14, Mnasalces 2–6, Theodoridas 1–4), victors' epigrams (Alcaeus 9 and 17), and ecphrastic epigrams (Alcaeus 18–21, Damagetus 11, Nicaenetus 3, Theodoridas 18). Largely lacking, however, is the sympotic epigram favored by Asclepiades and Callimachus: love epigrams are found in Alcaeus, Dioscorides, and Mnasalces, but they are from a variety of settings (only Dioscorides 12 could be sympotic). Thus we find, e.g., general observations about suffering through Eros (Alcaeus 6) or about one's beloved (Dioscorides 1, 9–10, 13), descriptions of small love scenes or related events (Alcaeus 7, Dioscorides 2–6, 8), messages or advice (Alcaeus 8, Dioscorides 7), and prayers (Alcaeus 9, Dioscorides 11, Mnasalces 1). In Dioscorides a considerable number of epigrams is about women (Dioscorides 1–7), some of them very outspoken as to sexual details (Dioscorides 5 and 7).

Sometimes we see interesting generic experiments as in Alcaeus 9:

Ζεύς, Πίσης μεδέων, Πειθήνορα, δεύτερον υἷα
Κύπριδος, αἰπεινῶ στέψον ὑπὸ Κρονίῳ·

μηδέ μοι οἶνοχόον κυλίκων σέθεν αἰετὸς ἄρθεις
 μάρψαις ἀντὶ καλοῦ, κοίρανε, Δαρδανίδου.
 εἰ δέ τι Μουσάων τοι ἐγὼ φίλον ὥπασα δῶρον, 5
 νεύσαις μοι θείου παιδὸς ὁμοφροσύνην.

Zeus, ruler of Pisa, please give Peithenor, the second son of Cypris, a wreath at the steep hill of Cronus; and do not, lord, fly down as an eagle and grab him to pour your wine instead of the beautiful son of Dardanus. And if I ever gave you a present from the Muses dear to you, then allow me to be united in love with the divine boy.

Here the apparent victors' epigram is given a surprising erotic twist and contains allusions to other poetic texts and other signs of poetic refinement. In contrast with normal victors' epigrams (like Posidippus 71–88 AB), celebrating victories already gained, this is a prayer for victory, recalling a situation as in Pind. *Pyth.* 5.124, where after celebrating a Pythian victory an Olympian victory is prayed for. In 1 Πίσσης Alcaeus shows his adherence to Greek poetic practice by calling Olympia Pisa (see Harder 2012 on Callim. *Act.* 76.2). Then he calls Peithenor a “second son of Cypris” (1–2), which must mean that he is “a second Eros,” recalling phrases like “the tenth Muse” (cf. Callim. *Act.* 2a.1). In 3–4 Peithenor is implicitly compared to Ganymedes, when the speaker asks Zeus not to abduct him to be his wine-pourer. This recalls Pind. *Ol.* 1.43–45, where the arrival of Ganymedes is also mentioned in a poem about an Olympian victory, and [Theoc.] *Id.* 20.40–41, about Zeus taking on the guise of a bird to catch Ganymedes. In 5 the idea of a song as a gift recalls a Pindaric notion also picked up in Callim. *Act.* 54.1. Clearly this is a sophisticated poem, reworking various elements from the tradition of victors' poems.

Another interesting experiment is Alcaeus 16, where the funeral epigram for Pheidis is in the form of a riddle.⁵ The voice is that of a passer-by who sees a double Φ on a tombstone and wonders whether this refers to a Chilias or a Pheidis and then seems to prefer the second solution, which has the added charm that “the thriftiness implied in the name is exemplified in the brevity with which it is expressed” (Gow and Page 1965 on Alcaeus 16.7). As Livingstone and Nisbet (2010, 92–93) observe there also seems to be a touch of humor “in the fact that the result is a long epigram (much longer than most real epitaphs) that conspicuously lacks the economy of the inscription it describes.” The playful and original qualities of the epigram stand out even more when one considers it as part of a series of riddling funerary epigrams, because, as Bruss (2005, 63–65) notices, it is the only one which refers not to pictorial carvings or grave-offerings, but just to two inscribed

letters and in comparison with the others seems much more modest, all very suitable for the stingy Pheidis. In a similar vein Bruss (2002–3, 171–78) elaborates on the possible connections between the epigram’s apparent focus on λεπτότης (“subtlety”) and Callimachus’ *Aetia* prologue (where 1.4 χιλιάσιν, “thousands,” may have inspired the rejection of Chilias).

Some other interesting instances of variation on earlier epigrams are, e.g., the funeral epigrams of Nicaenetus 2 (with the motif of asking a passer-by to convey a message, as in, e.g., Asclepiades 31), Theodoridas 9 (where the mourning of both the town and the parents of Phaenarete recalls Callimachus 32.5–6). Sometimes the whole epigram recalls a specific example as in Theodoridas 5 about a shell dedicated to the nymphs at Cape Pelorus as a παίγνιον (“toy”), which owes much to Callimachus 14 about the nautilus dedicated to Aphrodite-Arsinoe-Zephyritis as a παίγνιον. Particularly interesting is also the reception of Asclepiades 29 about Arete mourning at the tomb of Ajax, because treachery was stronger than she: on the one hand Mnasalces 17 widens the epigram’s scope and gives it a different philosophical dimension by letting Arete be defeated by Τέρψις (“Enjoyment”), on the other hand Damagetus 1.3–4 Ἀρσινόη ... κειραμένη πλοκάμου (“Arsinoe ... cutting it from her locks”) seems to allude to Asclepiades 29.1–2 Ἀρετά ... κειραμένα πλοκάμους (“Arete cutting off her locks”) and may thus praise Arsinoe as Arete (Sens 2011, 198).

When we look at epigrams recalling larger texts we find connections to a variety of texts, including Callimachus’ *Aetia*, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, and Theocritus’ urban mimes 2 and 15.

There may be thematic similarities, as in Dioscorides 9 about a beautiful boy, whose kisses show great promise, so that the entrance to his mother’s house may never be quiet. This recalls Callim. *Aet.* 67–68, about the attractiveness of Acontius and Cydippe. Similarly Theodoridas 16 about the mutilated tombstone of Heraclitus in Ephesus recalls Callim. *Aet.* 64 about the recycled tombstone of Simonides. Similarities to Theocritus’ urban mimes may be found in Dioscorides 3 and 4, where the idea of love at first sight at a festival for Adonis recalls both Simaetha’s falling in love in Theoc. 2.66–86 and the Adonis festival in Theocritus 15. In none of these cases the connections are entirely cogent, as love at first sight at a festival was a common motif, but one can imagine that an influential treatment in earlier texts inspired epigrammatists to touch on similar themes.

In some cases the thematic connections seem closer, as in two epigrams which may recall Callimachus’ *Coma Berenices*. Thus Damagetus 1 is about the sacrifice of a lock of hair to Artemis by Arsinoe (probably the daughter of Ptolemy III Euergetes and wife of Ptolemy IV Philopator), who in 217 BCE, not long before her marriage, was present at the battle of Raphia.

Damagetus may present Arsinoe here like her mother Berenice II, who sacrificed a lock for the safe return of Ptolemy III Euergetes. Also in Dioscorides 14, about a fan dedicated to Aphrodite-Arsinoe-Zephyritis by the hetaera Parmenis, the location and the idea of a dedication recall Callimachus, perhaps as an ironic variation.

Elsewhere we find allusions to specific passages, as in Alcaeus 17.5 τὸ τρίτον οὐκ ἐκόνισεν ἐπωμίδας, ἀλλὰ (“the third time he did not cover his shoulders with dust, but ...”) about Cleitomachus, who won at boxing et cetera in the Isthmian Games. Although the context is different this line recalls Callim. *Aet.* 54.9 ἐπωμίδας, ἀλλὰ (“shoulders, but ...”) about the chariot race in Nemea. A more complex instance of intertextuality, referring to two passages, may be found in Damagetus 12, an epigram about a work of art showing Heracles and the Nemean lion. It ends with a wish that Heracles may conquer so that the countryside of Nemea will become accessible again (6). This recalls [Theoc.] *Id.* 25.218–20 about the emptiness of the country as well as Callim. *Aet.* 54b about the desolate situation at Nemea and the impossibility to go out.

Programmatically interesting allusions to larger Hellenistic works are found in Nicaenetus 1 about Philetis sacrificing to the Libyan heroines:

Ἡρώσσαι Λιβύων ὄρος ἄκριτον αἶτε νέμεσθε
 αἰγίδι καὶ στρεπτοῖς ζωσάμεναι θυσάνοις,
 τέκνα θεῶν, δέξασθε Φιλήτιδος ἱερὰ ταῦτα
 δράγματα καὶ χλωροὺς ἐκ καλάμης στεφάνους,
 ἄσσοι ἀπὸ λικμητοῦ δεκατεύεται· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως, 5
 Ἡρώσσαι Λιβύων χαίρετε δεσπότηδες.

Heroines who live on the continuous chain of mountains of Libya, girded with an aegis and twisted tassels, children of the gods, accept these holy sheaves of Philetis and the pale-green wreaths of straw, which are offered as tithe of the winnowing; but even so, heroines and mistresses of the Libyans, be glad.

The name Philetis may have programmatic overtones as it recalls Philetas of Cos, who appears as a high standard of poetic achievement in Theoc. *Id.* 7.40. But there are also connections with Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius. The epigram recalls Ap. Rhod. 4.1309 Ἡρώσσαι Λιβύης τιμήφοροι (“heroines, helpers of Libya”), repeated in 1323 and 1358. Here the Libyan heroines take pity on the Argonauts, who almost perish in the Syrtes, and tell Jason what to do. Thus they have a crucial role in the Argonautic expedition. In Callim. fr. 602 the Libyan heroines (δέσποιναι Λιβύης ἡρωίδες, “mistresses and heroines of Libya”) are addressed in a prayer and asked to look after Callimachus’ native town Cyrene. The fragment’s context is unknown, but

clearly for Callimachus too the goddesses were important. Probably Nicaenetus had both poets in mind, also because: (1) the heroines' outfit in 2 recalls Ap. Rhod. 4.1348 *στέρφεσιν αἰγείοις ἐζωσμέναι* ("girded with the skins of goats"); (2) 3–4 are reminiscent of Callim. *Hymn.* 4.283 and 6.19; (3) the connection of Philetis' sacrifices with Demeter recalls the reference to Philetas' *Demeter* in Callim. *Aet.* 1.10; and (4) the hymnic farewell in 6, though not unusual in epigram, is also found at the end of several stories in Callimachus' *Aetia*, e.g. 66.7–9. The intricate mix of allusions to Callimachus and Apollonius suggests that Nicaenetus wants to express his appreciation for their works and poetics, although he writes in a much smaller genre (perhaps καὶ οὕτως in 5 refers to his relatively humble position). In any case the epigram shows a strong awareness of details of the poetry of Callimachus' generation and a wish to react to them.

As in the case of the references to archaic and classical poets the way in which the later epigrammatists engage with the work of their Hellenistic predecessors suggests an active engagement with earlier literature, also outside the epigram tradition, and a thorough knowledge of their immediate predecessors in the third century BCE, who clearly were recognized as being of importance soon after their works had been produced.

21.4 Taking Position in the Contemporary World

A really new feature of the later generations of epigram poets seems to be their increasing engagement with the outside world, including its more grim and sordid aspects.

Perhaps inspired by the mimiambos of Herodas and by Theocritus 2 and 15, there is more attention for life in the city and the epigrams create a picture of an Alexandria outside the circles of the Ptolemaic court and the select environment of the Museum. We hear about various kinds of public entertainments (Alcaeus 10 and 14 and Dioscorides 2 and 25 about musical performers, Dioscorides 36 about pantomime and 37 about a torch-race), about priests of Cybele (Alcaeus 21, Dioscorides 16; cf. also Rhianus 7), love for women, with rather explicit descriptions of sexual acts (Dioscorides 1–7), and love for young men outside the setting of the symposium (Dioscorides 8–13, Mnasalces 1). Other epigrams refer to more private leisurely pursuits, such as the invitation to a picnic out of town in Nicaenetus 4 (cf. also Rhianus 9) or the sightseeing at a temple of Aphrodite in Mnasalces 15.

Some of these epigrams suggest a judgment on public taste and on a decline of social and moral standards, as in Dioscorides 36, where we read how Aristagoras, probably a performer of pantomime, enacting a Gallus was much

honored by the audience, whereas the speaker, who enacted a scene from Euripides' *Temenidae*, was not, possibly because contemporary audiences no longer appreciated the old texts. In Dioscorides 37 there is criticism of the fact that Moschus, the son of a swineherd and a harlot, won a prize in a torch race in Alexandria – another indication of a loss of certain standards.

Another aspect of real life finding its way into epigram, involving Egypt at large, is the flooding of the river Nile in Dioscorides 33 and 34. The first is an ironic variation on the theme of death at sea: the merchant Philocritus had ended his life as a farmer in Egypt and was buried there, but then the Nile floods destroyed his grave and he got a sailor's grave after all (see Bruss 2005, 132–35). The second describes the pathetic situation of the old farmer Aristagoras, whose house and possessions are flooded by the Nile. All hope lost the farmer swims to the house of a neighbor and complains how all his work has been undone by the “bitter” flood, which normally is “sweet” for farmers as it makes the harvest grow. The notion of drowning and shipwreck far from the sea is an interesting innovation of a traditional epigrammatic theme, but the realism of the descriptions also hints at a new atmosphere in epigram, as in the epigrams on life in the big city.

A third aspect of real life are politics and references to war. Although in the epigrams of the generation of Callimachus we find topical references with a certain political dimension, these are generally restricted to celebrating the royal family and their achievements,⁶ and do not touch on wider political issues or the realities of war. This fits in with the idea of “peace in Egypt,” sheltered and protected by Ptolemaeus II Philadelphus, as expressed in Theoc. *Id.* 17.97–105, or the laconic mention of Ptolemy III Euergetes quickly adding Asia to his Egyptian territory in Callim. *Aet.* 110d.36–37: these texts suggest a view of war as quick, efficient, and far away from Egypt. Among the earlier epigrammatists only poets working outside Alexandria are much concerned with war. Thus Nossis and Leonidas touch on local conflicts (Nossis 2 and Leonidas 34–35), while Anyte 1 describes the dedication of a soldier's spear dripping with the blood of enemies (a motif discussed by Barbantani 2014, 325–27). There may be a connection here with the earlier literary tradition, as inscriptions reflecting and commemorating historical events are familiar from Herodotus and Thucydides (see Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 30–40). On the other hand, Barbantani (2014) shows that there is also much epigraphic evidence in poetic inscriptions about battles and soldiers from the Hellenistic period, which reflects the ongoing wars.

In the later part of the third century BCE, which was a period of war and strife in the Greek world, epigrams on politics and war become altogether more prominent. Thus in Alcaeus 1–5 and in Damagetus 4–6 we have a series of references to Philip V of Macedon and to war, in some

instances probably the war between the Aetolian League and Philip's Achaean League in 220–17 BCE (on which see, e.g., Hölbl 1994, 117; Huss 2001, 408–9).

Particularly Alcaeus is quite critical of Philip V.⁷ In Alcaeus 2 the speaker, alluding to *Od.* 9.296–97, expresses a wish to crush Philip's skull and drink his brains from it, indulging in drinking even more than the Cyclops, and seems to regard this as a proper punishment for Philip, who had poisoned one of his friends at a symposium and drank his blood. Also Alcaeus 3 refers to Philip V as a poisoner. Beginning in line 1 οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον with a reminiscence of *Od.* 21.295, the epigram offers a consolation of the type “not you only” to Epicrates and Callias, apparently also killed by drinking poisoned wine offered by Philip, who is described as οἰνοχάρων ὁ μονόμματος (“drunken Charon with his one eye”) (3), recalling the Cyclops as well as Charon.

Another aspect of Philip V, a combination of cowardice and lack of responsibility, is attacked in Alcaeus 4, which describes how the dead after the battle of Cynoscephalae lay unburied, while Philip had fled θοῶν ἐλάφων ... ἐλαφρότερον (“more quickly than swift deer”) (6). The comparison with deer recalls *Il.* 1.225, where Achilles reproaches Agamemnon because he never goes into the battle, and *Il.* 13.101–6 about the cowardice of the Trojans: in this way Alcaeus seems to present Philip as a cowardly eastern king. This notion may be supported with Alcaeus 5, which compares Philip with the eastern despot Xerxes (whose flight was described in Aeschylus' *Persae*) and celebrates Titus Flamininus as bringing freedom to Greece. Thus Alcaeus effectively undermines the Macedonian claims of being Greek and turns the war against them into a war against a tyrannical external enemy.⁸ Clearly the perspective here is very different from the Alexandrian view of the Macedonian Ptolemies as Greek descendants of Heracles.

The strong criticism of Philip V in these four epigrams suggests that also Alcaeus 1 is critical:

Μακύνου τείχη, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε· πάντα Φιλίππῳ
 ἀμβατά· χαλκείας κλεῖε πύλας μακάρων.
 χθὼν μὲν δὴ καὶ πόντος ὑπὸ σκῆπτροισι Φιλίππου
 δέδμηται, λοιπὰ δ' ἅ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ὁδός.

Strengthen your walls, Olympian Zeus; for Philip everything is accessible;
 close the bronze gates of the blessed. Earth and sea have been subjected to
 Philip's scepter, only the road to Olympus is left for him.

Here Zeus is urged to raise the walls and close the gates of Olympus, because for Philip everything is ἀμβατά (2) and he will now make his way

to Olympus. One may wonder whether the epigram is ironical or meant to flatter. Flattery, however, would be surprising in view of the other epigrams and rather unlikely because of the recommendation to Zeus to protect and close Olympus.⁹ Besides, the use of ἀμβατός in 2 suggests *hybris*, as it recalls the attempt of Otus and Ephialtes to attack the gods on Olympus in *Od.* 11.305–20 (particularly 315–16; cf. also Hes. *fr.* 21.1; Pind. *Pyth.* 10.27, *Isthm.* 5.13–14; Cic. *Tusc.* 1.46.111). In a Macedonian context this epigram may be contrasted with the successful ascent to Olympus of Heracles and his Macedonian and Ptolemaic descendants and the way in which they were welcomed there in, e.g., Theoc. *Id.* 17.13–33. Against this background the message of Alcaeus 1 seems to be that no such welcome must be given to Philip V.

Whereas Alcaeus seems to be quite consistent in his political views, Damagetus in 4–6 is less so: his political epigrams consist of a series of three funerary epigrams for soldiers from both sides, Achaean and Aetolian. Here one gets the impression of battles between equals who share high moral standards as to conduct in war. Also the emphasis is not on kings, but rather on the soldiers. Thus Damagetus 4 is an epigram for a soldier who fell for Ambracia and preferred death to flight and, as a Dorian, found his country more important than his own life, while Damagetus 5 is an epigram for Machatas, who fell on the Achaean side fighting against the Aetolians. As in Damagetus 4 there is a patriotic and moralizing message: brave men die young for their country (similarly Damagetus 6 and 7).

Elsewhere we have references to wars and soldiers and their weapons without connections to specific wars, but also with moral overtones. They clearly indicate that war was part of daily life, as does the epigraphic evidence. Thus we have a prayer to Apollo for mutual affection and courage in a group of soldiers (Phaedimus 3), funeral epigrams for dead soldiers, as in Theodoridas 10–11 and Mnasalces 7 (which resemble poetic epitaphs in epigraphic sources; see Chaniotis 2005, 204–7 and Barbantani 2014, 301–25), and dedications of soldiers' weapons, as in Dioscorides 15 (about a shield with a representation of Gorgo) and Mnasalces 3–6. This kind of epigram seems to be foreshadowed in Hegesippus 1 and 2 and in Nossis and Leonidas, and in the case of Mnasalces 3, about the dedication of a bow and quiver while the enemies “keep” the arrows, by Callim. *Epigr.* 37 (for epigraphic evidence see Barbantani 2014, 325–34). Apart from these epigrams on contemporary wars we find references to historical events and exemplary behavior. Thus Damagetus 3 and Dioscorides 31 (on which see Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 314–16) draw attention to the battle between Sparta and Argos at Thyrea in the sixth century BCE and Dioscorides 30 and 32 present Spartan parents who did not cry at their children's funeral, as a moral example.

Clearly these epigrams, with their criticism of Philip V and their attention for the grim aspects and moral demands of war, are quite different from the playful and respectful epigrams in which poets like Callimachus and Posidippus honored members of the Ptolemaic court. These political epigrams, though possibly inspired by some earlier examples, are clearly innovative and show that the epigrammatists are widening their scope.

21.5 Conclusion

The poets discussed in this chapter were well acquainted with the Greek literature of the archaic and classical period and used elements from epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry in a creative way. Thus they created a kind of continuity which went across the borders of genres and with their small poems embedded themselves in the larger tradition.

Their reception of Hellenistic poetry also suggests an active engagement with and a thorough knowledge of their immediate predecessors in the third century BCE, who apparently acquired a kind of canonical status quite soon after their works had been produced. At the same time these epigrammatists were still shaping the canon, as they deal not only with poets who are now considered as canonical, but also with poets who later were (largely) lost.

An important new aspect of the third generation of epigrammatists is the way in which they relate to the contemporary world at a social as well as a political level. They seem to reflect the cruder aspects of life in the city and in the country as well as the turbulent events in the world at large, particularly the frequent wars, from which poets like Callimachus and Asclepiades seem to have been sheltered.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that this chapter is only a first survey of the material treated as the output of a “generation” of poets: further study of these poets from this angle will doubtlessly lead to further refinements.

NOTES

1. The numbering is that of Gow and Page (1965).
2. See Gabathuler (1937, 82–90), Fantuzzi (2007, 487–95), and on the idea that the epigrams were meant to be read in sequence also Gutzwiller (1998, 23 and 259–60).
3. The popularity of Timotheus or poets writing in the same style is evident from papyrus finds, re-edited by Borges and Sampson (2012). As some of the texts may deal with the Trojan horse (see Borges and Sampson 2012, 59–61) one

- might connect them also with Dioscorides 2 about Troy. On issues of canonization in the Hellenistic period see Harder (2005).
4. See also Schrier (1979, 309–10); Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani (2007, 450 n. 97). Schrier (1979 and 1982) offers a detailed discussion of Dioscorides 5.
 5. See on this epigram, e.g., Bruss (2002–3); Bruss (2005, 61–65); Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004, 332); Gutzwiller (1998, 268–69); Meyer (2007, 194–95); Livingstone and Nisbet (2010, 92–93).
 6. So, e.g., Posidippus 78, 79, 82, 87, 88 AB; Callimachus 14 and 15; on Asclepiades see Sens (2011, lxii–lxv). Only Callimachus 17 relates to war.
 7. Also Samius 1 and 2 may refer to Philip V. Alcaeus' negative judgment fits in with Polyb. 5.9–12; see Chaniotis (2005, 170).
 8. This kind of framing of the enemy as an eastern despot is used of “the other side” in Polyb. 11.11–18; see on this passage Chaniotis (2005, 193–95). Similarly Roman poets later framed Antonius as a barbarian connected with an eastern woman; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.685–88; Hor. *Epod.* 9.11–16.
 9. The fact that Alpheus 3 about the Olympian ambitions of Rome may be flattering proves nothing for Alcaeus. Nor does a possible reworking of the epigram by Ennius, on which see Morelli (2007, 528–29).

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

Meleager of Gadara

Évelyne Prioux

Meleager, a native of Gadara, is our main source of knowledge on Hellenistic epigram. His self-epitaphs (7.417–19, 421¹) assert that he spent his youth in Tyre and later settled in Cos.² Apart from being a prolific epigrammatist – a corpus of ca. 130 epigrams has survived – and the author of a collection of Menippean satires now entirely lost (Gutzwiller 1998b), Meleager is known for assembling the Στέφανος (literally the “Crown” or “Garland”), an anthology collecting a selection of epigrams written by more than 48 poets including himself (cf. 4.1 and see Gutzwiller 1998a, 276–322; Höschle 2010, 72–76; 171–229). The *Garland*, which Meleager compiled in Cos at the beginning of the first century BCE,³ was probably not the first anthology of epigrams ever collected, but its publication appears to have been a major literary event and it seems safe to assume that the length and ambition of Meleager’s collection outshone all previous attempts to assemble the works of previous epigrammatists. Another key feature of Meleager’s work is that he carefully designed his anthology by juxtaposing variations on a given theme: the works of previous epigrammatists were regularly preceded or followed by his own poems, thus encouraging the reader to admire Meleager’s imitations and innovations. His work was widely influential for Latin poets throughout the first century BCE and set the standards for subsequent anthologies of Greek epigrams: Philip’s *Garland* (mid-first century CE) and the *Cycle* of Agathias (sixth century CE). When Cephala composed his anthology, in the early tenth century, Meleager’s *Garland* was his main source for Hellenistic epigram: several sections of the *Palatine Anthology* reproduce clusters of epigrams that have been extracted from Meleager’s *Garland* and inserted in the wider design of Cephala’s *Anthology*, along with series of

poems stemming from Philip's *Garland*, Strato's *Boyish Muse*, Agathias' *Cycle*, and other less prominent sources (see esp. Cameron 1993; Gutzwiller 1998a, 282–321). Since Cephalas' *Anthology* was the source of what is now known as the *Greek Anthology*, our knowledge of the early development of literary epigram dramatically depends on the selection once designed by Meleager. What we currently know of Hellenistic epigram has mainly been seen through the lens of Meleager's *Garland* – a lens designed by a poet who was interested in certain themes more than in others, and a lens which is only fragmentarily known since Cephalas copied certain sections of Meleager, redesigned some of the sections he copied, and since several parts of Cephalas' *Anthology* are now lost.⁴ Papyrological discoveries such as the New Posidippus (see Gutzwiller in this volume) give us insight onto what we do not know and the inaccuracy of some of our earlier views on Hellenistic epigram: e.g., before the discovery of the New Posidippus, several scholars believed that the heyday of epideictic and “ecphrastic” epigrams coincided with the timespan covered by Philip's *Garland*. The discovery of the New Posidippus has shown the inaccuracy of this belief. If we now know so few “ecphrastic” epigrams of the Hellenistic age, it may be because Meleager was not primarily interested in composing “ecphrastic” epigrams and/or because the sections of his anthology that contained such poems were lost in the course of tradition. Studying Meleager's program and poetic agenda is thus not only a way to discover one of the most important epigrammatists of the Hellenistic period, but also an attempt at understanding how he shaped our view of Hellenistic epigram.

22.1 Meleager as Anthologist

22.1.1 *The Possible Structure of the Garland*

One of the lemmatists of the *Anthology* states that Meleager's *Garland* was arranged alphabetically. This statement has long prevented scholars from identifying the Meleagrian sequences of the *Anthology*.⁵ Radinger was the first to reject this statement and to understand that Meleager's *Garland* was composed of multi-authored thematic sections (Radinger 1895, 100–7). Wifstrand took another major step in demonstrating that the Hellenistic epigrams found in Book 5 (on heterosexual love) and in Book 12 (on homosexual love) of the *Palatine Anthology* were originally part of a single book: Meleager's *erotika* (Wifstrand 1926, 8–22). Seminal steps were then taken during the nineties, when Cameron showed that the *Garland* was probably

composed of four books (*erotika*, *anathematika* (votive epigrams), *epitumbia* (funerary epigrams), and a fourth loosely defined category that may correspond more or less to a mixture between *epideiktika* and ecphrastic epigrams; Cameron 1993, 19–33) and when Gutzwiller offered a detailed analysis of the possible structure of each book (Gutzwiller 1998a, 276–322). The following paragraphs present a summary of her main conclusions. Of the four books we only have ca. 750 poems, a total of ca. 4500 lines (Gutzwiller 1998a, 278). It is difficult to estimate the proportion of the *Garland* which is now lost. The first book of the *Garland*, the *erotika*, was also the most carefully designed (see the detailed analysis in Gutzwiller 1998a, 284–99). Gutzwiller has shown that it probably opened with a series of programmatic motifs: a sequence on wine and love (5.134–37, 12.49–51), a section on song (in which love songs surpass other traditional themes: 5.138–41), and a section on crowns and grace (5.142–49, 12.256). A short transition on travels and mutual love (12.52–53) probably followed. The heart of the book consisted of three sections: (1) on pederastic love (12.54–97, 12.37–44, 9.15–16); (2) on love for women and for boys (5.150–91, 12.45–48, 12.98–160; Gutzwiller 1998a, 288–98); and (3) on love for women (5.192–208, 12.161). A transition on mutual love came next (5.209–10, 12.162–65). The book ended with images of pain caused by an endless cycle of desire and loss (5.211–15, 12.166–68). Posidippus' epigrams occupied a prominent position in this book and were used to signal important transitions: 5.134, a programmatic poem on a wine jug, was probably located at the beginning of the book; 12.98 possibly opened the heterogeneous section on love for women and for boys; 12.120 is a good ending for a short subsection on *komoi* ("revels") in the course of this heterogeneous section; finally, 12.168, another programmatic poem that compared Posidippus' poetry to a cup combining inspiration from Mimnermus, Antimachus, Hesiod, and Homer, was probably the very last poem of the amatory book (Gutzwiller 1998a, 284, 292, 294, 300). Such editorial choices called the readers' attention to Posidippus' importance as a model for all subsequent authors of *erotika*. The respective order of the following books is unknown. The book of *anathematika* was probably divided in three major sections, corresponding to the social status of the dedicants. This miniature mirror of society contained a first group of epigrams on the dedications offered by men, especially hunters, warriors, and also poets (6.110–32, 262–64, 351); epigrams on the votive offerings that women would present to goddesses (6.265–92, 352–58, 6.146) probably followed, and the book ended with dedications made by lower-class men and children (6.293–312). 6.313, a prayer to Nike in which Bacchylides expressed hopes

for poetic victories and victory crowns, provides a satisfactory ending for the book, since it echoes the pervasive crown/garland image of Meleager's anthology. According to Gutzwiller, the opening poem of this book may therefore have been another tribute to archaic *anathematika*: 6.53, a poem by Bacchylides that commemorated a farmer's dedication to Zephyr, or possibly two Hellenistic poems attributed to "Simonides" (6.212–13), the first of which expresses hope for crowns and for an (athletic?) victory, while the second commemorates a *pinax* offered by Simonides himself after a poetic victory. Along with these archaic models, the book gave a prominent position to the works of a female epigrammatist of the early Hellenistic period: several poems of Nossis were set in the central part of the book (on dedications made by women, a section that apparently opened with Nossis' *sphragis* (6.265); Gutzwiller 1998a, 303–6).

According to Gutzwiller's reconstruction, the *epitumbia* book appears to have followed a similar sociological structure, with four major sections on: (1) famous persons of the past, especially authors, and enigmatic epitaphs (7.406–29, 707–10, 712–16, 718–19, 9.24); (2) men, mostly war dead and of good character (7.403–54, 720–25, 229, 231); (3) women, adolescents, children – a series followed by reflections on the human condition (AP 7.455–92, 646–49, 726–37, 170); and (4) epigrams on shipwrecks (7.494–506, 650–54, 738–39, 270; Gutzwiller 1998a, 307–15). Interestingly, sections 3 and 4 have counterparts in the New Posidippus' *epitumbia* (a series of epigrams on the deaths of women) and *nauagika*. Leonidas of Tarentum's epigrams are among the main literary models that Meleager chose to promote in his sepulchral book: the book possibly opened with his funerary epigram on Homer (9.24) and the third section with his poem on Maronis the winebibber (7.455). Leonidas' meditations on death also had a prominent place among the general reflections on the human condition that closed this section (7.472, 478, 480, 740, 655–56). Meleager, who followed, in his satires, the model of Menippus the Cynic, apparently shared Leonidas' interest in the deaths of lower-class people and in the *mors omnia aequat* motif.

It is now difficult to perceive the unity and generic consistency of what may initially have been a book of *epideiktika*. Gutzwiller has argued that 9.313–38 may still preserve the general structure of this lost book (Gutzwiller 1998a, 315–22). Two major themes run through the section: Aphrodite and the Dionysiac sphere. Most poems evoke representations of these deities or the dedications they received, often in a rustic setting. The poet's interest in Aphrodite and Dionysos is coherent with the major tendencies of late Hellenistic art, in which representations of both gods were ubiquitous (Zanker 2001). The sequence opens with Anyte's invitation to rest in a grove

and to drink from a source (9.313; cf. Greene in this volume), a poem that was probably an opening and programmatic piece in one of Anyte's own epigram collections (Gutzwiller 1998a, 68–73, 316). It is probable that some gaps within the sequence should be filled by various epideictic and ecphrastic epigrams now preserved in other parts of the ninth book of the *Palatine Anthology* or in the *Planudean Anthology*, such as the many poems on famous statues or painted representations of Aphrodite and Eros and possibly epigrams on animals and insects fit for a rustic landscape.

22.1.2 *The Poetics of Editing: The Garland/Crown Metaphor*

Meleager was very drawn to the structure of earlier epigrammatic books and to programmatic poems his predecessors composed. A high degree of authorial awareness characterized his carefully designed anthology, as a study of the recurring images that Meleager used to represent his work as an author and as an editor demonstrates. The major metapoetic image that Meleager chose to represent his activity as an anthologist is of course the eponymous garland/crown metaphor (Gutzwiller 1998a, 236, 279–81, 284–86, 298, 304–6; Höschele 2010, 172–94; Prioux 2014, 106–7). This image is introduced in the *Garland's* preface, a poem consisting in 28 distichs, that states that Meleager designed his anthology as a pleasurable gift (χάρις: “grace,” “favor”) for a certain Diocles. The preface mentions 48 epigrammatists, whose works are equated to specific species of plants and flowers that Meleager has culled and plaited into a garland. Even though the reasons for several associations between authors and plants remain unclear, it appears that Meleager carefully selected the plants mentioned in his catalogue. The many references to roses in Sappho's poetry could account for the pairing of her poems with that flower: Sappho was also an important source for the flower metaphor since she compared her own poetry to roses from Pieria (fr. 55 Voigt). The connection between Antagoras of Rhodes and a “flexible ox-eye daisy” may have referred to the agile style of the poet and to an anecdote about his life: Antagoras was indeed known for having mocked the lack of taste of the Boeotians who failed to appreciate his *Thebaid* and for saying that their people had been aptly named after their ox-ears.⁶ The crown/garland metaphor draws on pre-existing metapoetic images. Plaiting flowers into a garland is a specific instance of the weaving metaphor: in their victory odes for famous athletes, archaic poets often compared their own poems to the crowns that the athletes received as a prize during the competition (Nünlist 1998, 215–23). An intriguing if late testimony on Simonides (*Gnomologium Vaticanum* 1144 = *FGrHist* 8 F 6; see Svenbro 1976, 193) suggests that he may have developed an original

version of the garland-weaving metaphor by drawing an opposition between Hesiod, the gardener (whose hard and useful work produced nourishing poetry/plants?) and Homer, the garland weaver (who composed rhapsodic and pleasurable, but possibly futile poems?). Although this anecdote is likely apocryphal, we cannot rule out that Meleager knew it. At any rate, he certainly knew the elegy in which Simonides represented himself, plaiting a crown made of newly opened flowers (Simon. *Eleg.* 22.15–16; Nünlist 1998, 215), and he was perhaps also familiar with another “Simonidean” motif closely related to the comparison between Homer and Hesiod: the poet should imitate the bee, who feeds on nourishing but pungent thyme and takes no notice of beautiful but empty flowers, rather than the garland weaver, who concentrates on an ephemeral and sterile work.⁷ The flower metaphor also had itself a very rich history: apart from Sappho’s aforementioned “roses from Pieria,” Meleager’s intended readers certainly knew of the comparisons between poems and flowers that could be found in archaic poetry (Galand-Hallyn 1994, 119; Nünlist 1998, 206–15). The word ἄνθος (“flower”) also conveyed ideas of color, brightness, freshness, youth, and hence innovation. The adjective ἀνθηρός (“flowery”) probably entered Greek critical terminology at an early stage. Dionysius of Halicarnassus opposes a flowery and elegant style or harmony (ἀνθηρός, γλαφυρός), represented by, e.g., Sappho and Simonides to an austere (αὐστηρός) one, represented by, e.g., Pindar and Antimachus (*De imit. [epitome]* 2.1–6 and *Comp.* 23; cf. Prioux 2014, 104; Gutzwiller 2015a). It is likely that Dionysius’ analysis reproduced earlier judgments on poets and rhetors and that the flowery/austere opposition occurred in earlier Hellenistic criticism. A passage in Xenophon suggests that the term ἀνθηρός was already connected with New Music in his times (*Cyr.* 1.6.38). At the turn of the fourth century BCE, Euphranor, a painter who also wrote a treatise on colors, claimed that his *Theseus* had been fed on beef, whereas Parrhasius’ *Theseus* had eaten roses: this anecdote shows that the smooth and flowery could then be used to characterize (and criticize) excessive delicacy and maybe contrasting uses of colors.⁸ The contrasting pair ἀνθηρόν/αὐστηρόν (“flowery” vs. “austere”) was also certainly used for characterizing opposite styles of painting (and possibly opposite styles of sculpture⁹) in the last third of the fourth century BCE. Pausias, a fourth-century painter known for his genre paintings and his small formats and possibly for using new-fangled (and florid?) pigments, such as oriental blues and pinks, was indeed famous for having represented a *Girl who plaited* or *sold flowers* (*Stephaneplokos* or *Stephanepolos*) – a picture whose very success suggests that it was understood as representative of his art (Prioux 2014, 104, 110–11, 138; Gutzwiller 2015a; Pouzadoux 2015). Pausias was frequently opposed to Nicias, another fourth-century painter, who was renowned for his fidelity to the tradition of

Polygnotean painting and possibly for restricting his use of color to the four (austere?) pigments traditionally used by Greek painters. The opening of Meleager's preface conforms to the idea according to which the "flowery" style was clearly associated, in his own times, with Sappho and other female poets, but also with Simonides and New Music. The first poets that he claims to have plaited in his *Garland* are indeed a trio of female poets (Anyte, Moero, and Sappho herself), and then Melanippides, a poet known for introducing New Music in the dithyramb, in spite of a heavy resistance (Plut. [*De mus.*] 1141d–e; Prioux 2014, 107). The fifth poet of Meleager's catalogue is Simonides, considered a major model for the epigrammatic genre and who possibly developed the imagery of poetry as garland weaving. Meleager associates him with the *new* twig of the grape bloom, an image that highlights the innovative character of his poetry and links his inspiration to wine, rather than to water.

Both as an author and as an editor, Meleager was deeply interested in programmatic and metapoetic images. In particular, he used the crown/garland image repeatedly and possibly selected poems from earlier poets because they mentioned crown/garlands, in order to unify the structure of his anthology (Gutzwiller 1998a, 236, 279–81, 284–86, 298, 304–6; Höschele 2010, 172–94). A remarkable case is the *anathematika* book, which possibly gave a prominent place to two poems about crowns: 6.212 by "Simonides" and 313 by Bacchylides. Meleager also composed new poems about crowns and explored the varied associations of crowns/garlands in real life – a strategy which enabled him to insert various kinds of crowns/garlands/wreaths throughout the anthology. Wreaths and flower crowns of course had their place in the *erotika*, as an ornament used by symposiasts in everyday life (see, e.g., 5.175, 198). 5.142–49, a short cycle containing mostly poems by Meleager himself, played on wreaths as sympotic objects, but also as metapoetic symbols. The programmatic meaning of the wreath is not only recalled in the obvious association between a symposiast's wreath and wine and love, but also in the way in which this short sequences plait together poems about wreaths and poems about grace or Graces/Charites.¹⁰ 5.147 introduces a catalogue of flowers that the poet intends to plate for Heliadora and thus recalls the preface, in which the plaiting has already taken place. In 5.136, the symposiast mentions a wreath full of memories (μναμόσυνον ... στέφανον) of an earlier love-scene with Heliadora: the rose itself cries because Heliadora is gone. In the context of Meleager's anthology, this poem would possibly suggest to the reader that the *Garland* itself was full of memories of earlier embraces. Celebrating the body of one's lover could also serve to introduce flower-related imagery, since a very common metaphor of youth is the bloom (cf. 5.144, 174, 12.159). In 5.157, the poet addresses a bee who prefers Heliadora to spring flowers. Meleager playfully combines the bloom of

youth metaphor with the eponymous image of his anthology in 12.256: in this epigram, it is no longer the poet-editor who plucks the sweet flowers of Greek poetry, but Eros who selects boys as the bright flowers that he will plait for Cypris. The first word of this epigram (πάγκαρπον, “bearing all kinds of fruit”) echoes the *incipit* of Meleager’s preface (4.1.1), while its last distich introduces another image already present in the conclusion of the preface: the flower wreath as a symbol of initiation and as an object used in religious rituals (cf. 4.1.57–58: in the preface, Meleager had claimed to offer the *Garland* to his friends and to other initiates (μύσταις), e.g., the learned readers who knew the mysteries of the Muses and possibly of Aphrodite). The image of poetry as initiation is not uncommon in Hellenistic poetry,¹¹ but the idea of associating it with the metapoetic image of the flower wreath was probably new. In 12.256, Meleager brings this image back to the mind of his readers by comparing the Tyrian boys that form the wreath of Cypris to the religious flower bearers (ἀνθοφόρων) of the goddess’s sacred grove. Wreaths were indeed a possible offering for a god, and sometimes used to adorn a god’s statue. In 12.95, Meleager speaks of a “Roman dish” (*satura lanx*) of beautiful boys and presents the Graces (Charites) as “gatherers of beauty” (κάλλευς ἀνθολόγοι). In 5.191, a *sphragis*, the anthologist brings together in a few words three possible associations of the wreath, by referring to the wreaths worn by suppliants, to those worn by revealers, and to a possible dedication to a goddess: Meleager indeed states that he will offer wreaths (στεφάνους) – the spoils of his own revels, a suppliant’s crown quenched by his own tears – to Aphrodite: this poem also contains an epigram within the epigram, since Meleager pretends he will inscribe a dedicatory text on the crown (on this poem, see Höschele 2010, 180–83). An even more complex *sphragis* is 12.165, in which Meleager again uses religious vocabulary, stating the white Cleoboulos and the dark Sopolis are both the “flower-bearers” (ἀνθοφόροι) of Cypris. He then plays on two possible meanings of πόθος (“desire,” but also two species of flowers – a white and a dark one; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 6.8.3; Gutzwiller 1998a, 195; Höschele 2010, 178–79) and puns on his own name (Μελέαγρος) by stating that the πόθος for both boys (or each of the two flowers) keeps following him and that the Erotes intend to weave him (the poet) as a garland made of “black” (μέλας) and “white” (ἀργός). Other variations on the flower image are 12.125, in which the poet, while dreaming of a lovely boy, “plucked” (ἐδρεπόμαν) vain hopes, and 7.207 (an epigram that could stem from the *epitumbia* or the *epideiktika*, or, more convincingly, from the *erotika*) in which Meleager evokes the death of Phanion’s pet hare and ends on a humorous note by stating that the animal died of eating too many flowers – a rather funny death for the pet of an anthologist’s girlfriend.

The book of *anathematika* included a few poems by earlier epigrammatists that mentioned athletic or poetic victories and crowns. Certain epigrams selected by Meleager also commemorated the dedication of a flower wreath to a deity (e.g., 6.225; see also 6.274 and 293). In 6.285, a weaver offers her tools to Athena and decides that she will now lead the life of a reveler and wear wreaths. The *epitumbia* book also contained a few crowns and wreaths, especially in the poems on the graves of famous poets: 7.414, by Nossis, mentioned the victorious crown once won by Rhinthon of Syracuse (see also 7.707–8); 7.14, by Antipater of Sidon, evoked Sappho’s grave and the way in which Peitho, the goddess of Persuasion, used to “plait the garland of the Pierids” with her. The same book also included poems praising Anacreon, the reveler, who used to wear flower wreaths (7.27; see also *APL* 306). Certain epigrams also mention the way in which garlands of flowers could be offered to the dead (7.657). The metaphor of the bloom of youth, a frequent *topos* in funerary epigrams, contributed to the presence of flowers and plants in the same book (see, for instance, 7.476, by Meleager). The *epideiktika* book also contained its share of flower wreaths: Aphrodite is beautifully adorned by wreaths (9.325) and flowers are a frequent offering for rustic gods.

Finally, in the last poem of his anthology (12.257), Meleager lends a voice to the paratextual sign that marked the end of ancient books: the *koronis*. In this poem, the *koronis* refers to her own snake-like design, that may call to mind the circular form of a wreath. Since the wording of this final epigram contains many echoes to the *Garland*’s preface, the reader was encouraged to reflect on the *Ringkomposition* of the whole anthology and of single books such as the *erotika* (Hörschele 2010, 174–75; Mondin 2011), and possibly to perceive an analogy between the round shape of ancient bookrolls, the structure of Meleager’s anthology, and the circular shapes of the *koronis* and of a flower wreath.

22.2 Meleager as Epigrammatist

22.2.1 *Antipater, Meleager, and the Art of Variation*

The carefully designed structure of the *Garland* enabled its readers to confront poems dealing with similar topics: the readers could very easily compare a variation written by Antipater or Meleager with their earlier models. Meleager’s work as a poet and an editor must have had a considerable influence on the evolution of epigram by increasing the importance of imitation and variation within this specific genre. As Gutzwiller suggests, it is

probable that important steps in this direction had already been taken by Antipater of Sidon, Meleager's near contemporary, who was a keen imitator of third-century poets (esp. Leonidas) and who designed series of self-variations on a given theme, such as the famous series of epigrams on Myron's Cow (Gutzwiller 1998a, 228–76; Squire 2010). As Antipater before him, Meleager was a master of imitation and self-imitation, and the *Garland* enabled the reader to admire his skill. For instance, the series of enigmatic epitaphs and visual riddles of 7.421–29 presented the reader with a pair of funerary monuments imagined by Meleager: one for himself (421) and one for Antipater (427). In the depiction of his own funerary monument, Meleager brought together a series of symbols that were supposed to define his own poetry: his grave was topped by the statue of a juvenile winged hunter, wearing a two-edged hunting spear. The image evoked Meleager, the homonymous mythological boar-hunter, but also resembled Eros, the god who inspired the *erotika*. The double-edged or ambiguous (ἄμφηκες) “gift of Apollo” symbolized the style, and possibly the elegiac meter of Meleager's poetry. The poet also defined himself as “a sophist,” a term that possibly invited the reader to remember that the art of the sophist and skilled arranger of words had been famously compared to hunting.¹² The sophist and the lover were both similar to hunters:¹³ a statue of Meleager, the mythological hunter, was thus an apt marker for the grave of a sophist who composed erotic epigrams. Meleager's other enigmatic grave (7.428) was designed as a riddle on Antipater of Sidon: the monument was supposed to show a brightly colored rooster holding a scepter and a palm branch, along with the low-scoring “Chian throw” of a dice (cf. Neger in this volume). This humorous image referred to Antipater's *poikilia* and supposedly excessive consumption of wine. On the one hand, it poked fun at Antipater, and on the other hand also paid homage to his skill in the invention of enigmatic epitaphs: the presence, between the two epigrams written by Meleager himself, of a visual riddle designed by Leonidas of Tarentum (7.422) and of five poems of a similar nature written by Antipater (7.723–7; Gutzwiller 1998a, 267–76; Prioux 2007, 256–82), made this clear. This sequence of epigrams staged a poetic rivalry between Antipater and Meleager as masters of variation.

22.2.2 *Meleager's Poetic Program*

Meleager often referred to floral imagery – a motif that ancient critics associated with an elegant (γλαφυρός) and pleasant (ἡδύς) style. Several terms connected to stylistic terminology and literary criticism occur prominently in Meleager's preface: the words *τορῶν* (“clear,” line 7, admitting Reiske's conjecture) and *ὀξύτορον*

(“piercing, sharp,” line 16) involved the idea of clarity and were connected with the idea of a chiseled poem (cf. Faber 2000). The words ἀδύς/ῆδύς recur at the beginning of several of his poems (5.139–40, 12.125, 154, 164), sometimes with an explicit connection to song (5.139–40). Meleager’s poems also contain many occurrences of the following adjectives and of their compounds: γλυκύς (“sweet,” “pleasant”), ἀπαλός (“delicate,” “soft”), ἄβρός (“graceful”), τερπνός (“charming”), and ἱαρός/ἰλαος (“cheerful”). They are often used to characterize the body, skin, or voice of the beloved, but their omnipresence also suggests that they define Meleager’s poetic program. The same could be said about the many occurrences of (and puns on) the words χαίρω (“rejoice”), χάρις (“grace/gratefulness”), or Χάριτες (“Graces”).¹⁴ Even though Meleager’s own poems were dispersed in the *Garland*, the repeated occurrences of such words connected with critical terminology provided the reader with guidelines for understanding this epigrammatist’s poetic program. Meleager also played on well-known programmatic and metapoetic images, which he reworked and sometimes subverted. One may cite the many epigrams on wine,¹⁵ and, among them, 7.196 in which a cicada, an insect traditionally connected with song and poetry, gets “drunk” by absorbing dew drops, or 12.49, which, starting with the rare compound ζωροπότηι (“drink neat wine,” repeated in an anaphora at the beginning of line 3), was clearly intended as an homage to Hedylus of Samos and to his wine-inspired poetry (cf. Ath. 11.497d). Meleager also often played on the motif of ἀγρυπνία (“sleeplessness,” “wakefulness”),¹⁶ a motif traditionally associated with the hard work of Hellenistic poets, and especially of Aratus who stayed awake at night to watch the stars and to refine his poems (cf. 9.507 by Callimachus). Meleager often speaks of his own ἀγρυπνία and of his lamp (the usual companion of the poet working at night), but, in his case, wakefulness was rather caused by love affairs. Another recurring feature is the way in which Meleager plays on the inscriptional origins of the epigrammatic genre and parodies funerary and anathematic epigrams in his *erotika*: several epigrams envision his own body and spoils receiving an ἐπίγραμμα (5.215, 242, 12.23; cf. 5.191) stating that the poet was killed or captured by Eros and presented as an offering to Aphrodite. Such epigrams offer a cunning variation on the well-known analogy between love and hunt.

22.2.3 *The Master of Erotic Epigram*

Many of these recurring images link Meleager’s poetic persona to erotic epigram. We have already noted that most of his own contributions to the *Garland* were to be found among the *erotika*. The choices that Meleager

made as an editor clearly reveal that he thought of himself mainly as an author of *erotika* and that he was proud of his own innovations in this specific category of epigrams.

Among the pervasive images of his amatory epigrams, one should especially cite the motif of the sea of love (love as a tranquil or, more often, as a dangerous navigation echoing earlier epigrams on shipwrecks),¹⁷ and the comparison between love and fire, which runs throughout his poetry.¹⁸ These leitmotifs conferred unity to his collection, but Meleager also explored various means to represent the emotions and sufferings of a lover's soul and was obviously interested in the possibility of expressing, in poetry, the psychological effects of love. His amatory epigrams are marked by the research of *enargeia* and by an attempt to provide a vivid image of the lover's inner life and to translate in words the long-lasting impression caused by the beloved on the soul of the lover. Among the techniques of *enargeia* Meleager employs, one may cite the way in which he frequently evokes the simultaneity of two different sensations¹⁹ (visual or tactile and olfactive, visual and auditive and, very often, visual or auditive and tactile²⁰) or the many repetitions of a given word (often in the form of an anaphora,²¹ a stylistic device related to emotional language). Another technique that Meleager uses to help his readers visualize the lover's inner life and excruciating feelings relies on implied references to the visual arts. Some of Meleager's *erotika* are indeed conceived as small scenes involving Eros and Psyche: Gutzwiller has shown that these imaginary mythological scenes often had counterparts in the visual arts (Gutzwiller 2010 and 2015b). One example is the image of Psyche feeding a baby Eros,²² or the image of Eros burning a butterfly or torturing Psyche with a torch.²³ This evidence suggests that Meleager expected his readers to know a number of well-diffused iconographic schemes and that he believed that their visual culture would help them conceptualize the scenes he depicted – scenes that were supposed to convey an allegoric and striking image of a lover's feeling.²⁴ In other epigrams, Meleager referred to the theories of contemporary philosophers on visual perception, on memories and the soul's reception of "impressions" (τύποι), and on the formation of *phantasiai* (5.155, 212, 12.57, 106, 125, 127; see Gutzwiller 2003; Platt 2006, 245–49). Occasionally, Meleager composed apostrophes to the soul that describe its endless cycle of desire, suffering, and oblivion: 12.86 follows in detail all the steps of the process, with remarkable attention to the succession of causes and effects (*parepomēna*) – a stylistic device known to create an effect of *enargeia*.²⁵ The poet also wrote mime-like inner monologues in which the lover's soul spoke with itself, thus enabling the reader to perceive its contradictions and the tensions between reason and passions.²⁶ He also designed striking

and astonishing images of the effects of passion, by representing his own heart leaping out of his chest from fear or bouncing as ball tossed by Eros (5.214, 12.147).

22.3 Epilogue: Meleager in Rome

The publication of the *Garland* was a major literary event: as a carefully edited selection of varied poems containing many programmatic pieces, it offered a possible model for subsequent poetry books. It also provided its reader with an impressive collection of amatory epigrams – a form that had little to do with the inscriptional origins of the genre and in which Meleager himself had introduced many innovations by focusing on the psychology of the lover. The *Garland* gained immediate success not only among Greek poets, but also among Latin poets of the early first century BCE. Probable imitations of the *Garland* and especially of Meleager’s poems have been identified in the rare fragments that we know of the first Latin epigrammatists, the “preneoterics” Porcius Licinius, Valerius Aedituus, and Q. Lutatius Catulus (cf. Morelli in this volume).²⁷ His influence on Catullus has also been widely recognized (Mondin 2011; Gutzwiller 2012), and, in the 40s, the *Garland* even inspired the creation of a painted decoration in a Pompeian house (Prioux 2008, ch. 1). The influence of Meleager’s *Garland* and of his *erotika* was of course not limited to the epigrammatic genre: an important number of allusions have been spotted in the works of Augustan poets (Roche 2014; Gutzwiller 2015b, 233), while others are certainly still to be discovered. With the reappearance of certain desired figures (e.g., Heliodora, Myiscus) from poem to poem, Meleager weaves small “narratives” that were clearly an important model for Roman love elegy.

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise stated, references to Greek epigrammatists are given according to the *Palatine Anthology*.
2. As Gutzwiller (2014) shows, this move is sometimes echoed in the dialects Meleager uses: most of his poems can be classified either as Attic-Ionic or Doric.
3. The precise date is debated: most scholars date it around 100 BCE (which is coherent with its probable influence on Q. Lutatius Catulus), but Argentieri (2007) has suggested a date as late as 80 BCE. The lemmatist of the proem states that Meleager flourished in the time of the last Seleucus (Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator, 96–95 BCE). This date may coincide with a major accomplishment such as the publication of the *Garland*. The *Garland* contains works of Antipater of

- Sidon, but not of Philodemus of Gadara, which supports an early date. Laurens (2012, 209); Gutzwiller (1998a, 232, 277); Maltomini in this volume.
4. The ninth book of the *Palatine Anthology* possibly consists of the remnants of two different books: a book of *epideiktika* (9.1–583) whose end was lost, and a book of ecphrastic epigrams of which the beginning was lost (9.584 ff.). This would explain why more than 300 ecphrastic epigrams preserved in the fourth book of the *Planudean Anthology* are not found in the *Palatine Anthology*. See Lauxtermann (1998).
 5. For a detailed account of the progresses made in understanding the *Garland's* organizing principles, see Gutzwiller (1998a, 276–79); Höschle (2010, 72–74).
 6. Cf. Lai (1997). For other examples, see Lai (1994, 1995), Prioux (2014, 107).
 7. *PMG* 593 (Plut. *Mor.* 41e–f). On the extension of the “Simonidean quotation,” see Nünlist (1998, 215–16).
 8. Plin. *HN* 35.129; Plut. *Mor.* 346a–b. See also Pollitt (1974), *s. vv. austerus, incundus*.
 9. Plin. *HN* 34.66, with the commentaries of Ferri (1942, 83–86 and 1946, ad loc.) and Prioux and Santin (2017). *Contra*, see Pollitt (1974), *s. vv. austerus, incundus*.
 10. On χάρις as a major concept of Meleager’s aesthetics, see Gutzwiller (1998b).
 11. The key model is Hesiod’s poetic initiation in the *Theogony*: see, e.g., Klooster (2011, 8, 163, 214–25); Hunter (2014, 36–37, 92–95, 240–41, 260). Among other models, one should mention Pind. *Ol.* 3.44–45 (Nünlist 1998, 242). For Meleager as an initiate in the mysteries of Aphrodite and on love as initiation, see 5.191, 6.162, 12.119.
 12. Pl. *Soph.* 221d–3b, 231d; the image could possibly go back to definitions given by the sophists themselves (cf. Philostr. *V S* 1.12 [496]). Barringer (2002, 88).
 13. The comparison between love and hunting is very frequent: Murgatroyd (1984). See 5.96, 177, 7.535, 12.23, 85, 92, 101, 109, 113, 125, 132a, 144.
 14. The Χάρπτες were the title of Meleager’s Menippean satires; Gutzwiller (1998b). See 5.184, 195, 7.79, 352, 417–19, 421, 468, 9.16, 12.106, 122, 154 and especially the polyptota and etymological figures of 5.140, 148, 151, 196.
 15. 5.136, 7.428, 9.331, 12.65, 68, 70, 74, 85, 117, 119, 164.
 16. 5.165–66, 175, 191, 197, 215. 5.166 and 175 are tightly knit together by opening apostrophes to Night. Other epigrams on a similar theme were related through the presence of references to dawn in their *incipit*: 5.172–73, 12.137.
 17. 5.57, 154, 176, 180, 190, 204, 12.52, 84–85, 157, 159, 167.
 18. 5.57, 160, 176, 179–80, 12.48–49, 59, 65, 72, 74, 76, 80–83, 86, 92, 109–10, 119, 127, 132a–33, 141. Meleager offered many variations on the motive, including puns on the name of his mistress Phanion (“little torch”).
 19. For standard techniques of *enargeia*, see Demetr. *Eloc.* 209–20.
 20. Scent+other sensation: see especially the compounds in μύρο- in 4.1, 5.175, 184, 197–8, 12.83, 95. Sound+other sensation: see, e.g., 4.1.58, 5.137, 139–40, 12.94, 133. Touch+other sensation: Meleager is especially interested in instants in which the skin of the lover is lightly “brushed” (ψαύω, ἀκροθιγής): 5.152, 163, 171, 12.68, 94. In 12.81 and 126, the burning flame of love and

suffering has started to brush the poet's heart; in 5.157, 12.82 and 126, the light brush has turned into a "scratching" nail (κνίσμα). Many poems concern sensations of warmth (χλιδάινομαι, θάλπομαι) or cold caused by the contact of a beloved body (or by its absence): 5.151, 165, 172–73, 12.63, 125. 5.137 mentions the whisper of Heliodora in the poet's ear. 12.95 contains graphic depictions of physical contact.

21. 5.8, 136, 139, 166, 175–76, 179, 182, 184, 7.195, 476, 535, 9.16, 12.49, 52, 68, 106, 158–59, 164, 167, *APL* 134. See also the chiasma of 12.141. 4.1 and 5.147 contain a series of anaphoras that contribute to shaping these poems as catalogues.
22. Compare 12.132 and *LIMC*, s.v. Psyche, cat. nr. 162–63 (see Gutzwiller 2010, 86 and fig. 8).
23. Compare 5.57 or 12.132 and *LIMC*, s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido, cat. nr. 88–106 (see Gutzwiller 2010, 86–89 and fig. 9).
24. Possible references to the visual arts and to mythological representations occur in 5.57, 152, 163, 179, 214, 12.47–48, 52, 56–57, 82–83, 86, 92, 110, 119, 132a, 158; *APL* 134. See <http://www.cn-telma.fr/callythea/index/> (search-word: Méléagre).
25. Demetr. *Eloc.* 217. See also 12.92 for an example of Meleager's attention to *parepomena*, and 12.132a–b for other apostrophes to the soul.
26. 12.117, 147. See also 5.24 (in the indirect style). In 5.182, a mimelike scene between the poet and his procuress, the poet keeps changing his mind; see also 5.184.
27. See Laurens (2012, 209–34). The doubts expressed by Morelli (2000, 177–85) are mainly linked to problems of relative chronology and to the recent attempts to propose a later date for Meleager's *Garland*.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

Moving to Rome: Antipater of Sidon, Archias of Antiocheia, Philodemus, and Others

Annemarie Ambühl

23.1 Epigram in a Changing World: The Poetics and Politics of Genre

When I remember the life I had in Rome, only a few years ago – recognized and respected by all the best people, well paid and well fed for my recitations, the envy of every poet in the city ... Then the agents of the king approached me and whispered in my ear: “What are you doing among these people? A Greek you are, not a Roman! The Roman conquerors have overrun your homeland. [...] Any who dare to protest, they strike down with a sword. Yet here you live in luxury, reciting poetry to tickle their ears!” “But what can I do to stop the Romans?” I asked them. “What can anyone do?”

(“Prologue: From the Secret Diary of Antipater of Sidon.” In Steven Saylor, *Wrath of the Furies: A Novel of the Ancient World*, 2)

Although we will never know whether Antipater of Sidon in his old age really did travel to Ephesus in a secret mission on behalf of Mithridates of Pontus, only to be appalled by the outrageous atrocities committed by the king against the Roman citizens in Asia Minor, the poet’s imaginary portrait from Steven Saylor’s historical crime novel serves well as an introduction to the issues to be treated in this chapter. Among these, crucial topics that have also been emphasized in recent scholarship are the self-fashioning of Greek poets

and intellectuals, their interactions with Roman patrons and audiences, and their adaptation to the new political realities as reflected in their epigrams.

Antipater and his fellow Greek epigrammatists from the end of the second century BCE until the beginning of the first century CE indeed stand at various crucial turning-points in the evolution of the genre as well as in a wider political and cultural sense. Spanning the temporal range from the late Hellenistic to the early imperial age and the geographical range of an increasingly “globalized” world in a period that witnessed Rome’s conquest of the East and the transition from the republic to the principate, they actively partake in the transfer of epigram from Greece to Rome. Thanks to the previous generations of Hellenistic poets, epigram had firmly established itself as a literary genre, circulated in epigram books and anthologies. Through its sophisticated play with the conventions of inscribed epigram as well as through its intertextuality with the inherited grander genres, epigram had claimed its own space in Greek literature. With the poets to be considered here, who bridge the gap between the *Garlands* of Meleager and Philip (cf. Argentieri 2007), the amatory, funerary, dedicatory, and epideictic epigrams by their Hellenistic predecessors now turn themselves into models to be imitated through the “art of variation” (Gutzwiller 1998, 227–322).

While scholarship has often focused on the historical and cultural backgrounds of the epigrammatists on the one hand and the poetics of the genre on the other hand, this chapter tries to combine both approaches. To be sure, developments inherent in the genre of epigram cannot always be distinguished from reactions to changes occurring in the external political and sociocultural contexts. Are the epigrammatists’ creative engagement with the Greek cultural heritage and their almost obsessive fascination with the past (manifested for instance in fictitious epitaphs of famous poets) to be seen as an homage to epigram’s epigraphic roots, or do they testify to a sense of precarious identity in a rapidly changing world? Does the transfer of Greek epigram to Rome respond to an increasing demand on part of the Romans, or is this demand itself triggered and stimulated by the Greek poets?

In the following, the movement of epigram from Greece and the Greek-speaking world to Italy and Rome will be traced based on the biographies (or what can be reconstructed of them) of a few of the more prominent epigrammatists with various degrees of attachment to Rome, such as Antipater of Sidon, his younger namesake Antipater of Thessalonica, Archias of Antiocheia, or Philodemus of Gadara. By studying the “outside” view on individual epigrammatists (e.g., Cicero’s opposing portraits of Archias and Philodemus) and the “inside” view derived from the epigrams themselves, Greek constructions of Rome and Romans are compared and contrasted with Roman constructions of Greek epigram and epigrammatists. Through

a close reading of select epigrams that explicitly or implicitly treat the topics of traveling, love, war, and peace, possible reflections of a globalized world in these texts are identified and interpreted in their contexts. In this way, the Greek past and Rome's future are brought together, captured in the brief moments of an epigrammatic presence.

23.2 Greek Poets and Roman Audiences: Outside and Inside Views

Unfortunately, the epigram books of the individual authors have been lost. Consequently, their original productions cannot be reconstructed with any certainty from the epigrams which Meleager and Philip selected to be included in their respective anthologies (that themselves were in turn excerpted in the *Greek Anthology*). Yet for some of the poets contained in the *Garlands*, external information exists about their lives and works. This is the case with Antipater of Sidon, Archias, and Philodemus, who have all left their traces in the works of Cicero. Moreover, in the case of Philodemus, the catastrophic eruption of Mount Vesuvius that destroyed the town of Herculaneum in 79 CE has luckily preserved substantial papyrus fragments of his own prose writings from the so-called Villa of the Papyri owned by his patron Lucius Calpurnius Piso.

Antipater of Sidon, the oldest of the epigrammatists to be considered here and the only one undoubtedly included in Meleager's *Garland* (Meleager, *AP* 4.1.42 = 1.42 GP), is remembered by Cicero in *De oratore*. In this dialogue with its dramatic setting in the year 91 BCE, he has the orator Lucius Licinius Crassus remind his collocutor Quintus Lutatius Catulus of the great improvisatory and mnemonic talents possessed by the poet Antipater of Sidon (3.194: *homo ingeniosus ac memor*), skills that are to an even higher degree required in a (Roman) orator (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 10.7.19 on Antipater and Archias). Although Cicero here does not explicitly specify the verses improvised and recited by Antipater as epigrams (he mentions hexameters and various other meters), it is surely not a coincidence that the internal addressee of these words is Catulus, himself a gifted amateur poet who introduced Hellenistic erotic epigram into Latin literature (cf. Morelli 2007, 531–34). Cicero's wording implies a certain regularity (*solitus est*) to Antipater's performances (probably in Rome), whether this presupposes one extended stay or several visits.

While Cicero's references to Antipater (including a short note in *De fato* 5 on the curious circumstances of his death in old age) betray a somewhat distant admiration for a famous poet he may never have met in person, his

references to his contemporaries Archias and Philodemus are colored by personal bias and therefore raise interesting questions on how the presence of Greek epigrammatists was perceived from a Roman point of view. His acquaintance with the Greek poet Archias of Antiocheia induced Cicero to take over the latter's defense against the charge of fraudulently claiming Roman citizenship (*Pro Archia*, delivered in 62 BCE). In praising Archias' skills as a poet and intellectual (*Arch.* 3: *pro summo poeta atque eruditissimo homine*, "in defence of an excellent poet and a man of the utmost learning"; 18–19) Cicero not only acts as a lawyer defending his client – which implies that his Roman audience, too, would have viewed such achievements in a positive light, especially if they are made to serve the glory of Rome and its citizens – but also has a personal axe to grind. Although Archias (cf. his adopted name Aulus Licinius Archias) had mainly been attached to the family of the Licinii Luculli and other nobles since his first arrival in Rome in his youth in 102 BCE, the year of Marius' and Catulus' joint consulate (*Arch.* 5), Cicero frames his own relationship to the poet as a pupil–teacher relation (*Arch.* 1), as well as in terms of a personal friendship with overtones of Roman patronage (*amicitia*) implying reciprocal benefits.

The favor hoped for by Cicero in return for his successful defense consists in an (obviously Greek) poem composed by Archias on the achievements of his consulship (*Arch.* 28). Cicero would rather have preferred a more substantial poem, perhaps a (brief) historical epic (such as his own *De consulatu suo*), but he probably would also have been content with a panegyric epigram or two. In a letter to his friend Atticus dating from May 61 BCE (*Att.* 1.16.15 = *CLA* 16), he mentions some epigrams written by Atticus for this purpose, as cold comfort for his "desertion" by the Greek poet Thyillus, known to us as an epigrammatist (1–3 Page, *FGE*; cf. *Suppl. Hell.* 767–68). Yet, as a disappointed Cicero complains in the same letter, Archias did not write anything about him either, but instead might now address a composition to the Caecilii Metelli along the lines of the Greek poem he had written for the Luculli (cf. *Arch.* 19 and 21 on his poems for Marius on the Cimbric War and for Lucullus on the Mithridatic War). Apart from Cicero's self-fashioning, this story also problematizes the place of epigram in the hierarchy of encomiastic genres at Rome.¹ Unfortunately, we do not possess the actual poems by Archias (epics, or rather epigrams?; cf. *Suppl. Hell.* 194–200) – if they ever existed as written compositions – and moreover it is doubtful which of the epigrams ascribed to the various poets called Archias in the *Greek Anthology* (cf. Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, 432–35) are to be ascribed to "our" Archias.² Anyway, none of the transmitted epigrams is panegyric, which however does not prove that none existed, as the later anthologies

may have applied different criteria of selection.³ But in the end, we only have Cicero's own discourse to rely on.

A different picture, or rather the reverse side of the same coin, is sketched in Cicero's speech *In Pisonem*, held in 55 BCE two years after his return from exile which Piso as consul had helped to bring about. Again we have to take into account personal bias and conventions of genre when assessing the view of Greek epigram and its role in Roman social life presented here, as the tone of this invective against his political enemy contrasts sharply with the hymnic praise of the beneficial role of Greek poetry for the glory of Rome showcased in *Pro Archia*. The Greek philosopher-poet living with Piso (at the Gulf of Naples, but probably at least temporarily also in Rome), whom Cicero does not mention by name (*Pis.* 68–72), is unmistakably Philodemus of Gadara. Clearly Cicero is at pains to spare the learned man (*Fin.* 2.119) and skilled poet (*Pis.* 70) by putting the blame mainly on his association with Piso – the “little Greek” (*Graeculus*) is corrupted by the Roman magistrate, not vice versa – but still he views the content of his epigrams less favorably: ... *omnis hominis libidines, omnia stupra, omnia cenarum conviviorumque genera, adulteria denique eius delicatissimis versibus expresserit, in quibus si qui velit possit istius tamquam in speculo vitam intueri*, “all his lusts, all his sexual offenses, all kinds of dinner parties, and even all his adulteries he has described in the most delicate verses; in these, if you like, you can see that fellow's way of life reflected as in a mirror” (*Pis.* 70–1). Although here it is the Roman patron's and not the Greek poet's lifestyle that is at stake, nevertheless most of the epigrams by Philodemus transmitted through Philip's *Garland* are amatory and convivial. Such a biographical and moralist reading of poetry, which was also applied to contemporary Latin love poetry (e.g., Catull. 16.5–6) and which is opposed by Philodemus himself in his theoretical writings (cf. *On Poems* book 5), not only ascribes to Philodemus' epigrams a potentially corrupting influence on Roman audiences, but also deems them unworthy of his philosophical profession – even if he is an Epicurean.⁴ In his invective against Piso, Cicero thus slyly employs Roman prejudices against Greek epigram.

Let us now pose the “inside” view against these Roman views of Greek epigram and epigrammatists. In the case of Antipater of Sidon and Archias, this is almost impossible, as at least in their extant epigrams there are no direct references to their connections with Rome and Romans. Things change, however, with Philodemus and Antipater of Thessalonica, who both address a Piso, Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (consul in 58 BCE) and his son Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi Pontifex (consul in 15 BCE) respectively, in terms suggestive of a patronage relationship. The only epigram by Philodemus directly addressed to “my dearest Piso” (φιλτάτε Πείσων) by his “companion,

the lover/beloved of the Muses” (μουσοφιλῆς ἔταρος) assumes the form of an invitation poem for a modest meal in honor of Epicurus (*AP* 11.44 = 23 *GP Garland* = 27 *Sider*). The various contrasts evoked in the epigram can be read on several levels: as a sociological role-play with the wealthy patron who with his presence blesses the poet’s “simple hut” (1: εἰς λιτὴν ... καλιάδα), in terms of the relationship between poetry and philosophy, and as an intertextual play of epigram with epic through the allusion to the Phaeacians’ banquet from the *Odyssey*. But at the same time the hierarchies are deconstructed. The patron–client relationship dissolves into the shared Epicurean ideal of a quiet, self-sustained life in the company of like-minded friends; the opposition between poetry and philosophy is suspended in “philosophical epigram” (cf. Clayman 2007, 512–17); and the conversations (or rather the recitation and improvisation of epigrams) to be heard at the humble party will be “much sweeter” than at the Phaeacians’ court in Homer (5–6: ἀλλ’ ἐπακούσῃ / Φαιήκων γαίης πούλῳ μελιχρότερα) – just as slender epigram as a genre is “sweeter” than “fat” epic (e.g., *Hedylus* 5 *GP* = *Ath.* 11.472F). Yet Philodemus addresses his patron in his prose works, too; for he dedicated to Piso at least one treatise, *On the Good King according to Homer*. Moreover, Philodemus seems to have entertained a large network of contacts with Greek philosophers and young Roman poets, among them Vergil, on the Gulf of Naples. Thus, even more so than in the case of Archias, his dealings with Romans are in no way limited to the genre of epigram.

In the case of Antipater of Thessalonica, epigram seems to assume a much more central role. Nine of his extant epigrams stage his relationship with the younger Piso. The reciprocal expectations underlying his relationship with his Roman patron, which in Philodemus’ epigram only emerge in the last two lines (7–8: ἦν δέ ποτε στρέψῃς καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ὄμματα, Πείσων, / ἄξομεν ἐκ λιτῆς εἰκάδα πιστέρην, “and if you ever turn your eyes towards us, too, instead of a simple feast we shall celebrate a richer one”), are spelled out much more explicitly and the roles divided more neatly – at least on the surface (on the ambiguities involved see Whitmarsh 2011, 208–10): the poet places himself in the role of the worshipper, dedicating a poetic gift to the “god” and hoping for a favor from him in return – be it a material gift or the recognition of his poetry (*AP* 9.428, 9.92, 9.93, 6.249 = 1, 2, 31, 45 *GP Garland*). Again, these images need not be read exclusively in the sociological sense of a patronage relationship, but can also be interpreted as a meditation on the genre of epigram itself, framed in Callimachean poetological metaphors of the small poem: epigram is the delicate drop of dew intoxicating the cicada (*AP* 9.92.1: Ἀρκεῖ τέττιγας μεθύσαι δρόσος), the exquisite grain of frankincense offered on the altar (9.93.4: ὀλίγῳ ... λιβάνῳ).

In view of Antipater's self-fashioning as the perfect Greek epigrammatist in the service of his Roman patron, it is questionable whether his epigram on Piso's campaign against the Thracian Bessi should be used as evidence that he also composed a longer, epic poem on Piso's military achievements (*AP* 9.428 = 1 *GP Garland*):

Σοί με, Θρηκίης σκυληφόρε, Θεσσαλονίκη
μήτηρ ἢ πάσης πέμψε Μακεδονίης·
αἰίδω δ' ὑπὸ σοὶ δεδμημένον Ἄρεα Βεσσῶν,
ὅσσ' ἐδάην πολέμου, πάντ' ἀναλεξάμενος.
ἀλλά μοι ὡς θεὸς ἔσσο κατήκοος, εὐχομένου δὲ 5
κλύθι. τίς ἐς Μούσας οὐατος ἀσχολίη;

To you, bearer of the spoils from Thrace, Thessalonica, mother of all Macedonia, has sent me. I sing of the Ares of the Bessi subdued beneath you, after having collected (or: read through) all I have learnt of the war. But do listen to me, as a god, and hear my prayer. How can the ear lack leisure for the Muses? (translation adapted from *GP Garland* and Whitmarsh 2011, 199)

Instead of viewing this epigram as a mere companion piece of a hypothetical panegyric poem (so Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, 21), it can be read as the real thing itself, a quasi-epic version of the whole war in the miniature guise of an epigram (cf. Whitmarsh 2011, 199–201, on its programmatic value). The competing hierarchy between bigger and smaller panegyric pieces, that in the case of Archias had manifested itself in poems composed in different genres (at least as evidenced by Cicero), is here enacted within the brief compass of epigram itself. With Antipater of Thessalonica, epigram has moved not only from Macedonia to Rome, but also from the margins to the center in the hierarchy of panegyric genres. In the last section, we will now trace the movement of epigram from Greece to Rome in yet another sense, by following its geographical journey as reflected in some of its favorite topics.

23.3 Reflections of a Globalized World in Epigram: Traveling, Love, War, and Peace

As we have seen above, the biographies of the epigrammatists, as far as they can be reconstructed from external testimonies and their own writings, show a relatively high degree of geographical and perhaps also social mobility. Greek poets like Antipater of Sidon, Archias of Antiocheia, and Philodemus

of Gadara, who were born in the Hellenized cities of Syria and Phoenicia during the period of transition from the Seleucids to the Roman Empire, traveled through Asia Minor and Greece and finally to South Italy and Rome, where they spent a considerable part of their lives (cf. Cic. *Arch.* 4–5). These migrations were caused directly or indirectly by the struggle for power going on in the Mediterranean, with war and its consequences looming in the background. For instance, the epigrammatist Diodorus Zonas is usually identified with the elder of the two orators from Sardes mentioned by Strabo (13.4.9; cf. *Suppl. Hell.* 382–3 and Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, 263–64 and 413 on Diodorus and Zonas) and according to this testimony also played a political role in the Mithridatic War. In this section we will investigate how this historical context is mirrored in their poetry, not so much in the sense of autobiographical information but rather in the sense of literary strategies (“geopoetics”) inscribed within the fictional cosmos of the epigrams. While the motif of traveling can sometimes assume a metaliterary significance as a journey through the epigram book (Hörschele 2007), here I read it as a reflection of the surrounding world as experienced and represented by the epigrammatists.

Antipater of Sidon in any case presents himself as a world-traveler in his epigrams, whether this reflects his actual journeys or is intended to convey the impression of a world-wise poet. The focus lies on the East and on Greece, whereas Rome’s presence is acknowledged in a more indirect way (for an exception see below). In *AP* 9.58 he claims to have seen all the Seven Wonders of the World, including the walls and hanging gardens of Babylon and the pyramids, with pride of place given to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.⁵ Egypt is also the scene of a funeral epigram on a young Ptolemaic prince (*AP* 7.241 = 25 GP), which however does not necessarily presuppose Antipater’s presence at the royal court, for he mentions the mourning of his homeland Phoenicia.⁶

The “globalization” displayed within Antipater’s epigrams finds its counterpart in the history of their production and transmission. An interesting case in point is his dedicatory epigram on the gifts set up on Delos by the rich banker Philostratus of Palestine (*IDelos* 2549 = 42 GP), which has been found as an inscription on the base of the latter’s statue and was not transmitted in the *Greek Anthology*. As crowning benefactions it mentions two porticos erected for the military protectors of Delos, Rome and Athens respectively, but without naming them. In this way it conveys the impression of a perfect balance between the two powers, although in view of the real power relations the adjective “δορίσκαπτος” (“ruling by the spear”) fits Rome much better (cf. Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 67). Another example is a Phrygian inscriptional epitaph from the first century

water, who alone has no bones in her body for she was all milk set in cheese-baskets, has gone to Italy so that she might put a stop to Rome's warmongering and battles with her delicate charm. (translation adapted from Gutzwiller 1998, 258–59)

At first glance this epigram seems to confirm all the Roman stereotypes about Greek epigram and Greek lifestyle in general that we also have encountered in Cicero's speech against Piso: its effeminate subject matter and its playful style contrast with Roman austerity and military might. Of course this can be read as a subversive move on Antipater's part to mirror the Romans' image of Greece and throw it back in their faces in an elegant and seductive way (so Gutzwiller 1998, 259). This metaphor of decadent but also sophisticated and attractive Greek culture taming warlike but uncouth Rome (cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.155–56: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes / intulit agresti Latio*, "Greece captive has captivated the savage victor and brought the arts into rustic Latium") would then place the poet Antipater and his poem in the role of the dancer moving to Italy, an "autobiographic" clue missing from his other epigrams, perhaps aided by the poetological associations of the terms ἄθλημα (line 4) and χάρις (line 8).⁹ But what would a Greek audience make of this utopian fantasy of "make love not war"? Can one dancing girl (or one poet) really stop Rome from conquering Greece and the rest of the world?

The topic of war and peace is also treated in further epigrams by Antipater of Sidon. A fictitious epitaph of the famous Corinthian courtesan Lais from the fifth century BCE (*AP* 7.218 = 23 GP) ascribes to her similar pacifying powers as to the dancer Antiodemis: by opening her bed for everyone for a fee, unlike Helen she prevented a possible war among her suitors. This not only alludes to the Trojan War but also evokes a war among the Greeks themselves, such as the Peloponnesian War and the ensuing wars between the various confederations of Greek city states from the fourth century BCE and the Hellenistic era. Moreover, the association of Corinth with the threat of war might recall even more recent events, for we have come a long way since Alcaeus of Messene had hailed Titus Flamininus as the liberator of Greece from Philip V of Macedon (*AP* 5 = 5 GP).¹⁰ The destruction and depopulation of Corinth by the Roman general Lucius Mummius in 146 BCE, precisely 50 years after Flamininus' proclamation of freedom at the Isthmian Games, is commemorated in two epigrams by Antipater from different points of view. In *AP* 9.151 (= 59 GP), the Nereids mourn the lost beauty of the city and the fate of its former inhabitants; in *AP* 7.493 (= 68 GP), the girl Rhodopa speaking from Hades tells how her mother first killed her with a sword and then hanged herself, choosing death as a free woman

above slavery. In contrast to an epigram by his contemporary Polystratus lamenting the sack of Corinth (*AP* 7.297 = 2 GP), Antipater does not mention Memmius nor the Romans as agents of the destruction, perhaps in order to avoid offending his connections in Rome. Instead, through verbal allusions and thematic references he suggests links with Euripides' tragedies on the Fall of Troy and an epigram by Anyte on the attack of Miletus by the Galatians (*AP* 7.492 = 23 GP; cf. Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 81, 88–89, and 103 and Penzel 2006, 166–67, 191–92); in addition, the emphasis on lamenting women as a typical element of the topos of *urbs capta* may recall the so-called tragic style of Hellenistic historiography (cf. Polyb. 2.56). To transform the recent military catastrophe suffered by Greece into a timeless tragic disaster and to insert it into a literary tradition reaching back to the Trojan War might thus act as a consolation for a Greek audience.

The issue of Rome's domination over Greece becomes less controversial in the later generations of epigrammatists contained in the *Garland of Philip*, when Rome's power has been consolidated and its aggression is now turned against "barbarian" enemies. As we have seen above, Antipater of Thessalonica praises his patron Piso's campaigns against the Thracians from 13 to 11 BCE (*AP* 9.428 = 1 GP *Garland*), and by describing weapons and other objects in Piso's possession that allegedly had belonged to Alexander the Great and other famous Greek warriors (*AP* 6.335, 9.552, 6.241 = 41–43 GP *Garland*) he styles the Roman as the rightful heir of Alexander's world empire – an empire now ruled by another "king" (τὸν ἐμὸν βασιλῆα), as he acknowledges by requesting the emperor's favor for Piso as well as for his own poems (*AP* 10.25 = 40 GP *Garland*). In two other of his epigrams Augustus' grandson and adoptive son Gaius is addressed: the one, assuming the form of an ecphrastic description of the Victories adorning his house, prays for divine favor for the young prince (*AP* 9.59 = 46 GP *Garland*), the other anticipates his success in his mission against the Parthians that will establish Rome's power as a true global empire (*AP* 9.297 = 47 GP *Garland*, esp. lines 5–6): Πῶμην δ' Ὀκεανῷ περιτέρμονα πάντοθεν αὐτὸς / πρῶτος ἀνερχομένῳ σφράγισαι ἡλίῳ, "be yourself the first to seal Rome that is bounded by the Ocean from all sides with the rising sun."

This shift towards panegyric for the emperor and members of his house is typical of Greek epigrams from the early imperial period (e.g., by Diodorus the Younger, Crinagoras, Philip, or Leonides of Alexandria). Although they still address a range of members of the Roman elite, these epigrammatists tend to focus more and more on members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, whether they indeed enjoyed imperial patronage or aimed at gaining status among their audiences by associating themselves with the new center of power in their epigrams (cf. Ambühl 2007, 292–94).

Thus, with the transition from the republic to the principate and the prospect of an Augustan world empire, Greek epigram's movement to Rome, that had started with a few individual epigrammatists' journeys to Rome during the troubled times of Rome's conquest of Greece, has finally been completed, and epigram has turned from a pastime viewed with a certain degree of suspicion by its Roman audiences into a genre worthy of emperors – at least from the perspective of its Greek composers.¹¹

NOTES

1. Interestingly, *Arch.* 25 is the first occurrence in Latin literature of the term *epigramma* as a literary genre, although not in relation to Archias.
2. Cic. *Div.* 1.79 mentions an epideictic-ecphrastic poem by “*noster ... Archias*” on the actor Roscius; cf. the epigrams of this genre ascribed to Archias, 25–34 GP *Garland*.
3. E.g., *P.Oxy.* 3724, containing ca. 175 incipits of epigrams, shows significant overlap with epigrams by Philodemus transmitted in the *Greek Anthology*, but seems to focus more on Italian topics (cf. Sider 1997, 203–25).
4. In a different guise, the relationship between Philodemus' epigrams and his more “serious” philosophical writings has intrigued modern scholarship, too (cf. Obbink 1995; Sider 1997, 24–40; Beer 2011).
5. In Gow and Page (1968) this epigram is assigned to Antipater of Thessalonica (91). Here is not the place to discuss the problem concerning which epigrams are to be ascribed to which one of the two Antipatri; cf. the study by Argentieri (2003, esp. 124–26), who tentatively ascribes it to Antipater of Sidon, as well as the thematically related epigram *AP* 9.790 = Antipater of Thessalonica 92 GP *Garland*.
6. For a possible identification with Ptolemy Philometor's son Eupator, who died around 150 BCE, see Gow and Page (1965, vol. 2, 54), and Argentieri (2003, 30–31).
7. The same papyrus also features Antipater's dedicatory epigram 48 GP, which is not in the *Greek Anthology* (cf. Gutzwiller 1998, 34–35, 232).
8. On connections between Philodemus' epigrams and Latin love elegy cf. Keith (2011).
9. E.g., Leonides of Alexandria uses ἄθρυμα (“plaything”) of one of his epigrams (*AP* 6.322.3 = 2.3 *FGE*) and Χάρτες (“Graces”) as the title of his books of epigrams (*AP* 6.328.1 = 7.1 *FGE*).
10. On Greek epigrams from the second century BCE engaging with Rome see Meyer and Wirbelauer (2007); cf. Hartigan (1979, 5–13), for epigrams on the destruction of Corinth.
11. I would like to thank Jackie Murray for correcting my English.

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FURTHER READING

The basic edition of the epigrammatists treated here is Gow and Page (1965 and 1968). For individual poets there exist more recent commented editions: for Antipater of Sidon, Clack (2001); for both Antipatri and the editorial problems involved, Argentieri (2003); for Antipater of Sidon and Archias of Antiocheia, Penzel (2006); for Archias, Beschi (2011); and for the epigrams of Philodemus, Sider

(1997). The bibliography on Philodemus' other works is constantly expanding along with the deciphering of the papyrus fragments; overviews of his poetic production in the context of his theoretical and philosophical writings and his contacts with and impact on Latin poets such as Lucretius, Varius Rufus, Vergil, and Horace can be found in Gigante (1995), Obbink (1995), Sider (1997, 12–24), Armstrong et al. (2004), and Beer (2009).

Among studies of the other epigrammatists before their literary and cultural background cf. the chapter on Antipater of Sidon in Gutzwiller (1998, 236–76; cf. Gutzwiller 2013); see also the forthcoming *Dictionnaire de l'épigramme littéraire dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine* (Meyer and Urlacher-Becht). On Roman patronage see Gold (1982; 1987, esp. 73–86 on Cicero and Archias) and Hutchinson (2013, esp. 45–76), on issues of identity and self-fashioning of Greek intellectuals and poets between Greece and Rome see Rawson (1985) and Schmitz and Wiater (2011), esp. the contribution by Whitmarsh (cf. Whitmarsh 2013, 137–53). On Cicero's engagement with Greek culture in his speeches see, e.g., Steel (2001, 82–98), Zetzel (2003), and Dugan (2005, 21–74).

PART IV

**LATIN AND GREEK
EPIGRAM AT ROME**

The Beginnings of Roman Epigram and Its Relationship with Hellenistic Poetry

24.1 Epigraphy and Literature: A Monumental Style

Honc oino ploirume cosentient R[omane]
 duonoro optumo fuise viro,
 Luciom Scipione. Filios Barbati,
 consol censor aidilis hic fuet a[pud vos].
 Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe, 5
 dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto[d].
 (*CIL* 1².9)

A Companion to Ancient Epigram, First Edition. Edited by Christer Henriksén.
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conquered Corsica and the town of Aleria, to the deities of Weather he dedicated a temple, in return for benefits.

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus
 Gnaivod patre prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque,
 quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit,
 consol censor aidilis quei fuit apud vos,
 Taurasia Cisauna Samnio cepit, 5
 subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdoucit.
 (CIL 1².7)

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus, an offspring of his father Gnaeus, a valorous and wise man, whose good looks matched his boldness, who was consul, censor and aedile among you. He conquered Taurasia, Cisauna, and Samnium, he overcame all of Lucania and brought hostages.

The grave of Barbatus (the founder of the clan) is located down the main corridor of a large underground shrine, just outside Porta Capena. The magnificent sarcophagus is adorned in a syncretistic fashion, with moldings at the base, a central Doric frieze, and an Ionic volute crowning at the top; the tomb of Lucius is placed almost in front of it, on the left side of the corridor. The graves were originally decorated with two red paint inscriptions bearing the names of the two deceased, and, in Lucius' case, a very short *cursus*. Epigrams were added later, first for the son, and then for the father. We may infer that the *elogia* were part and parcel of a complex strategy, which evolved in more than one stage: the shrine became a sort of memorial of the family (several sarcophagi were later added to the first one), a Hellenizing sepulchral counterpart of the parade of memories and ancestors' masks in the very center of the house's atrium. Only in the last decades of the third century BCE were more elaborated *tituli* added: they combine private memories and public celebration, Roman and Hellenistic eulogistic strategies, *laudatio funebris* and Greek epigrams, literature and epigraphic prose eulogy.² The hypogeum was a private monument: access to it was perhaps not easy for passers-by, but this does not mean that formulaic idioms such as CIL 1².7.4 *consol censor aidilis hic fuet a[pud vos]* (or the similar CIL 1².9.4), were intended exclusively for the members of the clan (see *contra* Lamoine 1999–2000); the Roman community is clearly involved (see CIL 1².9.1 *hunc oino ploirume cosentiont R[omane]*). The epigraphic dialogue between the "voice" of the tomb (or the deceased) and the passer-by has been re-interpreted: the allocution *apud vos* is addressed to Rome and the Romans (see Morelli 2000, 28–29). A nationalistic mood also pervaded early Roman epos and, in general, poetic literature: the aristocratic elites were at this stage, in Gramsci's

terms, the “general class,” proud interpreters of a national culture. Certainly, the reception of the epigrammatic genre was integral to the cultural movement which re-adapted Hellenistic epos in the last decades of the third century BCE. The Roman Saturnian verse adopted features of the elegiac distich, the standard meter of the Greek epigram: the *elogia* are both organized in three couplets matching three different sections of the poems (lines 1–2 *virtutes*; 3–4 name, family origins, and *cursus*; 5–6 deeds: the ordering is sophisticatedly interlocked in lines 1–4 of Barbatus’ epigram).

Matteo Massaro (2008, 38–40) suggests that the two Scipionic *elogia* could be reproductions of the *tituli* which decorated the portraits or the masks of the ancestors (*imagines*) in the atrium of the house. This sounds attractive, but there is unfortunately no evidence of verse inscriptions adorning aristocratic *imagines*, at least not in this period. The “setting” of the shrine was probably inspired by that of the public hall in the family house; it is equally undeniable that the *elogia* worked perfectly, as we have them, as honorific Hellenizing epigrams decorating the graves of two prominent figures in the history of both the family and the nation. Nonetheless, Massaro’s suggestion lets us focus on a key issue of the history of Roman epigraphic verse, that is, its relationship with literary epigram. The (slightly later) distich of Ennius on a portrait of himself (*fr. var.* 15–16) has characteristics largely resembling those of the Scipionic *elogia*:

Aspicite, o cives, senis Enni imaginis formam:
hic vestrum pinxit maxima facta patrum.³

O citizens, look at the portrait of Ennius, in his old age: he painted the greatest deeds of your fathers.

Cicero, who quotes the epigram (*Tusc.* 1.34), does not specify what kind of *imaginis forma* is in question. It is uncertain whether the distich is a funerary one, as the *imago* is probably a statue or a painting; nonetheless, several idioms and topics are also typical of the funerary tradition: both the tomb and the *imago* present a prominent person as an *exemplum virtutis* to the Roman public.⁴ The ecphrastic and sepulchral epigrams share a common celebrative tone. The aristocratic elites valorized the eulogistic potential of the Hellenistic epigram, and Ennius associates himself with the elites he had celebrated in his poetry (in Cicero’s words, “he demands the glory as reward from those whose fathers he gave glory”). His *imago* is shown to admiring *cives* (they are not simple passers-by or anonymous addressees), in the same way he showed them the “painting” (*pinxit*) of their fathers’ deeds. This poem plays, then, a key role in the affirmation of the social function of the

poet in Rome (see Suerbaum 1968, 215). The same can be said of *fr. var.* 17–18 (also quoted by Cic. *Tusc.* 1.34, and at 117):

Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu
faxit: cur? Volito vivos per ora virum.

Let none bejewel me with tears, or attend my funeral with cries: why? Living,
I fly from mouth to mouth.

Once again the linkage is with some conventions of both the Hellenistic epigram and the Roman epigraphic *elogium*. In line with the usual funerary habit, mourning was mostly suited to the *mortui ante diem*, but a notable exception is provided by the Hellenistic epigram, where weeping for great poets is a consolidated *topos* (Suerbaum 1968, 304–5). It can also be found in Naevius' and Plautus' self-epitaphs, transmitted by Gellius (*NA* 1.24.1–3) and probably of a considerably later date (not later than Varro, though, because his *De poetis* is Gellius' source at least for Plautus' epigram; see Courtney 2003, 47–48; Morelli 2000, 44–48; Suerbaum 2007). In Enn. *fr. var.* 17, the perspective of an everlasting fame prevents mourning (*nemo me lacrimis decoret*).

Ennius' epigrams for Scipio Africanus have a Hellenistic eulogistic tone. At the same time, they also have important things in common with two later *Scipionum elogia*, *CIL* 1².10 and *CIL* 1².11: they honor two members of the clan who died at a young age.⁵ Ennius shows his readiness to merge a Hellenistic genre and its meter (the elegiac distich) into a Roman tradition, as he did also with epos. And through epigram Ennius heroizes Scipio.

The text of the two epigrams is as follows (Enn. *fr. var.* 21–22 and 23–24):

A sole exoriente supra Maeotis paludes
nemo est qui factis aequipare queat.

From Sun rising, over the marshes of Maeotis, there is no one who can equal
his deeds.

Si fas endo plagas caelestum ascendere cuiquam est,
mi soli caeli maxima porta patet.

If there is anyone who may go up to the celestial fields, for me alone the great
gate of the heavens is open.

In the first distich the somewhat bombastic sentence *nemo ... queat* hints at Alexander the Great and his deeds; *fr. var.* 23–24 imitates *AP* 9.518 (Alcaeus of Messene), an epigram dedicated to Philip V of Macedon (see Skutsch

1985). Cicero quotes these lines in his *De re publica*: he is probably reinterpreting Ennius' euhemeristic tone and tendency to apotheosis (strongly influenced by Hellenistic court poetry) in more reassuring Pythagorean and Platonic terms (in order to turn Africanus into the "guiding spirit" of Aemilianus through the celestial Spheres).

In *fr. var.* 19–20 Roman epigraphic tradition is reinterpreted not only in a more hyperbolic fashion, but also with subtle polemic aims (no citizen could reward Scipio's deeds, as he is dead in exile ...; Morelli 2000, 36–40; Courtney 2003, 40–42; Cugusi 2007, 17–19; Morelli 2007, 526–29; Massaro 2008, 73–74).

Hic est ille situs, cui nemo civis neque hostis
quirit pro factis reddere opis pretium.

Here lies the man, whom no citizen nor foeman could reward for his deeds.

Any sympathetic correspondence between deceased and national community is broken up, but the epigraphic language and topics remain the traditional ones (at line 1 the sentence *hic est ille situs* adapts an old cliché to the elegiac meter; at line 2 the *facta* of the dead are the tangible demonstration of his supremacy in Rome). *CIL* 1².11.4 *is hic situs, quei nunquam victus est virtutei* (cf. n. 5) is notably similar to line 2 and to *Enn. fr. var.* 22, and this is all the more noteworthy since the epitaph is dedicated to Lucius Scipio, dead at 20. Even in an epitaph for such a young man we can notice the usual topics concerning the excellence of the dead within his family and his nation. There is no space for mourning; rather, the contrast between great *virtus* and adverse fate gives rise to abstruse jokes and parallelisms (*CIL* 1².11.1 *magna sapientia multasque virtutes* vs. 2 *aetate cum parva*; 3 *vita* vs. *honos*; polyptoton *honos honore*; 5 *is locis mandatus* vs. 6 *honore quei minus sit mandatus*). In the slightly earlier *CIL* 1².10, these ideas find expression in a second conditional sentence (lines 3–4 *quibus sei in longa licu[i]set tibe utier vita, / facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum*; cf. n. 5), a feature not uncommon in Hellenistic epigraphic poetry; in the final lines there is an indirect reference to aristocratic funeral customs and the Roman *conclamatio* (the triple invocation of the deceased's name).⁶

From the second half of the second century BCE onward, the eulogistic habit remained a notable feature of Latin sepulchral poetry, even in case of *ante diem* death. Members of the rising classes, who could now afford these services (artisans, freedmen, merchants), were provided with verse epitaphs that drew on the tradition, while necessarily manipulating the rhetoric of aristocratic *virtutes*. For example, we rarely find allusions to the relationship between the dead and the national community: references are now to more

restricted social milieus (*populus*, mostly in the generic meaning of “people,” *amici*, *parentes*, *patroni*, etc.). In CLE 69 = CIL 1².1924 (from Urbs Salvia, Picenum, middle of the first century BCE),

Parentibus praesidium, amiceis gaudium
pollicita pueri virtus indigne occidit.
Quoius fatum acerbum populus indigne tulit
magnoque fletu funus prosecutus est.

A safeguard for parents, a joy for friends,
the boy's promising virtue was sadly extinguished.
People dejectedly lamented his untimely fate,
and his funeral was accompanied by great weeping,

the young C. Turpidius Severus is held in high esteem by *parentes*, *amici*, *populus*; he is praised as *praesidium* and *gaudium* (filial duties and youthful charm are connected); his *virtus* was promising, but it has been broken before time (a similar use of this *topos* in CIL 1².10.3–4; Paci 2004, 264–66; Cugusi 2007, 19 and *passim*; Massaro 2007, 147–48). The vocabulary of the *immat-ura mors* (2–3 *indigne*; 3 *fatum acerbum*) is meshed with a grandiloquent eulogy: this is particularly clear in line 4. There is an overall taste for solemn alliteration in the poem, but *fletu funus* is remindful of Enn. *fr. var. 17 funera fletu*. The intrinsic pathos of a young death is here occasion of a public display in the course of the *funus*, in which the community of the town expresses the exceptionality of the loss. In CIL 1².3197 (= AE 1968.142, from Beneventum), the *eximia virtus* of the freedwoman Pomponia *peperit laudem*:⁷

Heic est illa sita felix Pomponia Eleusis,
quae eximia virtute animi peperit sibi laudem.
[Se]x sibi praemeisit simili virtu(te) et amore
qum gemitu [[Rufi]] Rufi, nomine ut est Helenus.
Nei mirere, hospes, quis eam seic laudibus laudet, 5
ut meruit parque est patronus qui manumeisit.⁸

Here lies the renowned, blessed Pomponia Eleusis, who by her outstanding virtue procured herself praise. Six children preceded her, similar in virtue and devotion, accompanied by Rufus' mourning, whose name is Helenus. Do not be astonished, passer-by, reading that she is so praised with praises, because she did deserve them, and her patron did too, who freed her.

Virtus and *laus* are so connected throughout the whole poem that the final allocution to the reader sounds as a kind of *excusatio*. Line 5 shows the same

topics and language, and a similar taste for polyptota and plays on words, as in *CIL* 1².11 (see *laudibus laudet* and *CIL* 1².11.3 *honos honore; ne mirere* and *CIL* 1².11.6 *ne quairatis*): in *CIL* 1².11 the *excusatio* is for the lack of *honores*, in *CIL* 1².3197 it is for the abundance of *laus*. Aristocratic values are reinterpreted by the *CLE* of the republican age, new *virtutes* (*pietas, pudor*) take the place of the old ones (*honor, fama, gloria*) in a laudatory device which maintains many of its features.

24.2 Literary Epigram: From Lucilius to Catullus

When the verse epitaph became relatively widely used by the emerging social classes, aristocratic culture abandoned it. The last Scipionic *elogium* (*CLE* 958 = *CIL* 1².15), the first in elegiacs, is to be dated approximately at 135 BCE:⁹ after this date, there are some celebrative epigraphic epigrams for prominent aristocrats (see *CIL* 1².2662, of 101 BCE, from Corinth, exalting the proconsul Marcus Antonius; Morelli 2000, 90; Courtney 2003, 44–45, and 231–33; Cugusi 2007, 10 and 56; Massaro 2007, 137), but none is sepulchral.¹⁰ In the Augustan age, too, none of the *elogia* in the *Forum Romanum* and in the *Forum Augusti* are in verse. On the other hand, the Hellenistic literary epigram was a very fashionable genre in the Greek culture of the Eastern Mediterranean during the last decades of the second century BCE (poets such as Antipater of Sidon were very renowned), and Roman aristocratic elites experienced first-hand new aspects of it.

After Ennius, the *equus* Lucilius, a member of Scipio's circle, also wrote literary epigrams. This was, however, a poetic experiment conducted within the “mixed genre” *par excellence*, the satire. We can still read some fragments in elegiac distich from the twenty-second book of Lucilius' *Satirae*: the epitaph for the slave *Metrophanes* had a noteworthy success in the age of Martial and later, presumably, within the archaistic movement of Fronto and Gellius.¹¹ In adapting the solemn formulaic language of the *elogia* to a slave (see the list of *virtutes* at line 1 or the idiom at line 2 *hic situs est*), Lucilius renovated the sepulchral tradition. Along with ironic intents, we may also recognize a realistic mood (present in other elegiac scraps of the twenty-second book as well).¹² The author is surely alluding to the increasing social and cultural diffusion of the verse epitaph.

Lutatius Catulus (ca. 150–87 BCE) is the first known author who dedicated himself to the erotic epigram, introducing a new subgenre; he is also the first member of the Roman aristocratic elite who wrote poetic texts in Latin under his own name (see Suerbaum 2002, 89). This represents an important

turning point in the history of Roman literature, especially if we consider that Catulus did not write in a *genus sublime*, but in a humble genre like the epigram. Among the so-called “preneoteric” epigrammatists, he certainly played a prominent role.

Catulus was one of the most important politicians of his age, an influential member of the *optimates*, and a partisan of Sulla. He was *collega* of C. Marius during the Cimbric campaign in 102–101 BCE. This distinguished Roman nobleman has often been considered a “dilettante” poet of sorts, an amateur who wrote small poems *à la mode*. This is only partly true, a distortion induced also by a famous passage in Plin. *Ep.* 5.3.5 (see the discussion in Citroni 2003). Epigrams often were nothing more than a *salon* fashion for Roman aristocracy of the late republic and of the imperial age, but the original use of the Hellenistic erotic epigram was restricted to small *avant-gardes* and very refined aristocratic circles.

It is not easy to define Catulus’ relationship with the two Latin poets Valerius Aedituus and Porcius Licinius, whose epigrams are quoted together with one of Catulus in Gell. 19.9.10–14 (see also Apul. *Apol.* 9). We do not know whether they were members of a “poetic circle” of Catulus. Without doubt, however, Catulus was in contact with other outstanding Greek epigrammatists and Latin poets.¹³ Like the almost contemporary Sulla Felix (Plin. *Ep.* 5.3.5), he regarded the erotic epigram as a kind of *lusus* for a cultivated aristocracy, part of the Hellenizing *paideia* of a nobleman. The choice of the erotic epigram confirms that literary poetry may also be disengaged from civic life. Writing epigrams became a kind of distinction mark, a demonstration of cultural refinement and social superiority. This was something totally new in Roman aristocracy’s self-presentation. It is the fruit of Roman expansion: the vanguard poetic Hellenistic genres (and, *in specie*, the erotic epigram) started to be of some interest not only for subaltern professionals, but also for social elites.

Catulus was not an amateur in the worst sense of the word. *FPL* Q. Lutatius Catulus 2 is the only poem of the “preneoteric” epigrammatists known from a source other than Gellius (Cicero *Nat. D.* 1.79):

Constiteram exorientem Auroram forte salutans
cum subito a laeva Roscius exoritur.
Pace mihi liceat, caelestes, dicere vestra
mortalis visus pulchrior esse deo.

I stood by chance to greet the uprising Aurora, when suddenly, on the left,
Roscius rose up. Please, o heavenly gods, give me leave to say that a mortal
seemed to me more handsome than a god.

The beloved Roscius is the famous actor, probably very young in age: his epiphany replaces the expected appearance of the sun. The *ego* is presented in an unsuitable way for an aristocrat, while bombastically celebrating the graces of a well-known boy (called by his real name). Immediately before the quotation Cicero tells us that Catulus *dilexit* (“loved”) Roscius, and the other examples he adduces in this passage concern archaic Greek pederastic customs and literature. The question of whether the relationship between Catulus and Roscius was actually erotic or not is not relevant here. What is interesting from our perspective is that the literary representation and models are erotic. Literary *lusus* constructs an image of aristocratic refinement: Catulus in his *otium* poses as a homosexual gallant, without worrying about scandal (see Morelli 2000, 152–64; on *FPL* Q. Lutatius Catulus I see, after Morelli 2000, 164–77, Gärtner 2010).

The topics, the language of *urbanitas*, the taste for wit and conceit, and for emulative competition with literary models: all this has its counterpart in Greek contemporary epigrams. The comparison between the beloved and the sun (or the moon and the stars) is an old poetic motif, particularly frequent in the Hellenistic epigrams between the second and first centuries BCE. With a touch of ironic blasphemy, the beloved is often celebrated as superior to the gods. This motif, common in courtesan poetry, had its origins in the laudatory literature for the Hellenistic sovereigns, although it was not unknown also in earlier periods.¹⁴ Many epigrams included in the *Garland* of Meleager are similar in topics and style, and this raises an important historical question: are Catulus’ epigrams influenced by the *Garland*, which, from its first appearance, immediately had a profound impact on Romano-Hellenistic culture? Lorenzo Argentieri has carefully re-examined the question, demonstrating that the publication of the *Garland* must be postdated to the late 80s BCE (Argentieri 2007; see Maltomini in this volume). This would make it almost impossible for Catulus to have known it. On the other hand, a “mannerism” in the erotic epigram existed already before the *Garland* and could very well have influenced both Meleager and the first Roman epigrammatists.

Like Hellenistic epigrams, Catulus’ poem on Roscius is largely influenced by the language of comedy. The informal narrative style is typical of the *sermo* both in Plautus and Terence. The “divinization” of the boy ironically alludes to both the hyperbolic comparisons in Plautus’ comedy and to the celebrative tradition of the Roman epigram (and, most likely, in particular to Ennius’ poems for Scipio).

In Catulus’ and the preneoterics’ view, the epigram functions as a literary medium in which Greek lyric and elegiac poetry motifs are merged and reinterpreted. This is particularly evident in the first poem of Valerius Aedituus

quoted by Gellius (*FPL Valerius Aedituus* 1),¹⁵ an imitation of Sapph. 31 V. Sappho's sublime psychic agitation is transformed into the *pudor funestus* of a male lover, who cannot bring himself to propose. The long traditional list of love symptoms is condensed into a couple of verses and in two features, the lover's silence and excited perspiration. This poem is only the last of a list of Hellenistic imitations of Sapph. 31 V.: it is clear that Aedituus follows the trend of contemporary Greek epigram in "actualizing" the classical past of Greek erotic poetry. This is a key element to understand Catullus' slightly later approach to Sappho (but also to Archilochus or Theognis).

The erotic epigram in elegiacs had a rapid success in Rome, especially after the publication of Meleager's *Garland*. This is also demonstrated by the extraordinary cycle of Tiburtinus' poems carved on a wall of the Odeion in Pompeii, probably in the 70s BCE.¹⁶ In the last years of Sulla's age, the erotic Hellenizing epigram is part of an (originally) aristocratic fashion. *Paignia* and *ludicra*, that is, small, polymetric poems, are in vogue: there is a social play in "Romanizing" Greek meters and genres (archaic and Alexandrian lyrics, iambi, satiric verses, and so on). The original morphology of the Roman epigram as an "open genre" can be traced back to the kaleidoscopic state of this age, in which it is often not easy to distinguish between professional poets and aristocratic *litterati et patroni* (it is noteworthy that Cinna, who composed epigrams and *nugae*, was another aristocrat, and a *sodalis* of Catullus and Calvus), or between cultural fashion and literature. As a consequence, it would be a mistake to look for an exact literary Hellenistic counterpart of every kind of neoteric *nugae*.

A case in point is the satiric epigram. Some epigrammatic lampoons of the first half of the first century BCE have been transmitted by our sources: their topics are often traceable back to the Greek satirical tradition. An anonymous distich of the first half of the first century BCE (*FPL Incertorum* versus 41) re-uses the old motif of the "small, or unproductive, estate": *extractam puteo situlam qui ponit in horto / ulterius standi non habet ipse locum* ("who puts on the land a pail pulled up from the well, / he has no more space even to stand"). This is a very common theme in Roman epigram (see Catull. 26, 114 and 115; Cic. *Epigr.* 3 Soub. = Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.73; Mart. 11.18): it is present in a comic fragment transmitted by [Longinus], *Subl.* 38.5–6 as a rhetorical model of amusing hyperbole.¹⁷ Notably, in Greek epigrams we have only a much later example of the topic, *AP* 11.249 (Lucillius). The epigram in distichs of an (otherwise unknown) Papinius on the *mésalliance* between the young Casca and his old wife is echoed by a lampoon in two iambic senarii (!) by Manilius:¹⁸ the satire on the old, sexually still active woman is quite common starting from the Greek comedy onward, but nothing similar to Papinius' and Manilius' poems is to be found in Hellenistic epigrams. The *skomma* (attack in verse)

remained outside Meleager's "canon:" we can still read, of course, some epigrammatic lampoons composed in the third to first centuries BCE,¹⁹ though it is safer not to assume the existence of a "submerged continent" of Greek satiric epigram supplying literary models (forms, topics, meters, language, etc.) for every kind of neoteric aggressive *nugae*. Certainly, Roman satiric epigrams of the first century BCE were based on Hellenistic ones, but also on archaic Greek poetry (the iambus in particular), comedy, and stage genres; rhetorical literature about *ridiculum* / γέλοϊον was also of great importance, as well as a half-learned tradition on symposium puns and witticisms, which produced handbooks like *P.Heid.* 190 (third century BCE) and, later, the *Philogelos* (see Bremmer 1997 and now Floridi 2012); lastly, the influence of Roman native culture must be considered, including both the literary tradition (comedy, satire, and so on) and the "popular" one (Fescennine, *versus populares*, political puns, *carmina triumphalia*,²⁰ often written, still in the middle of the first century BCE, in the old meters of the stage). Apart from the traits that are peculiar to Roman culture, the Hellenistic scoptic epigram is largely based on the same elements: at different times and in different cultural milieus, we find epigrammatic jokes on the same topics (although couched in different literary forms), as, for instance, in Catullus, Lucilius, or Nicarchus.²¹ Greek and Roman epigrammatic *skomma* flourished in different periods and underwent different "canonizing" processes (with, for example, polymetry remaining very limited in the Hellenistic epigram, including the scoptic subgenre): their histories run in many ways along similar lines, with abundant analogies and points of contact, but also with a large mutual autonomy.

NOTES

1. My interpretation of the monumental setting (with related chronology of the *elogia*) mostly follows the seminal work of Coarelli (1972); see also Buecheler (*ap. CLE* I, 5–6), Van Sickle (1987; 1988); Courtney (1995, 217); Morelli (2000, 14–16; 2007, 521–24); Massaro (2002, 18–19 n. 4); Cugusi (2007, 5). *Contra*, see Wachter (1987, 301); Flower (1996, 170–76); Kruschwitz (1998; 2002, 35). Massaro (2008, 33–41) remarks that the formula *filios Barbati* is strange (the father is called with his *agnomen*, not with his *praenomen*) and hard to justify, unless we assume that the poet kept in consideration Barbatus' *elogium*. In my opinion, it is likely that the *agnomen* of Barbatus was well known at that age; moreover, the *elogia* follow poetic conventions that in many details emphatically modify the epigraphic standards (see the ordering of the *cursus* at line 4 of both poems, the use of *prognatus* instead of *filius* at *CIL* 1².7.2, the inversion *Cornelius Lucius* in the father's poem, and the omission of *Cornelius* in the son's one, where *filios Barbati* can simply be written for variation's sake after *Luciom Scipione*).

2. Triumphal *tabulae*, official votive *tituli*, and so on: see Cugusi (2007, 8–11), who assumes that these inscriptions, more than the *laudatio*, influenced the *elogia*. However, the three-folded ordering of them (*virtutes, cursus, facta*: see below) recalls Roman aristocratic funerary speech (see for inst. Plin. *HN* 7.139f., on Q. Caecilius Metellus, d. ca. 221 BCE) more than the *tabulae triumphales* et sim. (see for inst. *CLE* 3, on C. Mummius). Both *elogia* and *laudatio* enhance (dead) persons, not single deeds, organized as they are in a similar laudatory pattern; on the other side, *elogia* and further eulogistic inscriptions share epigraphic conventions, and a concise way of articulating the speech in single, pregnant Saturnian *kommata* (see *CLE* 3 *ductu auspicio imperioque eius / Achaia capta* “under his guide, auspice and command, / Greece has been conquered,” and *CLE* 7.5 *Taurasia Cisauna / Samnio cepit*).
3. *Pinxit* is sound, see Bettini (1979, 79–84) and Cugusi (2007, 20). *Enn. fr. var.* 15–18 are very early, if not authentic, and may be dated to the second century BCE; see Morelli (2000, 47).
4. See Suerbaum (1968, 208–15 and 333–36); Bettini (1979, 84); Morelli (2000, 41–42); Courtney (2003, 42–43 and 502, with further bibliography); Cugusi (2007, 20).
5. *CIL* 1².10: *Quei apice insigne Dial[is fl]aminis gesistei, / mors perfe[cit] tua ut essent omnia brevia, / honos fama virtusque, gloria atque ingenium. / Quibus sei in longa licu[i]set tibe utier vita, / facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum. / Quare lubens te in gremiu, Scipio, recip[i]t / terra, Publi, prognatum Publio, Corneli* (“You, adorned with the cap of the flamen Dialis, Death shortened everything for you, honour, fame, courage, glory, and talents. If you had enjoyed them in a long life, you would easily have surpassed your ancestors’ glory. Therefore, o Scipio, Earth gladly receives you, o Publius Cornelius, you, son of Publius.”). *CIL* 1².11: *Magna sapientia multasque virtutes / aetate quom parva posidet hoc saxsum. / Quoiei vita defecit, non honos, honore, / is hic situs, quei nunquam victus est virtutei, / annos gnatus (viginti) is l[oc]eis m[an]datus, / ne quairatis honore quei minus sit mand[at]u[s]* (“Great wisdom and lots of virtues together with a brief life, that is what this stone holds. A man whom lack of age, not of honour, prevented the honour of public offices, here he lies, he who was never surpassed in merit. He has been entrusted to this place at the age of twenty, so that you may not ask why no public offices has been entrusted to him”).
6. After Courtney (1995, 40–43 and 226–28), and Morelli (2000, 49–55), see Kruschwitz (2002, 14–15 and 70–89); Cugusi (2007, 13–15); Massaro (2008, 64–86, with further bibliography).
7. The juncture is solemn, see the para-tragic Plaut. *Amph.* 643 *laude parta*.
8. See Morelli (2000, 67–68); Cugusi (2007, 16); Massaro (2007, 134–35, with further bibliography).
9. On the layout of the inscription with indented pentameters, see Morelli (2000, 64 and 75–100); Massaro (2013).
10. An important exception could be the self-epitaph of Sulla: see Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 38.4 κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν ὥς οὔτε τῶν φίλων τις αὐτὸν εὖ ποιῶν οὔτε τῶν

ἐχθρῶν κακῶς ὑπερεβάλετο (“in short the epigram says that no one of the citizens by his deeds, nor anyone of the enemies by his evil enterprises could surpass him”). It has been compared with Enn. *Var.* 19–20 V.², see Courtney (2003, 40), but also Morelli (2007, 527); on Sulla’s epigrammatic activity, see below.

11. 579–80 Marx: *Servus neque infidus domino neque inutilis quaquam* / *Lucili columella hic situs Metrophanes* (“A servant here lies, who was truly faithful and useful to his master, Lucilius’ little pillar, Metrophanes”): see Mart. 11.9.4; Donat. *Ter. Phorm.* 287; Morelli (2000, 112–21); Cugusi (2007, 25–26); Morelli (2007, 530–31).
12. 581–584 Marx. It is uncertain whether these fragments were part of epigrammatic poems, see Morelli (2000, 121–31).
13. Catulus was in contact with Antipater of Sidon (Cic. *De or.* 3.194) and Archias (Cic. *Arch.* 6). He also knew Furius Antias (Cic. *Brut.* 132), and surely had wide literary interests, also in historiography. On the historical problem of Catulus’ literary “circle,” see Vardi (2000), and Morelli (2007, 531, with further bibliography).
14. In *AP* 5.146 (Callimachus) there is a comparison between a statue of Queen Berenice and the Graces. Meleager imitated it (*AP* 5.148), but this time the epigram is erotic and dedicated to the *puella divina* Heliodora. See Morelli (2000, 159–60).
15. I do not accept Usener’s suggestion at line 3 <*subido*> (approved by Courtney 2003, 70, and by Blänsdorf in the *FPL*): <*subido*> would be an inappropriate anticipation of the *pointe* in the last line (*subidus*), see Morelli (2000, 186–89 and 340).
16. *CLE* 934 = *CIL* 4.4966–73: see Morelli (2000, 237–57 and 341–42, pictures at 104–7); Courtney (2003, 79–81, 506); Milnor (2014, 141–60).
17. *PCG* 8, 456. See already Strabo 1.2.30 and the remarks of Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.73 on this kind of hyperbole.
18. See *FPL* Papinius etc.; *FPL* Manilius 1 (in senarii). Both poems are quoted by Varro *Ling.* 7.28: the first is dedicated to a *Casca*, the second to a *Cascus*. See Mart. 4.20 and Courtney (2003, 109).
19. The most common form is the parody or the ironic re-use of other epigrammatic subgenres (sepulchral, votive, erotic, and so on): see Floridi (2010). Papyrus scraps and ostraka confirm this: see, for instance, P. Viereck, *Raccolta Lumbroso* 257 = *SH* 975 (third century BCE). On the Hellenistic scoptic epigram, see also Blomquist (1998). New evidence comes from *P.Vindob.* G 40611 (see Maltomini in this volume).
20. For *versus populares* see, e.g., *FPL* Incertorum versus 45 d, a *versus quadratus* on C. Papirius Carbo, people’s tribune 90 BCE, which is quoted (once again in a grammatical/rhetorical script) by Sacerd. *Gramm.* VI 461 as an example of *astismos*. Political puns are, e.g., *FPL* Incertorum versus 45 c, a senarius against C. Memmius, people’s tribune 111 BCE, and *FPL* Versus populares in Caesarem et sim. 8, a poem in senarii against the consul Ventidius (43 BCE). These lines inspired [Verg.] *Catal.* 10, see Courtney (2003, 471). Famous *carmina triumphalia*

are the verses sung by Caesar's soldiers at the Gallic triumph, *FPL* Versus populares in Caesarem et sim. 2–3 (*ap. Suet. Iul.* 49–51): 3.1 is an aggression against Caesar's sexual attitudes which is very similar to some Catullan puns (see Catull. 57).

21. See, e.g., Catull. 69 and 71 and *AP* 11.139–40 (Lucillius) = 93–94 Floridi, on bad corporal smells (Morelli 2012).

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CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

Catullus as Epigrammatist

Niklas Holzberg

The poem with which C. Valerius Catullus (ca. 87–54 BCE) opens his collection of verse, a work ultimately known to us from just one late mediaeval manuscript,¹ summons at several points lines from Greek poetry: the proem written by Meleager of Gadara for the anthology of epigrams which he compiled around 90–80 BCE and which survives in excerpts only, the Στέφανος (*Garland*).² As found in the *Anthologia Palatina*, Meleager's proem (4.1) begins (1–4):

Μοῦσα φίλα, τίνι τάνδε φέρεις πάγκαρπον ἀοιδὰν
ἢ τίς ὁ καὶ τεύξας ὕμνοθετᾶν στέφανον;
ἄνυσε μὲν Μελέαγρος· ἀριζάλω δὲ Διοκλεῖ
μναμόσυνον ταύταν ἐξεπώνησε χάριν·

Muse, beloved, for whom do you bring this fruit-rich song, or who was it that fashioned the garland of singers? Meleager's was the work: as a memorial for the distinguished Diocles did he labor over this gift.

And in Catullus:³

Cui dono lepidum novum libellum
arida modo pumice expolitum?
Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas
meas esse aliquid putare nugas
iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum 5
omne aevum tribus explicare cartis
doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.

quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli
 quaecumque; quod, <0> Thalia⁴ virgo,
 plus uno maneat perenne saeclo. 10

To whom do I make a gift of this dainty little book freshly polished with dry pumice-stone? To you, Cornelius: for you were wont to think my nothings something even back when you alone of the Italians ventured to unfold all the centuries in three volumes, those erudite, by Jove, and laborsome. So have for yourself this little book, whatever it be, whatever its worth; may it live on enduringly, o Virgin Thalia, for more than one age.

The Roman poet is clearly alluding here not only to Meleager's proem, but also to the epilogue with which the latter rounded off his collection (and which is also still accessible: *AP* 12.257), an ending which returns to thoughts voiced at the beginning (Mondin 2011; Gutzwiller 2012, 90–91). Catullus' readers, who are likely to have known the *Garland* quite well (see Prioux in this volume), would consequently have assumed that the *libellus* now laid before them was conceived as a counterpart to that entire anthology.

This expectation then probably seemed justified when Catullus was seen to continue by introducing into the four poems that followed his own proem themes which, we may reasonably conjecture, also instantly called the *Garland* to mind. Meleager had very probably divided his selection into four books, each of those reserved for epigrams of a specific type: the epideictic (descriptive), the funeral epigrams, the dedicatory, and *erotica* (Cameron 1993, 24–33).⁵ Catullus begins with the description of a sparrow, how the *puella* plays with and delights in it (poem 2⁶), then he mourns the death of the little bird (poem 3), dedicates his (talking!) yacht to Castor and Pollux (poem 4), and presents his first erotic poem “proper” (no. 5), in the sense that only now does he address the *puella*, call her by her name (Lesbia), and demand that she give him kisses innumerable. Neither these four poems, however, nor the proem were written in elegiac couplets, the meter of choice in most of the *Garland* texts (Cameron 1993, 13), but in hendecasyllabics (lines of 11 syllables: 1–3; 5) and *iambi puri* (pure iambic trimeters: 4). There is, then, room for doubt as to whether Catullus actually did wish to see his first five poems read as epigrams composed in the Hellenistic tradition of the genre.

The same is true for the texts now numbered as 6–60, the meters used there being either those just mentioned or others, but never the elegiac couplet, and the range of their thematic content expanding considerably beyond that of poems 2–5. Known as the *polymetra* (“poems of many meters”), they

consist in all of 848 verses, and that corresponds roughly to the average length of a Roman poetry book. Yet there is nothing in the extant manuscripts to indicate the end after poem 60 of the *libellus* announced in 1.1: instead there follow, in continuous succession and with no transitional pause for a new *liber*, four poems differing in meter and covering respectively 228, 66, 93, and 408 verses (nos. 61–64), then four in elegiac couplets, their length 24, 94, 48, and 160 lines and none of them in any way epigrammatic (nos. 65–68); after those eight poems come nos. 69–116 which, written as they are in elegiac couplets and ranging between 2 and 26 verses, “finally” show some similarity in form and, at least partly, in content to texts in Meleager’s *Garland* and can thus be assigned to the genre epigram.

What we have, then, and what the manuscripts which preserve this composite mass of some 2300 verses call the *Liber Catulli Veronensis* (“Catullus of Verona’s Book”), is a collection of poems that, taken as a whole, differs noticeably from Meleager’s *Garland*, but that does include texts possibly designed by Catullus as epigrams (poems 1–60), as well as others quite certainly conceived as such (poems 69–116). This constatation raises two questions. Firstly: considering both the history of the genre and ancient poetics, can the texts 1–60 rightly also be called epigrams and, in consequence, all short poems in Catullus’ collection be labeled as the work of an epigrammatist? Secondly: does the word *libellus*, as used by Catullus, refer to the entirety of the poems we have, or is there any evidence to suggest that the *Liber Catulli Veronensis* was not always the textual whole transmitted in the manuscripts, but was at one time or another assembled out of several *libelli*?

25.1 Genre Matters

First question first. Antiquity’s best-known epigrammatist, Martial, born a good 120 years later than Catullus, indirectly provides us with one crucial clue here: from his point of view, it was the older poet who founded the Roman tradition of the genre *epigram*. In the prose preface to Book 1 of his collection *Epigrammaton libri XII* (the *Twelve Books of Epigrams*), Martial, touching on a feature characteristic of his chosen literary form, the *lasciva verborum veritas* (“the diction’s raunchy realism”), lets his predecessors pass in review and names the first as Catullus, to whom he has also already made an unmistakable reference at the beginning of his preface: the fifth word there – *libellus* – is the fifth word of the older poet’s poem 1. Martial thus establishes an intertextual link to the hendecasyllabic poem which opens the succession of Catullus’ *polymetra* and not, as one might have expected, to

one of the texts written in elegiac couplets (Lorenz 2007, 421). In all 12 of his separate books, Martial, like Catullus in poems 1–60, uses a variety of meters, including the hendecasyllabics and choliambics favored by the other, but also, and especially, elegiac couplets; in addition, the metrically varied poems are intermingled. Given that there are also thematic parallels between Martial's epigrams and the short poems by Catullus, it seems obvious that the younger poet's retrospective is encouraging us to look upon poems 1–60, and not just 69–116, as the work of an epigrammatist.⁷ A look at the Greek tradition within the genre, moreover, permits us to align the whole body of Catullus' *carmina minora* (shorter poems) with all texts formally classed alongside Martial's as epigrams. If we compare the former with the Hellenistic epigrams preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca* and in papyri, we can establish two things: first, that Catullus would already have found diverse meters in such poems and not merely elegiac couplets (Cameron 1993, 13–14)⁸ and, second, that the Greek epigrammatists before Catullus did not confine themselves to the four themes or types selected by Meleager, but embraced others, including one for which Catullus himself is, *erotica* aside, particularly renowned: personal ridicule.⁹

Thus the tangible history of the genre presents no obstacles to a definition of Catullus' *carmina minora* as the work of an epigrammatist. But do they also pass muster if we apply the parameters of ancient poetics? It has to be noted, of course, that the epigram no more ranked amongst the other poetic voices as a literary genre than did the fable (Puelma 1996, 130–31); Catullus himself never uses the term and probably did not designate either poems 1–60 or 60–116 as epigrams. We only know of three ancient theorists who wrote anything about the place of Catullus' poetry within the recognized literary genres, and each of them singles him out as an iambic poet, as the author, then, of invectives and scurrilous satire in the tradition of Archilochus (mid-seventh century BCE): Quintilian (ca. 35–100) in his handbook for orators, the *Institutio oratoria* (10.1.96),¹⁰ Porphyrio (second/third century) in his commentary on Horace, *Carm.* 1.16.24, and Diomedes (fourth century) in his *Ars grammatica* (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* 1, 485); their categorization is implicitly confirmed by other Latin authors as the widespread view (Wiseman 1985, 252–54). Now, epigrams which either directly attack specific individuals or ridicule certain types are, of course, part of the iambic tradition, and since Catullus, unlike Martial, could still risk targeting men such as Caesar and Pompey in his poems, he was an obvious candidate for Archilochus' successor. However, just as this last poet did not restrict his themes in the *iambi* to invective, Catullus too used iambic meters for more than merely haranguing and lampooning: his first poem in iambic trimeters, no. 4 with his yacht's account of its voyage, can be read as a parody of the

voyage of the Argo (Massaro 2010) even without any visible trace of satire directed at the *Argonautica* by Apollonius of Rhodes (third century BCE), and the first choliambics, no. 8, in which Catullus maintains he is now done with Lesbia, contain not a murmur of abuse hurled at her, with the verses in fact hinting that he is not yet quite ready to break things off after all (Koster 1981, 125–28; Thomas 1984). Similarly, Catullus does not keep typically iambic talk for the poems he writes in iambics, but is especially fond of using it in hendecasyllabics too – indeed, he sees the very word *hendecasyllabus* as a synonym for *iambus* (12.10, 42.1),¹¹ while *iambus* itself only appears in his hendecasyllabics (36.5, 40.2, 54.6, fr. 3) – and also in elegiac couplets, where he can rise to particularly vicious mockery. In sum, antiquity’s perception of Catullus as an iambic poet does not exclude his *carmina minora* from the genre *epigram*, but rather supports their inclusion there.

As is perhaps already evident from the above, Catullus plays, so to speak, fast and loose with the expectations which his readers have when it comes to genres. Thus he repeatedly also pushes back the established boundaries of the epigram, and that is visible even at the very beginning of his collection when he presents the four types of epigram used by Meleager. True, the *puella* at play with her sparrow in poem 2 and the bird’s passing in poem 3 stand firmly in the tradition of epigrams which take lamenting over the demise of a domestic pet as an opportunity to describe the creature’s former delightfulness.¹² Nevertheless, when Catullus – it goes without saying that I do not equate the poetic *persona* adopted by Catullus with his real self – wishes for himself in 2.9–10 that he might play with the sparrow as his beloved does and so find relief from the dark cares, the poem seems to turn in tone towards the lyrical, an impression reinforced when we consider that the entire *carmen* is an allusion to Sappho’s first poem and that the closing lines of that Greek text are evoked in verse 10 of Catullus’ poem 2. Added to this, the love-lorn Sappho gives voice to her troubles in a hymnic prayer to Aphrodite, and the way in which Catullus addresses the sparrow is also reminiscent of a hymn, with the result that the pathos of the clearly unhappy lover is diluted with a dash of humor. As in poem 2, the verses of no. 5, the first in which Catullus would have Lesbia give him uncountable kisses, also cross the boundary between the epigrammatic and the lyrical. But while we might still judge him here to be a young man with a penchant for romance rather than just plain sex, we next find him (in poem 6) showing a marked interest in what his friend Flavius has been up to with a prostitute and extremely envious, it appears, of the other’s “so very fuck-worn haunches” (13: *tam latera ecfutata*). Suddenly we are jolted by one obscene word, the first in the collection, into a quite different mood, far removed from the atmosphere of the first kiss-poem, and may wonder now whether the “romantic”

lover is not perhaps in reality something of a wimp, challenged in the virility department and so reduced to wistful voyeurism when he becomes aware of his friend's bedroom adventures. And even if we are not suspicious yet, then we definitely will be when we read poem 16. There we are told that Catullus' longing for all those kisses has been interpreted by Furius and Aurelius as a sign that his masculinity is wanting and so incapable of rising to full sexual intercourse.

If we then return to the two sparrow-poems, we might, like many a scholar, choose to read the cute bird as a symbol for Catullus' penis and his lament over the sparrow's death as an implicit confession of his impotence.¹³ This interpretation will then counteract anything previously perceived as lyrical, as expressive of innermost feelings, and that will bring us right back to the epigrammatic form which, in contrast to lyric poetry, allows the direct or indirect articulation of obscene thoughts. We can, of course, only arrive at an interpretation of this kind, one which sees multiple layers, if we read the first 16 poems as a sequence, in the order, that is, in which they appear in the manuscripts, and if we make the assumption that it was the poet himself who determined their arrangement. Since the approach just described here by way of example can be taken for all poems which then follow over the rest of the collection, it seems feasible that the structure of the entire corpus as we know it was in fact designed by Catullus. Formerly, only a handful of scholars supported this view, and there are still some who think it improbable (e.g., Heyworth 2001, 121). However, the considered thought given to the question in numerous studies over recent years has shown that the succession of short poems in a variety of meters (1–60), as well as the sequence of pieces in elegiac couplets (65–116), must each beyond doubt be regarded as structured books of Catullus' own making,¹⁴ the *libellus* he refers to in 1.1 then being the *polymetra*. Furthermore, those same analyses do not exclude the possibility that poems 61–64, four sizeable poems linked by the motif “wedding,” also originally together formed one book.

25.2 Catullus' *Polymetra* as a Book of Epigrams

As the book which (originally) encompassed poems 1–60 contains short poems only and alludes in its opening text to the proem in Meleager's *Garland*, we can safely judge the *libellus* to be Catullus' continuation of the Hellenistic epigrammatic tradition visible for us at the very latest since the recent discovery of the Posidippus papyrus (see Gutzwiller in this volume), the contents of which show that poems by just one single author could be collected to form a book and that those would probably have been “edited,”

at least in part, by their poet. The structural principle chosen by Catullus for his poetry book was not the one picked by Posidippus (or by someone who edited his poems), i.e., it does not consist in the successive grouping of texts related by their content. Instead, the Roman poet unfurls his themes in discursive fashion over the first half of the *libellus*, then further in the second half, but inserting poem 34, the hymn to Diana, as “medial axis.” Composed in equal stanzas of three glyconics and a pherecratean, the hymn is unmistakably a lyric poem, but constitutes, together with two other lyric texts (nos. 11 and 51, both in sapphics), an intrinsic element of the book’s overall design. And that element is, to my mind, a “Sapphic” one: Catullus took the two *personae* which antiquity saw embodied in Sappho – the gifted poet and the wanton Λεσβία, “the man-mad woman from Lesbos” – and made of them the two “lead roles” within his book: the part of the feminine poet Catullus and that of his virile lover Lesbia (Holzberg 2000). In the final stanza of poem 11, the “woman” with the 300 men whose lower bodies she can simultaneously wear out is confronted with the “man” who compares himself, much as had Sappho before him a deflowered virgin (fr. 105b Voigt), to a damaged flower. The position of this poem as no. 11 is probably no coincidence if we consider the eleven syllables of the first three lines in the Sapphic stanza, especially since Catullus’ other poem in sapphics, no. 51, is the eleventh-last of the *libellus*;¹⁵ these are observations I believe confirmed by Horace’s use of the number 11 in the structural arrangement of his first and second book of odes.¹⁶

Before poem 34, the hymn to Diana positioned – and clearly meaningfully so – roughly midway between no. 11 on the “virgin” Catullus and no. 51 on Catullus in the role of Sappho, we find in the group 1–14 poems for the most part devoted to the motif “Catullus and Lesbia,” then, after the “advance warning” in no. 14b of the obscenities about to come in 15–26, those 12 concentrating largely on the theme “Catullus, Furius, Aurelius, and the boy Iuventius (the object of the threesome’s paederastic desires)”; following the demand in poem 27 for cups full of the “stronger stuff” (see now Gutzwiller 2012, 99–101), we are next, in poems 28–33, presented with invectives in four of those six pieces, two of them targeting for the first time prominent members of society (28: Memmius; 29: Caesar and Pompey). In the second half of the polymetrical *libellus*, which begins with poem 35, the first 11 poems (35–45) have to do with the motif “Lesbia” and so form a unit of sorts. The subsequent texts, however, cannot be neatly divided into two further blocks, the theme “Catullus and Iuventius” being present in only one poem (48) and two more on Caesar (54 and 57) standing amidst a regular pot-pourri of themes. Towards the end of the book, Catullus was clearly striving for particular diversity, as he very probably did again in the

book reserved wholly for poems in elegiac couplets (see below). There are nonetheless several cross-connectors linking the two book halves, as the following example will serve to illustrate. In poem 1 Catullus talks about the erudite Cornelius Nepos as his kindly “critic” and in 35 about his friend Caecilius’ *puella*, who, *Sapphica ... musa doctior* (“more erudite than Sappho’s muse”) as she is, has read what the friend has already produced of his planned poem on the *Magna Mater* (Great Mother) and is now seized with burning love for him. Is she really such an expert on literature? Hardly, since we soon find a poem about the *Magna Mater* in Catullus (poem 63) and so begin to smell a rat: the poet had probably given the first lines of that to his friend for him to read, and Caecilius had promptly decided to impress his *puella* by pretending they were his.¹⁷ If this interpretation is correct, then Caecilius and his “well-read” *puella* function as Catullus’ and Nepos’ comic *Doppelgänger*.

25.3 The Epigrams in Poems 65–116, Catullus’ “Callimachean Book”

Whereas the *libellus* comprising poems 1–60 belongs, we can infer, wholly to the tradition of Hellenistic epigram collections, Catullus’ overall plan for the book which was to contain the poems in elegiac couplets also betrays his particular “interest in the structure of the *Aitia* as a model of the well-planned book” (Barchiesi 2005, 336). Callimachus, author of the *Aitia*, is named twice here (each time by his patronymic), in the proem and in the epilogue (65.116 and 116.2: *Battiadae*).¹⁸ When poem 116 (the most recent close study on which is Gutzwiller 2012, 88–93) opens with the word *Saepe* and so is clearly alluding to the *Aitia*’s (lost but unquestionably to be supplied) opening Πολλάκις (Pontani 1999), it becomes similarly obvious that Catullus, who, in poem 65, had promised the dedicatee Hortalus a substitute for his own poetry in the form of verses translated from Callimachus, is proffering a “back-to-front” rendering of the (palindromic!) *Aitia*. In poem 66 he had presented his Latin version of the verses from the end of the *Aitia*, where a lamenting lock of Berenice’s hair describes how it had come to be a star in the sky (fr. 110 Pf.). That elegy is followed by two further poems belonging to the same genre (nos. 67 and 68), and on launching with no. 69 into epigrams written in elegiac couplets, Catullus very soon lets Callimachus take the floor again: poem 70 is another adaptation from the Hellenistic poet’s epigrams (*AP* 5.6 = 25 Pf.; on this most recently Gutzwiller 2012, 81–82). Once more, then, the Hellenistic epigrammatic tradition is acknowledged with an unmistakable programmatic nod in its direction, and

from here too we can trace an arc to no. 116: both poems respectively represent one of the two themes most often treated in epigrams which use the elegiac meter, to wit, *erotica* (70) and personal invective (116).

With those, there return in poems 69–116 two themes from the *polymetra*, and, as before, it is Lesbia who dominates the erotic poems. Of the fourteen such texts, the first ten (70, 72, 75–76, 79, 83, 85–87, 92) form, together with the directly adjacent poems which rail against male figures (69, 71, 73–74, 77–78, 80–82, 84, 88–91), a relatively unified block, most of the men in question being faithless friends with whom Lesbia is, either demonstrably or quite likely, cheating on Catullus. The poet now addresses his *puella* almost as though she were his wedded wife, reacting to her infidelity with all the pathos of the morally outraged and laying claim, for his part, to all the virtuous principles dictated by the Roman upper classes' code of conduct and applicable not only between two people bound by friendship, but also between spouses. The diction in such poems rises on occasion to a more elevated plane than one would expect to find in epigrams.¹⁹ In the invectives, by contrast, it becomes all the more coarse and vulgar, because the targets of Catullus' ridicule and abuse are alleged by him to have performed acts of the kind which their Roman contemporaries would perceive as violations of the accepted sexual norms; the main focus is on adultery, incest, and oral-genital sex. As the epigrams 69–92 are confined in content to the two motifs Lesbia and invective, thus forming a homogeneous group, and as the succession of poems in the rest of the book (poems 93–116) is conspicuously diverse in terms of themes, we can rightly consider the previous block to be the first of two main parts. Before we turn to the second block as a whole, let us look briefly at the poem with which it opens (93):

“Nil nimium.”²⁰ Studeo, Caesar, tibi velle placere
nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.

“Nothing to excess!” I am concentrating, Caesar, on wishing to please you and to not know whether you are a white or a black man.

Here, Catullus is staging a reader response, just as he does in poem 16, where he describes the reaction of Furius and Aurelius to his kiss-poems (nos. 5 and 7). In an exclamation that evokes the familiar Greek μηδὲν ἄγαν, Caesar is shown voicing his annoyance about the invectives directed against him by the poet (poems 29, 54, 57), and the latter then replies with words which seem to promise that he will mend his ways. But *placere* can also carry the erotic sense of “to pleasure,” and so Catullus is in fact continuing his attacks here on a different level of meaning: he had described Caesar in

poems 29 and 57 as *cinaedus* (“queen”) and, using the obscene connotations of the white (= the penetrated) and the black (= the penetrating) male (see Gutzwiller 2012, 102), now maintains that it makes no difference to him whether the *imperator* prefers to take the passive or the active role during homosexual intercourse.²¹ This epigram comprises the first of five, possibly even seven, attacks on members of the upper classes (in addition to Mamurra in 94, 105, and 114–15, possibly also Silo and Comminius in 103 and 108) and thus opens a new sequence of poems, one distinguishable from poems 69–92 by its themes. While the texts which come after poem 93 – apart, as we have seen, from 94, 105, and 114–15 – are more heterogeneous in their motifs than any of the other groups mentioned so far, they in fact only offer variations on motifs already found in the *polymetra* and in the first main block of the epigrams composed in elegiac couplets. We can therefore take the words “nothing to excess” to apply quite generally to all preceding short poems in the collection: a warning that Catullus might now like to stop writing that kind of thing.²² The poet accordingly turns his thoughts to a finale, and what better way to leave the stage than with a review of all the motifs presented up to that point? Indeed, the section 93–116 might be called a *mise en abyme* of Catullus’ entire short poems.

25.4 Catullus and the Paradox Epigram

In poem 93 we are confronted with the type of “exchange of question and answer between poet and reader or imagined interlocutor” which Denis Feeney rightly terms “a distinct feature of Latin epigram,” stressing, however, that the “paradox epigram” is “the most pointedly concise example of the more general format” (2008, 33). Martial is particularly well known for this type, whereas a search for such examples among the Greek epigrammatic texts that we know would be in vain. But what about Catullus? He, as Feeney shows (2008, 34), can only offer three “paradox epigrams ‘proper’” – poems 72, 85, and 92 – and even those all lack the trenchancy we find in so many of Martial’s poems. Yet the few epigrams we still have from contemporaries of Catullus, the neoteric poets, include one which has a strikingly effective *aprosdoketon* (surprise twist), so much so that this particular form, we can infer, was already employed with a considerable degree of proficiency at that time and was correspondingly popular. The epigram in question is *FPL* C. Licinius Calvus 18:

Magnus, quem metuunt homines, digito caput uno
scalpit; quid dicas hunc sibi velle? Virum.

Magnus, whom all fear, scratches his head with one finger. What would you say he's after? A man.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus, whom Catullus also attacks (poem 29), is unmasked here as *cinaedus*, a “white” homosexual who tries to attract male lovers by having his hair dressed in a particularly erotic, alluring style and is at pains to ensure that it remains alluring. The couplet is, in terms of both style and structure, a consummate example of the paradox epigram and of the poet–reader dialogue, especially because of the ambiguity leading up to the final “punch.” The common expression used here, *quid sibi vult*, normally just means something like “what’s that about?,” but, apart from simply and plainly “to want,” *velle* also signifies sexual desire, and by the alliterative *virum* at the latest, that sense is out in the open (Lausberg 1982, 393–94).

Let us now compare this with the best known of three paradox epigrams in Catullus, no. 85, a poem which can also claim a place – in a tie with Ὡ ξείν', ἀγγέλλειν (“Go tell, stranger, ...,” AP 7.249) and *Mantua me genuit* ... (the epitaph for Vergil shown in the Suetonius-Donatus vita) – as the most famous couplet of antiquity (got the T-shirt!).

Odi et amo. Quare id faciam, fortasse requiris.
Nescio. Sed fieri sentio et excrucior.

I hate and I love. Why I do that, you perhaps ask. I do not know. But I feel it be done and am tormented.

This is quite obviously a sophisticated variation on the conventional three-part exchange: paradox – reader’s/imaginary interlocutor’s question – answer. The first part here consists of just two antithetical, two-syllable verbs separated by *et* and is thus, in comparison with the equivalent in Calvus, remarkably brief. Then follows the question, but not a direct one: the speaker, it seems, has to prod the other into asking (“your turn now, interlocutor in a paradox epigram!”). Last comes an answer which is no answer at all, the speaker being unable to explain his state of paradox, only to feel it and suffer because of it. Fittingly for a minor art form, the products of which require careful crafting, the speaker is not given one single noun, but instead eight verbs, those including the antitheses *odi et amo*, *sentio et excrucior*, the one at the beginning and the other at the end of the couplet and each with the final syllable of the first verb elided, as well as *faciam* (alliterating with *fortasse*) and *fieri*. Although the rhetorical structurizing is clearly recognizable as such, the contents of the text rise beyond the epigrammatic and reach the deeply felt intensity of the elegiac, the pain of that punched out at the end of the poem

with *excrucior*, a word which, with its four syllables and its position at the end of the pentameter, is likely already to have struck readers in Catullus' time. What we have here is the nucleus of Roman love elegy as created by Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid.

25.5 Catullus' *Nachleben* as Epigrammatist

Catullus' influence is not only palpable in the poems of four elegists, but also in Horace's *Odes*, and there especially, of course, in the erotic texts (Putnam 2006). His significance as epigrammatist, besides for Martial, is also to be felt in three other collections from the imperial period: Ps.-Vergil's *Catalepton*, the *Corpus Priapeorum* (O'Connor in this volume), and the epigrams transmitted as the work of Seneca the Younger, but unquestionably not written by him (Breitenbach in this volume). The anonymous author of the *Catalepton* presents us with a young Vergil before his eclogue days, writing poems in the style of an older colleague who hails, as does he, from Transpadan Gaul (Holzberg 2004). Similarly to Martial, he does not separate the poems in elegiac couplets from those written in other meters (like his model, he uses pure iambic trimeters, choliambics, and Priapics, strikingly, however, not hendecasyllabics), but the 64-verse panegyric on Messalla which he positions in the middle of his collection (poem 9) is clearly a reminiscence of Catullus' triptychon *polymetra* – longer poems – epigrams in elegiac couplets. Another anonymous, the author of 80 epigrams about Priapus assembled in a book and evidently meant to be read in linear succession (Holzberg 2005; Höschele 2010, 272–307), also chops and changes between the elegiac and other meters, but those latter consist solely of hendecasyllabics and choliambics, the two types most frequently used by Catullus in poems 1–60. The older poet's influence on the *Corpus Priapeorum* is thus unmistakable in that respect alone, but there are also numerous intertextual links. While Ps.-Seneca's epigrams have not come down to us in the form of a book, the order in which they appear – most of them are found in the Leiden *Codex Vossianus Latinus Q. 86* – does point to a deliberately structured arrangement; the poems are written in only two meters, elegiac couplet and hendecasyllabics. For the unknown who composed those, however, Catullus' short poems were merely one pre-text among many (Breitenbach 2010, 91): the collection dates, as Breitenbach doubtless rightly suggests, from the first half of the second century, and the author was thus able to draw on a broad range of work by poets already regarded as classical.

When Catullus was rediscovered around 1300 and then, from the year 1472 on, became widely known in printed form, it was no longer the epigrammatist

that was seen in him, standing as he did in the shadow of Martial. That would not change in later centuries either, not even after neo-Latin poets had long stopped modeling their verses on his. Among today's readers, those, that is, who do not take part in the scholarly debates about his work, Catullus is generally numbered among the lyric poets of antiquity.²³

NOTES

1. The *Veronensis*, itself in fact lost, but reconstructed on the basis of copies; on the textual tradition see, e.g., Butrica (2007).
2. See Maltomini in this volume. For a close consideration of the intertextuality between poems by Catullus and epigrams in Meleager's anthology see most recently Gutzwiller (2012).
3. Cited here and below as found in Mynors (1958), but noting any preferred alternative readings.
4. I follow the conjecture in Trappes-Lomax (2007, 35–36).
5. We cannot say today in which order the four books were presented; for reasoned speculation see Höschle (2010, 228–29) and Gutzwiller (2012, 80). It is wholly feasible that the disposition of the types in Catull. 2–5 corresponds to their arrangement in the *Garland*.
6. I agree here with the numerous scholars (most recently Ingleheart 2003, 552–53) who take “II^b” in Mynors (1958) to be the end of “II” rather than a separate poem.
7. Barchiesi (2005, 328) (“Catullus is for Martial the classic that awaits a successor”); Lorenz (2007, 434) (“he turned Catullus into an epigrammatist and himself into the new Catullus”).
8. Fuhrer (1994) assumes that Meleager's *Garland* also contained “a considerable number of pieces in various lyric meters” (98).
9. On the origins of the satirical epigram in the Hellenistic period see Blomqvist (1998) and Gutzwiller (2012, 84).
10. Quintilian only uses the term *epigramma* once: in a reference to the linguistic singularities of Catullus 84 (*Inst.* 1.5.20).
11. Significant here too the possible titles named by Pliny the Younger (4.14.9) for a little book of poems: *hendecasyllabi*, *epigrammata*, *eidyllia*, *eclogae*, or *poematia*! See Neger (2015).
12. For a detailed comparison of poems 2 and 3 with epigrams in Meleager see now Gutzwiller (2012, 93–99).
13. Lorenz (2012) has demonstrated that obscenity can sometimes be disguised and so perceptible only on second reading. Fontaine (2008), rejected by Lorenz but followed by me, thinks it plausible that the occasional contemporary reader in Catullus' day would have translated *Vivamus, ... Lesbia* (5.1) “back” into ζῶμεν, Λεσβία, then landed, by association, at λεσβιάζωμεν, and so taken Catullus' longing for kisses to be longing for fellatio – a slant on the situation certainly borne out afterward by 16.12–13.

14. See most recently Gutzwiller (2012, 86) (further literature there).
15. The textual transmission for most of the ten poems that follow no. 51 (counting, with Mynors, 58 and 58b) is admittedly poor. However, *pace* Heyworth (2001, 121 n. 16) and Hutchinson (2008, 111), who find “two consecutive poems (59 and 60) in the same non-hendecasyllable metre, contrary to the pattern of 1–60,” positioning those two pieces at the end of a book actually makes perfect sense: see Hor. *Carm.* 2.19/20, 4.14/15 and *Epod.* 14/15 as “false ending” before 17/18; [Verg.] *Catal.* 14/15. See also Claes (2002, 86–87) on the funeral motif in Catull. 59 and *in novissimo casu* in no. 50 as closure markers.
16. The Parade Odes in Book 1 are not just 1–9, but in fact 1–11, as 9–11 mark the end of the full sequence with allusions to the triptychon of opening poems in the Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus’ hymns (Lyne 2007, 542–58); 38, the number of odes in Book 1, corresponds to the number of syllables in the sapphic stanza (Rahn 1970); *Carm.* 2.1–11 are composed alternatingly in alcaic and sapphic stanzas.
17. Biondi (1998) and Kronenberg (2013–14) also identify the *Magna Mater* as Catullus 63.
18. Significant in this context: Callimachus used the name Βαττιάδης in the epitaph for himself (*AP* 7.415 = 35 Pf.).
19. On Catullus’ language see the “classic” Ross (1969) and the useful survey Sheets (2007).
20. Punctuation as in Koster (1981, 133).
21. Gutzwiller (2012, 101–3) suggests an alternative reading: she sees here an intertextual reference to Meleager’s erotic poem *AP* 12.165 about a colored and a white boy and also detects a play on that poet’s name (μέλας “black,” ἄργος “white”). The idea is certainly fascinating and as brilliant as Fontaine’s above-mentioned thought (see n. 13). But could Catullus assume that his contemporaries would follow such a subtle trail? The more obvious association for them is likely to have been penetrating/black and penetrated/white.
22. See Mart. 8.3.1–2 *Quinque satis fuerant: nam sex septemve libelli / est nimum: quid adhuc ludere, Musa, iuvat?* (“Five would have sufficed, for six or seven little books are too much. Why, Muse, do you still delight in playing?”).
23. I would like to thank Regina Höschele, Sven Lorenz, and Margot Neger for their constructive criticism and help.

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FURTHER READING

For essential reading on the history of the term “epigram,” see Puelma (1996); on Greek and Roman books of epigrams, Höschel (2010); and on the relationship between Martial and Catullus, Lorenz (2007). Still useful for comparisons between Catullus and Greek epigrammatists, Hezel (1932), Wheeler (1934), Braga (1950), Avallone (1964), and Carilli (1975); more recently, specifically and in depth on Catullus and Meleager’s *Garland*, Gutzwiller (2012); for Catullus and iambics, Heyworth (2001). Particularly readable among recent studies which look at poems 1–60 and 65–116 as originally separate, structured poetry books Hutchinson (2008, 109–30); for a linear reading of each Claes (2002) and Holzberg (2003). On poems 65–116 as the only actual book designed by Catullus, Skinner (2003), with a detailed analysis of the poems, and Barchiesi (2005). There are as yet no major studies on epigrammatic elements in the structure of Catullus’ poems; for a stimulating read on the paradox epigram, Feeney (2008). Specialized studies devoted to single instances of the poet’s *Nachleben* as epigrammatist are also lacking to date; on his general reception since the Renaissance see most recently Gaiser (2009, 176–221).

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

Latin Epigram in the Early Empire

Christer Henriksén

26.1 Introduction

With the death of Catullus, we enter into epigrammatic waters that are largely unmappable and whose few fixed points are shrouded in rather a dense fog, until we emerge nearly a century and a half later to find Latin epigram in its full-blown form in the 12 books of Martial. During this time, it would be reasonable to assume a development; but for a number of reasons, this development proves very difficult to trace. First, there is the inherent problem that contemporary Romans did not speak of short poems as “epigrams.” Second, in spite of the efforts of Catullus, they do not yet seem to have recognized such short poems as an actual literary genre. The latter point is probably to a large extent due to the fact that there were as yet no poets who could be labeled as “epigrammatists” in the sense that they wrote only or predominantly epigram; even those whom we may suspect to have been important promoters of epigram are usually alluded to as epicists or panegyricists in contemporary sources.

Still, we can be sure that the writing of short, witty, obscene, and scoptic verse was as vigorous as ever. In a much-quoted letter (5.3), Pliny, in defense of his own activities in the field, produces a list of casual epigrammatists comprising emperors and senators as well as wealthy knights and, of course, professional poets such as Vergil; more or less everyone seems to have dabbled in the art of light verse. Elsewhere, particularly in the biographers and grammarians of late antiquity, several other poets of the late republic

and early empire (including Ovid himself) are credited with having written *epigrammata*. During this period, that saw Latin literature evolve into unprecedented grandeur, there seems to have been no shortage of talented people writing epigram – even though they may not have labeled it as such any more than did Catullus.

However, it takes more than a casual dabbling in light verse to become a formative influence on the epigrammatic tradition and affect the direction it is going to take. Some, we may assume, must have taken the genre of light verse more seriously, putting together and publishing collections of their own epigrams. They no longer had to look across the Mediterranean to Alexandria for models and inspiration. In Rome, Catullus had already shown the way for making short poems into *libelli* and, within the related genres of lyric and elegy, carefully arranged books were published by the finest poets of the day. It is a small surprise that the *indicia* mark the early empire as important also for the development of epigram towards a literary genre in Rome.

The *indicia* come from the master of Roman *nugae*, M. Valerius Martialis. In the preface to his first book of *Epigrams* proper, Martial famously singles out four poets as important models for his own work: Catullus, Domitius Marsus, Albinovanus Pedo, and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus.¹ Of these, Catullus is the only one whose text has been preserved in sufficient amount for us to form an opinion about the way he wrote his poems and ordered them into book form (see Holzberg in this volume). The surviving lines of the other three are precious few: we have 21 verses by Marsus (not all of them complete), of Pedo nearly 23 (all of them irrelevant here), of Gaetulicus no more than 3, although 8 epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* are ascribed to a Gaetulicus who may be the same man (Page 1981, 49–60; cf. Howell 1980, 99–100; Nisbet 2003, 197–99).

Marsus can be firmly classified as “Augustan” (which may be a factor contributing to his prominent place in Martial, knowing the latter’s partiality – in several respects – to the Augustan age), his poetic activity covering the 30s BCE (if not earlier) and continuing probably into the second decade BCE. Pedo was a younger friend of Ovid’s (Hollis 2007, 304–5 and 374–75), whereas Gaetulicus lived into the reign of Caligula.

Martial mentions these poets in the preface to Book 1 in defense of his own *lasciva verborum veritas*, the wanton straightforwardness of his Latin or “the language of epigram,” as he calls it. But comparing Martial with Catullus, it is at once evident that the latter was a model to the former in many other, and more important, respects than simply for the use of obscenity. Similarly, Martial would surely not have looked to Marsus, Pedo, and Gaetulicus solely for their expert use of four-letter words.

The following chapter follows Martial's guidance in an attempt to sketch out the character of the works of Marsus, Pedo, and Gaetulicus to evaluate their importance for the development of Roman epigram.

26.2 Domitius Marsus

When Martial mentions the four poets in the preface to Book 1, he seems to be using an order based on chronology as well as personal preference; Catullus (d. ca. 54) is mentioned fourteen times in Martial, Domitius Marsus seven, Pedo three, and Gaetulicus only in the preface (Neger 2012, 12).

There is considerably more to say about Marsus than about Pedo and Gaetulicus, not because there is more text preserved, but because the testimonies are more substantial and the actual text more diversified, dividing itself into nine separate fragments. We also have the titles of three works, the *Cicuta*, the *Fabellae*, and the *Amazonis*, together with that of a theoretical work in prose, *De urbanitate*. Only two of the fragments can be coupled with a title, which does not, of course, mean that none of the others belongs to one of the three known works as well. Moreover, and more importantly, most of what we have from Marsus may actually be regarded as “epigrams” by the modern definition. And unlike Pedo and Gaetulicus, Marsus is nowhere hinted at as a poet who worked also in more “elevated” genres, such as epic or “epyllion.”

26.2.1 *Cicuta*, *Fabellae*, and *Amazonis*

A book entitled *Cicuta* (“Hemlock”) is mentioned by the fifth-century grammarian Iunius Filagrius (Philargyrius) in his comment on Verg. *Ecl.* 3.90–91, two rather unflattering hexameters about Bavius and Maevius. Filagrius says that the pair mocked Vergil and dismisses them as the two worst poetasters of their age; he then quotes the following poem from Marsus' *Cicuta* (*FPL* Domitius Marsus 1), which he explicitly says is about the same two individuals (with Maevius hidden under the term *frater* in the sense of a male sexual partner; cf. Havet 1900; Watson 2003, 355; text according to Hollis 2007, 302):

Omnia cum Bavio communia frater habebat,
 unanimi fratres sicut habere solent,
 rura domum nummos atque omnia; denique, ut aiunt,
 corporibus geminis spiritus unus erat.

Sed postquam alterius mulier concumbere <fratri> 5

non vult, deposuit alter amicitiam.
 Omnia tunc ira, tunc omnia lite soluta,
 <et> nova regna duos accipiunt <dominos> .

His brother had everything in common with Bavius, as unanimous brothers usually have, country estates, a town house, money, and everything; in short, as they say, there was one and the same spirit in twin bodies. But after the wife of the one refused to sleep with his brother, the other broke off the friendship. Then everything was dissolved in anger, everything in a court-case, and the new kingdom acquires two masters.

Bavius' pursuit of literary endeavors is supported by Jerome's note for the year 35/34 BCE in his translation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, where he says that "the poet M. Bavius, whom Vergil brands in the *Bucolica*, dies in Cappadocia" (Jer. *Ab Abr.* 1982). This may be taken as a *terminus ante quem* for Marsus' poem and perhaps roughly as a date for the *Cicuta* as a whole.

The satirical tone of the epigram fits well with the assumption, often made, that the *Cicuta*, as the name itself indicates, was a collection of venomous poems against various individuals. Furthermore, the dating to the mid-thirties, making it roughly contemporaneous both with Horace's *Epodes* and Vergil's *Bucolics*, goes well not only with Vergil's dig at Bavius and Maevius in *Ecl.* 3., but also with the fact that Horace in his tenth *Epode* wishes for a violent death in a shipwreck for the "stinking Maevius" as he sets out to sea (Watson 2003, 355–57 with further references). By the look of it, these may be the traces of a literary feud of the early thirties, in which Marsus sided with Vergil and Horace against Bavius and Maevius. This proximity of Marsus to the two Augustan giants is important for contextualizing Marsus in the literary landscape of Augustan Rome. Some other fragments and a couple of lines from Martial contribute to making this picture more complete; we will return to this briefly below.

The structure of Marsus' poem is typically epigrammatic, adhering to a scheme of before-and-after which was common since the early Hellenistic epigrammatists and which was to become one of Martial's favorites (Buchheit 1962, 63 n. 3 with instances; Siedschlag 1977, 29–30). In Marsus' poem, the contrast between the two situations is further underlined by the words *communia*, *frater*, and *unanimi* in the first distich, contrasting with *ira*, *lite*, *regna*, and (if correctly conjectured) *dominos* in the last.

The *Cicuta* was probably in a single book, and the same may be true about Marsus' *Fabellae*, "Little tales." The source for the title is Flavius Sospater Charisius (fourth century CE), who in discussing the gender of the noun *callum* ("hard skin") quotes the phrase *callum sibi pectore quendam*

(“a kind of *callus* on his chest”; Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* 1, p. 72; the quotation forms the end of a hexameter) from Marsus’ *fabellarum VIII*, “the ninth of his *Fabellae*.” The title *Fabellae* does not, however, suggest epigram but perhaps rather poetical short stories and reflections, like the *Satires* of Horace.²

The title of the third work, the *Amazonis*, appears in Mart. 4.29, an epigram in which the poet ponders the possibility that his readers may be put off by the sheer number of his books. People are pleased by rarities, he says, and makes the point that “Persius is praised more often in his single book than trifling Marsus in the whole of his *Amazonis*” (*saepius in libro numeratur Persius uno, / quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide*; 4.29.7–8).³ Knowing Martial’s aggressive attitude towards mythological epic, it is easy to jump to the conclusion that the *Amazonis* was, as its title might suggest, one of those cumbersome epics. Two things are, however, important to keep in mind here. First, Martial mentions Marsus as *levis*, “light,” which is a typical epithet for an epigrammatist (and definitely not one of an epic poet). Second, the comparison is more (not to say only) effective if Persius’ *liber* and Marsus’ *Amazonis* were comparable works; this is a matter of comparing size, not of opposing genres against one another. The *Amazonis* is used primarily to make a contrast to Persius’ single book of *Satires* (664 verses), and so must have been a work in several books. Marsus and his *Amazonis* may even make a perfect parallel to Martial himself and his own multi-book oeuvre, which is the object of his worries in this epigram. Nevertheless, most scholars have assumed that the work would have been an epic about the Amazon queen Penthesilea (Mindt 2013, 188 with references). Fogazza is soundly skeptical (1981, 22–25) as there are no sources that mention Marsus as an epicist, and Peter L. Schmidt (1967 and 1997) suggested that the *Amazonis* would actually have been a collection of epigrams in several books. Regardless of what we choose to call the poems in such a collection – epigrams, elegies, or just “short poems” – such an *Amazonis* would be in line with what we actually know about Marsus’ other production.⁴

As for the deceptive title, *Amazonis* may well have been the name (perhaps the nick-name) of the work’s principal character. There is an obvious tendency for the poets to name their literary mistresses after female characters that are notoriously discouraging and hard to get, the best instances being Propertius’ Cynthia and Tibullus’ Delia, both named with epithets of the virgin goddess Diana. In a similar manner, *Amazonis* evokes the image of an Amazon, characteristically unsympathetic towards men and the archetype of a hard-to-get girl (cf. *Ars am.* 3.1–2 and *Rem. am.* 676 with Lucke 1982, 263–64). And it is perfectly obvious that the name of the main character in a poetry book could be used to designate the book as a whole; in 14.189, Martial refers to Propertius’ first book simply as “Cynthia”: *Cynthia – facundi*

carmen iuvenale Properti – / *accepit famam, non minus ipsa dedit* (“Cynthia – the youthful song of eloquent Propertius – has won renown, and given none less herself”); Leary (1996, 254) gives three similar instances from Greek.

It may be mentioned here that we do have the name of another lady appearing in Marsus’ poetry, the “black Melaenis” (*fusca Melaenis*, mentioned in Mart. 7.29.8). Martial’s reference is a play on words, μελαινίς meaning “black” in Greek, but it was also an epithet of Aphrodite at Corinth and thus had erotic undertones, making it a suitable name for a literary femme fatale. Whether or not she appeared in the *Amazonis* – or perhaps even was the *Amazonis* herself – is impossible to tell.

26.2.2 *The Poems on Tibullus and Atia*

Marsus’ most famous pieces are probably the poem about the death of Tibullus and the two distichs on Augustus’ mother Atia, unmistakably epigrammatic in character but transmitted without any kind of context. The poem on Tibullus (transmitted in the manuscripts of his *Elegies* and ascribed to Marsus by one single fragment; Maltby 2002, 25; Dixon 2006) stands firmly in the long tradition of funerary epigram, going back to the very beginnings of the genre, present in the earliest instances of literary Latin epigram in the works of Ennius, and later picked up by Martial. It puts Tibullus’ death in immediate connection with that of Vergil, and so is likely to have been written in or shortly after 19 BCE:⁵

Te quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle,
 mors iuvenem campos misit ad Elysios,
 ne foret aut elegis molles qui fleret amores
 aut caneret forti regia bella pede.

An unfair death sent you, too, Tibullus, to the Elysian fields while still a youth as a companion to Vergil, that there should be no-one who wept for tender loves in elegiacs, nor sang of kingly wars in heroic meter.

The epitaphic apostrophe *te quoque* is well established both in the literary and in the epigraphic tradition, Latin as well as Greek (= καὶ σὺ); see Horsfall (2000, 46 (on Verg. *Aen.* 7.1) with further references and cf. Greene in this volume). The two distichs are well balanced against each other and come very close to the scheme of “event–comment” that is relatively common in epigrams about deaths in the *Greek Anthology* and used also by Martial, above all in the *Liber spectaculorum* (Siedschlag 1977, 100–5). This is

enough to make any speculations about these lines being part of a longer elegy unnecessary.

The verses on Atia are included as two separate distichs (nos. 39 and 40) in the late antique *Epigrammata Bobiensia*, which adds lemmata to each poem ascribing them to Marsus and stating Atia as their protagonist:

Epigr. Bob. 39

Ante omnes alias felix tamen hoc ego dicor,
sive hominem peperit femina sive deum.

Before all others, though, I am said to be happy because of this, whether I, a woman, have given birth to a man or to a god.

Epigr. Bob. 40

Hic Atiae cinis est; genetrix hic Caesaris, hospes,
condita; Romani sic voluere patres.

Here are the ashes of Atia; the mother of Caesar, stranger, is buried here; such was the will of the Roman fathers.

The word *tamen* in the hexameter of no. 39 suggests that this is not the first line of a poem, or at least not a poem to be read by itself. Significantly, it also lacks the speaker's name, which would have rendered the epigram completely anonymous, unless it had some kind of lemma also in the original stating that it was about Atia. Lausberg (1992, 262) considers the two poems an "Epigrammpaar," and suspects that the original order has been reversed in the *Bobiensia*. In spite of Hollis' objections (2007, 312), we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that this – in spite of the change of speaker – is one and the same epigram that for whatever reason has become split into two.

The phrase *sive hominem peperit femina sive deum* in 39.2 is noteworthy, as Atia died during Octavian's first consulship in 43 BCE, a year before even Julius Caesar had been deified; it is inconceivable that Marsus would have called Octavian, the youngest member of the brand new second triumvirate, a *deus* at this date (Hollis 2007, 312). Of course, a couple of decades later Horace in his *Carmina* explicitly hints at the divine status that lies in store for the emperor, but *deus* of a living emperor (let alone a young politician) is actually not used until Mart. 4.1.10 (cf. Moreno Soldevila 2006, 103).⁶

After 14/13 BCE, when Augustus' *genius* was officially included in the state cult, the poets could tread less cautiously. Among the Augustans Ovid goes furthest, but not even he uses *deus* unambiguously of the emperor, even though he sometimes comes extremely close (cf. in particular *Pont.* 4.4.33–34; Scott 1930 with many instances). Thus, in using *deus* with direct and obvious

reference to the emperor, Marsus outdoes all other Augustan poets. That *Epigr. Bob.* 39 cannot belong in the forties seems certain. Most probably, it postdates 14/13, which suggests that at least in the case of *Epigr. Bob.* 39, we are dealing with a purely literary product and not with a poem intended to be incised on Atia's tomb. The same would go for *Epigr. Bob.* 40, even though its more typically epigraphic character – it is enough to point to the *hic-deixis* and to the apostrophe of the *hospes* – has led some to believe that it was (Fogazza 1981, 25; *contra* Courtney 1993, 305, and Hollis 2007, 312). Furthermore, *Epigr. Bob.* 39 suggests Marsus as a pioneer in advancing the limits of imperial panegyric, perhaps because epigram as a genre may have found it easier to pick up the Greek tradition of paying homage to the ruler in divine terms.⁷ Thus, he may have been a model for Martial also when it came to imperial panegyrics (cf. Neger 2012, 285).

26.2.3 Other Fragments

The remaining of Marsus' fragments are not much more than scraps. Two, like the fragment from the *Fabellae*, are quoted by grammarians of late antiquity as instances of grammatical or prosodical peculiarities; so *hircum et alumen olens* ("smelling of goat and alum"; beginning of an hexameter or half a pentameter) quoted by Diomedes (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* 1, p. 319) and *adipis pondo bis dena vetustae* ("twice ten pounds of old lard"; the latter part of an hexameter) by Priscian (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* 2, p. 168; see Hollis 2007, 310 for both). Considerably more interesting are two complete hexameters about *grammatici* quoted by Suetonius. One mentions Q. Caecilius Epirota (*Epirota tenellorum nutricula vatum*, "Epirota, nurse of tender young poets"; Suet. *Gram. et rhet.* 16.3), the other L. Orbilius Popillus (*si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit*, "if Orbilius stroke anyone with rod or with whiplash of leather"; Suet. *Gram. et rhet.* 9.3). As Suetonius quotes both hexameters entirely without a context, it is difficult to say much about them. Note, though, that there are a number of epigrams on rhetors in the *Greek Anthology*, a topic that was later adapted by Martial, although most of these poems are scoptic (see Mindt in this volume).⁸

In both cases, there is, however, a certain connection to Horace. Orbilius, whose school Horace apparently had attended, has been made famous in *Epist.* 2.1.70–71 as being *flagosus* ("fond of flogging"), which is quite in line with Marsus' hexameter. There is no way of knowing if Marsus too had attended Orbilius' school (Hollis 2007, 301), however tempting the thought that the two poets had actually been schoolmates.

The link between the verse about Epirota and Horace is of a very subtle metrical nature. It is a matter of Marsus' hexameter beginning with two

words of four syllables each that are metrical reflections of one another (---◡ and ◡---). Such a pattern is exceedingly common with disyllables (◡◡ and ◡◡), but practically not used at all in the four-syllables variant, with the very notable exception of Marsus' *Epirota*-hexameter (*Ēpīrōtā tēnellōrūm*, the final syllable being long by position) and two instances in Horace's *Epistles*, 1.19.14 *vīrtūtēmnē rēprāesēntēt moresque Catonis?* and 2.1.147 *libertāsquē rēcūrrētīs accepta per annos*; the only other instance known to me also comes from Horace, but occurs in a different metrical position (*Sat.* 1.3.38 *illuc prāevērtāmūr, amātōrēm quod amicae*). This metrical Horatianism, considered alongside the references to Orbilius and the attacks on Bavius and Maevius launched by both Marsus and Horace, may be seen as a further indication of a certain proximity between the two poets.⁹

26.2.4 De Urbanitate and the Concept of "Point"

It would carry us too far to discuss Marsus' treatise *De urbanitate* at sufficient length. What we have from it is no more than two quotations in Quintilian and the rhetor's discussion of them (*Inst.* 6.3.103–12), which does not, unfortunately, give a very clear picture of the work. He gives Marsus' definition of *urbanitas* as *virtus quaedam in breve dictum coacta*, "a certain merit compressed into a short saying," and while the word "short" has had many thinking about epigram, a view of *De urbanitate* as a work primarily dealing with epigram written by the foremost Augustan representative of the genre is probably more wishful thinking than anything else. In fact, Quintilian takes up an unsympathetic attitude towards the importance of brevity, which hardly would have been the case if the book was actually about epigram. More likely, *De urbanitate* may have been concerned with the various ways of expressing oneself *urbane* in any kind of speech and writing, and the insistence on brevity seems to me to be rather a matter of sententious phrasing; an important parallel is Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.7–15. But it is also true, of course, that a style that cultivates the *breve dictum*, or "sententious phrase," may find its most marked expression in epigram, and more specifically in the concept of "point," i.e., the sometimes witty, sometimes unexpected, sometimes crushing sting-in-the-tail ending that was driven to perfection in the epigrams of Martial. In earlier Greek epigram, such pointed conclusions were virtually non-existent (a difference that was important to early modern critics, who sometimes found the absence of such *argutiae* a sign of the superiority of Greek epigram to Latin, sometimes vice versa; Haynes 2007, 570–2). It occurs in several of Catullus' epigrams, but does not reach its most consummate form until Martial, with Marsus having been regarded as the "missing link" in a hypothetical development from the

one poet to the other, largely on the basis of Quintilian's résumé of *De urbanitate* (Ramage 1973, 106). While not in itself improbable, to what extent this is actually true we cannot tell.

26.3 Pedo and Gaetulicus

Were it not for the testimony of Martial, no-one would have come up with the idea that Pedo and Gaetulicus would have written epigrams, because the texts we have from them are of an entirely different character. It is a matter of two epic or (given that we do not know the scale of the works) panegyric poems, in Pedo's case about Germanicus' campaign in 16 CE (*FPL* Albinovanus Pedo 1; Sen. *Suas.* 1.15),¹⁰ in Gaetulicus' about Caligula's planned campaign against the Germans and Britons in 39 CE (*FPL* Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus; [Prob.] *Verg. G.* 1.227; Dahlmann 1979; Barrett 1989, 102 and 281 n. 62), in which he would likely have had hopes of taking part, having been commander of the army of Upper Germany since 29; instead, he was executed the very same year on the charge of having conspired against the emperor.

When it comes to epigram, then, we are largely groping in the dark, and the light that can be shed must come from circumstantial evidence. In the case of Pedo, the testimonies give the image of a posh fellow, moving in the fashionable circles of late Augustan Rome. He seems to have been a quite close though somewhat younger friend of Ovid (Sen. *Controv.* 2.2.12; Ov. *Pont.* 4.10, 4.16.6) and a renowned wit (Sen. *Ep.* 22.15–16; Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.62). Besides attesting to his output of lascivious epigrams, Martial gives him the epithet *doctus* (a key attribute of the neoterics which he shares with Catullus) and holds him out (together with Marsus) as an example of a poet who often wrote a single poem (*unum opus*) longer than two columns (2.77.5–6).¹¹ He also wrote a poem about Theseus (Ov. *Pont.* 4.10; perhaps an “epyllion” in the manner of Catullus 64, to which it may also have been thematically related).

In 5.5.6, Martial asks Domitian's librarian to place his works next to those of Pedo, Marsus, and Catullus in the imperial library. Two important points suggest themselves in this line, first, that Marsus and Pedo were the two poets between himself and Catullus that Martial considered most important, second, that they wrote books, *libri*, of content similar to Catullus' and to Martial's own; it would be pointless for Martial to ask for a place next to Pedo's poem on Germanicus' campaign. This indication that Catullus, Marsus, and Pedo wrote *books* of epigrams, not just the stray poem sprung

from the spur of the moment, may be a fundamental factor for their importance in establishing Roman epigram as a genre in its own right.

We have a good deal less to go on when it comes to Gaetulicus' epigrammatic output. He is included by Pliny in *Ep.* 5.3 as a writer of lascivious verse, and Sidonius Apollinaris refers to him (alongside Ovid, Catullus, Lucan, Propertius, and Tibullus) as a poet who found inspiration in a lady (*Sid. Apoll. Ep.* 2.10.6). This suggests Gaetulicus as a writer of epigram and elegy, but does not help to understand why Martial would single him out as one of his most important forerunners of the early empire. The same is true about the poems of Gaetulicus in the *Greek Anthology* (assuming that they are actually by the same person), which are mainly dedicatory or sepulchral epigrams written in the vein of Leonidas. But Martial's testimony that he wrote obscene epigrams still stands, and as the three lines that have survived may come from a panegyric with an epic flavor, we can at least be sure that Gaetulicus, like Catullus and Pedo and probably also Marsus, wrote in several genres.

26.4 Conclusion

This chapter opened with the somewhat incisive statement that, in late republican and early imperial times, more or less everyone wrote epigram. This is neither implausible in itself nor necessarily very far from the truth, although most seem to have done so with a very relaxed attitude to this kind of output. Few would have considered publishing their short poems in a book, which made their survival to future generations uncertain at best. It is not surprising, therefore, that the majority of short poems transmitted under the names of the major Augustan poets are either genuine lines taken out of their original and longer contexts, or clearly fake. In this situation, whether we like it or not, we are dependent on Martial's lead when trying to identify the most important names in early imperial epigram. As noted above, this may be somewhat risky. But Martial probably had a reason for singling out Catullus, Marsus, Pedo, and Gaetulicus; had he been practicing mere name-dropping, he might well have included such poets as Ovid too.¹² His complete silence about Vergil as an epigrammatist demonstrates that he was not familiar with the *Catalepton* as a work by Vergil, if he knew about it at all. Had he been aware of the *libellus* and believed it to be by Vergil, it seems unthinkable that he would not have mentioned it – particularly as he more than once mentions the epyllion *Culex* as a Vergilian work (14.185 and 8.55.20).¹³

There may be reason to believe, then, that the poets in Martial's list shared a common trait that set them apart from others who wrote epigram. This common trait may have been that they put together and published books of epigrams. This is demonstrably true of Catullus, and (as Martial seems to imply in 5.5) very likely of Pedo and Marsus; it may have been true of Gaetulicus as well. The importance of the book as a concept to Martial is evident from his own work, both from what he has to say about it in his poems and from the care he took in putting together his own 12 books of *Epigrammata* (see Lorenz in this volume). The emergence of books of epigrams in Rome of the late republic and early empire would have constituted an important step towards establishing Roman epigram as a literary genre. It would seem, though, that the time was not yet ripe for Roman poets to be epigrammatists only; the final step, of rejecting other genres to write exclusively epigram, would be taken by Martial himself, a century later.

NOTES

1. A *caveat* is in place when following Martial's lead in tracing the tradition of Roman epigram: it has frequently been pointed out that Martial may have over-emphasized the importance of these four poets (Mindt 2013, 142, 267–68) in order to furnish his own genre with a distinguished pedigree (cf. Neger in this volume). But the one verifiable case – that of Catullus – shows us a poet whose importance for Roman epigram is undeniable, a fact that argues against the other three having been chosen at random. The lack of further evidence may be due to epigram as a genre not receiving any real attention prior to Martial.
2. The diminutive of the title indicates that the work had a neoteric touch (on Catullus' fondness for diminutives, see Sheets 2007, 198–99). In this respect, it seems somewhat peculiar that Charisius' phrase *fabellarum VIII* has been virtually unanimously taken to mean "in the ninth *book* of his *Fabellae*" (e.g., Fogazza 1981, 21; Hollis 2007, 308), suggesting a very voluminous work, rather than "in the ninth poem of his *Fabellae*," which would be more congruent with the title. There does not seem to be any clearly comparable instance in Charisius where he refers to a poem within a single book in this manner, but cf. Donat. *Vit. Verg.* p. 3, 28 Brummer, *secunda bucolicorum ecloga*, "in the second eclogue of the *Bucolica*"; with ellipsis of a word for "poem," Charisius' phrase would be the same. A comparable problem is his quotation of a hexameter by Maecenas with the addition *ut Maecenas in X ... ait*, "as Maecenas says in the tenth" (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* 1, p. 79–80). As it is difficult to conceive of Maecenas as writing a single poem in ten books (cf. Hollis 2007, 318), it may be a case of poem 10 in a single book, and thus comparable to a single book *Fabellae*.
3. In his Loeb edition, Shackleton Bailey translates *numeratur* (lit. "is counted") as "scores"; see Moreno Soldevila (2006, 256), for the possibilities.

4. If the *Amazonis* was not an epic about Amazons, we need not bother ourselves with the very tenacious idea, proposed in the eighteenth century by Johann Matthias Gesner, that Horace has a go at Marsus' *Amazonis* (assumed to be a bombastic epic) in *Carm.* 4.4.18–22; see Byrne (2004, 262 n. 38), and cf. Fogazza (1981, 23).
5. As has long been acknowledged, the first distich alludes to Tib. 1.3.55–58. For a summary of the previous discussion, see Fogazza (1981, 33–38). On the second distich's reference to the elegist in the hexameter and to the epicist in the pentameter, see Morgan in this volume.
6. It cannot be ruled out that there is some connection between Marsus' use of *deus* and the anecdote related by Suetonius (*Aug.* 94.4), according to which Atia would have become pregnant with Octavian by the god Apollo himself (Fogazza 1981, 26; Dahlmann 1956). As his source, Suetonius gives the *Theologumena* of Asclepiades of Mendes, about whom nothing is known. But stories such as this certainly did not begin to circulate until Augustus, like once Alexander, had become a figure imposing enough to be considered as in need of a superhuman father (cf. Goldsworthy 2014, 21).
7. Greek epigrammatists at Rome were perhaps more prone to speak of the emperor as “god,” but the evidence is somewhat later than Marsus. Crinagoras refers to an emperor (either Augustus or Tiberius; Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, 233) using the word δαίμων (*AP* 9.562.6), which is more along the lines of *numen* and less drastic than *deus*. Philip, on the other hand, speaks of Caesar as a θεὸς ἀμείνων, a “better god,” than Apollo, but this probably refers to Gaius (see Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, 331–32) and thus should be dated to c. 40 CE. Cf. Coleman in this volume on the imperial panegyrics of Crinagoras.
8. For a suggestion that these may come from a poetical work involving the lives of literary personalities (such as the *Μοῦσαι*, a work on poets by the third-century Alexandrian poet Alexander Aetolus), see Watson (2003, 356). Mindt (2013, 141) proposes that the double diminutives in the line about Epirota are intended to poke fun about his supposedly neoteric style. Probably irrelevant here is the interest that Marsus took in another highly prestigious teacher of rhetoric, Apollodorus of Pergamum (with whom he corresponded; Quint. *Inst.* 3.1.18).
9. Two of Martial's epigrams (7.29 and 8.55) mention Marsus together with Horace's and Vergil's patron Maecenas. This has given rise to the view that Marsus too belonged to Maecenas' entourage. 7.29.7–8 (“even to Maecenas, when Maro sang of Alexis, was nonetheless Marsus' dusky Melaenis known”; cf. above) does not necessarily imply more than that Maecenas, although he had direct access to the loftier poetry of Vergil, actually read epigram too. 8.55, however, explicitly treats poetic patronage (albeit from an absurd angle) and brings together the generic plurals *Varii* and *Marsi* (“poets like Varius and Marsus”) with Vergil and Maecenas. Knowing that L. Varius Rufus and Vergil were at the very center of Maecenas' circle, it is difficult to argue that Martial did not mean to indicate that Marsus was too. His self-identification with Marsus in the poem's final distich (8.55. 23–24) testifies to his admiration of the Augustan poet and his insistence of light verse as a genre to match epic, but does not necessarily make Marsus one of Maecenas' poets. For want of further proof in any direction,

Marsus' relation to Maecenas largely becomes what we want it to be. Most thoroughly, it has been called in question by Shannon N. Byrne (2004); for a contrary opinion, see, e.g., Nauta (2007, 11–12 with n. 55). Here, it is quite sufficient to establish that it is of no consequence for our evaluation of Marsus' output of epigrams.

10. Pedo seems to have enjoyed a certain renown particularly as a poet in the higher genres. Quintilian mentions him (next to Rabirius) in a list of – apparently – mainly epic poets as “worth reading” (*Inst.* 10.1.90). More intriguing is his appearance in Ovid's enumeration of contemporary poets in *Pont.* 4.16; the poem's third distich (lines 5–6) mentions Domitius Marsus (appearing only as *Marsus* without further qualification), Rabirius (described as *magni oris*, “of mighty voice”), Cn. Pompeius Macer (called *Iliacus*, “Trojan”), and *sidereus* (“starry”) *Pedo*, in that order. Rabirius and Macer appear as epic poets, as is clear from their epithets. It is tempting to see here a chiasmic positioning of the four poets, with *Pedo* at the end corresponding to Marsus at the beginning, two poets of a “lighter” genre surrounding the two epic poets in between. The problem is how to interpret *Pedo*'s epithet *sidereus*, which has been taken to indicate that he, too, appears here as an epicist (e.g., Courtney 1993, 316; Mindt 2013, 140). But all that can be said is actually that *sidereus* “constitutes a compliment” (Helzlsouer 1989, 184) without any connection to a specific genre; the fact that Columella uses the same adjective of Vergil (*sidereus vatis*, 10.434) does not argue for a specific epic reference, as he speaks here of Vergil as a didactic poet in the tradition of Hesiod.
11. This means that they would have written single poems of about 50 to 90 verses (which, one would assume, they themselves would have labeled as elegies), a length that Martial himself only reaches in 3.58, which extends to 51 scanzons; see Williams (2004, 243).
12. There are a couple of Ovidian fragments that may actually come from epigrams, such as the pentameters *Larte ferox caeso Cossus opima tulit* (Courtney 1993, 309 no. 3), quoted by Priscian (*Inst.* 5.13) as something Ovid had written in *Epigrammatis*, and *cur ego non dicam, Furia, te furiam?*, which Quintilian ascribes to Ovid in *Inst.* 9.3.70 (in his discussion of puns). Also interesting is the hendecasyllable 2.41.1–2, *Ride, si sapis, o puella, ride*, which Martial quotes as being by Ovid (2.41.1–2; see Williams 2004, ad loc.).
13. The *Culex*, like *Catalepton* part of the modern *Appendix Vergiliana*, is a blatant forgery (Ax 1984). Nevertheless, it appears to have been considered a genuine work of Vergil not only by Martial, but also by Lucan and Statius.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

Greek Epigram in Rome in the First Century CE

Regina Höschele

27.1 The Poet and the Prince: Crinagoras on Marcellus (AP 6.161)

The catalogue of Roman heroes in Vergil's *Aeneid* famously ends with Anchises' lament over the *mors immatura* of Marcellus (6.868–86), Augustus' nephew and son-in-law, whose death in 23 BCE deprived the emperor of a prospective heir. By way of an intriguing prolepsis, Vergil has Aeneas' dead father commemorate the demise of a 19-year-old yet to be born, even as he foreshadows the deaths of several young heroes in the epic's second half. So great was the emotional impact of this passage on Marcellus' mother Octavia that she fainted upon hearing the poet recite it (Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 32). While this anecdote may well be a biographical construct, there can be no doubt that Marcellus' death was greatly mourned; he was the first to be buried in Augustus' Mausoleum, the *princeps* named a theater after him, and Octavia dedicated a library with two collections – one Greek, one Latin – in her son's honor.

According to Anchises, “no other boy from Ilian stock shall ever so exalt his Latin forebears in hope” (*Aen.* 6.875–6). While Vergil's readers knew that these hopes were to be cut short, such expectations were still very much alive a few years earlier, as is attested by two epigrams in the *Palatine Anthology*. Both were penned by Crinagoras of Mitylene, who was not only a prolific epigrammatist, but also a prominent citizen of his hometown, serving as

ambassador to Rome on several occasions, in 48/47, 45, and 26/25 BCE (inscriptional evidence published by Cichorius 1888 confirms Crinagoras' participation in the first two embassies, while his presence during a third to Tarragona may be inferred from local references in his poetry; Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, 210–11). Crinagoras' career as both a political and literary figure, along with his multiple ties to members of the imperial household, makes his oeuvre an excellent starting point for our consideration of Greek epigram produced at Rome, in which military conquest, imperial politics, and patron–client relations play a central role. As we shall see, Crinagoras' real-life ambassadorship, moreover, finds its literary equivalent in the cultural mission of his poetic *persona*, who is presented, *inter alia*, in the very act of sending Greek texts to Roman addressees.

It was in all likelihood in the course of his embassy to Spain that Crinagoras became acquainted with Marcellus, who made his military debut during Augustus' Cantabrian campaign before returning to Rome in 25 BCE to marry the *princeps*' daughter Julia. In *AP* 6.161, Crinagoras captures the moment of his return, which coincides with Marcellus' shaving of his first beard; even if no dedication is mentioned, we are invited to picture Marcellus as celebrating his *depositio barbae*, a ceremony in which Roman boys around the age of 17 offered their first beard to the gods (Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, 219).

Ἑσπερίου Μάρκελλος ἀνερχόμενος πολέμοιο
 σκυλοφόρος κραναῆς τέλσα παρ' Ἰταλῆς,
 ξανθὴν πρῶτον ἔκειρε γενειάδα· βούλετο πατρίς
 οὕτως, καὶ πέμψαι παῖδα καὶ ἄνδρα λαβεῖν.

Returning home from the Western War, laden with spoils, to the boundaries of rocky Italy, Marcellus shaved his blond beard for the first time; such was his *patria*'s desire, to send him out a boy and receive him back a man.

Marcellus' physical journey from the Western front to Italy thus becomes one with his transition from boy- to adulthood, which his *patria* is said to have longed for – a clear resonance of the hopes held by the Roman people. While the epigram contains no overtly erotic elements, the growing of a beard along with the *depositio barbae* is frequently lamented in pederastic contexts as marking the end of an *eromenos*' desirability (Obermayer 1998, 103–14). Statilius Flaccus' variations on the theme (*AP* 12.25–27) show us an *erastes* outraged because his beloved, for whose safe return he had vowed a rooster to Apollo, has come back fully bearded (Obermayer 1998, 128–30). In the case of Marcellus, by way of contrast, the beard is

viewed as a welcome token of his newly gained virility, which makes him, not least of all, fit for marriage. Though Crinagoras does not refer to his wedding with Julia, he may evoke the idea of impending nuptials by portraying *Italia* herself as the youth's expectant bride. For the final phrase, ἄνδρα λαβεῖν, which describes the *patria's* reception of Marcellus as a grown-up, can also signify "to take as husband" (cf., e.g., Plut. *Vit. Cleom.* 6.1), a poignant *double entendre* in the context of dynastic politics: until recently a smooth-checked boy (the potential object of pederastic desire), Marcellus has been transformed by war into a man and soon-to-be husband.

So as to underline Marcellus' masculinity, Crinagoras characterizes him with the rare adjective σκυλοφόρος, which implies that he has taken *spolia* from a slain enemy (used elsewhere only at Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.34 of Jupiter Feretrius, and, in the form σκυληφόρε, in *AP* 9.428.1). The *Suda*, in fact, quotes Crinagoras' line to illustrate the meaning of σκυλα as spoils stripped off a dead foe as opposed to λάφυρα, i.e., booty taken from the living. The adjective serves, I suggest, to highlight Marcellus' military prowess by portraying him, allusively, as a worthy successor to his most prominent ancestor, M. Claudius Marcellus, famed conqueror of Syracuse (211 BCE) and general of the Second Punic War, with whom the youth is also linked in Vergil: upon seeing them side by side, Aeneas wonders whether the elder's companion was "a son, or one from the great line of his descendants" (*Aen.* 6.864). The elder Marcellus was celebrated, in particular, for being the third, and last, Roman to have won *spolia opima* (*Aen.* 6.855), the armor stripped off an enemy leader defeated in single combat (on the *spolia opima* tradition in the aftermath of Marcellus' victory over the Gallic king Viridomarus in 222 BCE, cf. Flower 2000).

Since the Latin *spolia opima* is rendered in Greek as σκυλα (cf. Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 16.7, *Vit. Marc.* 8.3; Cass. Dio 44.4.3) and the Greek name of Jupiter Feretrius, in whose temple such spoils were dedicated, is none other than Ζεὺς Σκυλοφόρος, Marcellus' characterization as "laden with σκυλα" is strongly reminiscent of his ancestor. In fact, the reader might even be tempted to identify the subject of the first couplet as the elder Marcellus, since ἐσπερίου ... πολέμοιο could also point to the war against the Gauls, during which the latter defeated Viridomarus (Callim. *Hymn.* 4.174 describes the Gallic attack against Delphi in 279 BCE as coming ἀφ' ἐσπέρου ἐσχάτωντος, "the furthest West"). Only the reference to Marcellus' beard in line 3, then, establishes his identity beyond doubt, while the initial ambiguity underlines his assimilation to the Republican hero.

27.2 Greek Poets and Roman Patrons

Whereas *AP* 6.161 shows us Marcellus as a triumphant soldier on his way to Rome, another epigram (*AP* 9.545), to which we shall turn in a moment, addresses the youth at an earlier point in his life, presenting him with an epic poem destined to inspire future greatness. The text belongs to a whole series of poems accompanying gifts to various Romans, including a silver pen for a boy named Proclus (*AP* 6.227), a tooth-pick for an unidentified Lucius (*AP* 6.229), and a five-book edition of Anacreon's lyrics for an Antonia (*AP* 9.239), probably the daughter of Octavia and Mark Antony (Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, 217). Antipater of Thessalonica, similarly, makes his patron, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (consul in 15 BCE),¹ the recipient of several objects, from a set of bowls (*AP* 9.541) and a candle (*AP* 6.249) to a sword of Alexander the Great (*AP* 9.552), the helmet of one Pylaemenes (*AP* 6.241),² and a Macedonian hat "from long ago" (καυσίη ἢ τὸ πάροιθε, *AP* 6.335.1). As Whitmarsh (2011, 208) notes, the latter three "work by constructing analogies between Greek past [...] and Roman present" (on gift-giving, cf. also Pelliccio 2014). The symbolic nature of these objects, in particular the "Emathian" *kausia* coming to "Ausonian temples" (*AP* 6.335.4) – a hat that once routed the Persians, now eager to drink Piso's sweat and help in his fight against the Thracians³ – is easily manifest. Given by a poet proudly advertising his Macedonian origin (at *AP* 9.428.1–2 Antipater calls his hometown the "mother of all Macedonia"), the *kausia* serves as an emblem for the *translatio imperii* from Greece to Rome, whose political power and military might are the new subjects of Hellenic verse.

Gift exchange forms an important part of the Roman patronage system. In the case of literary patronage, socioeconomic support by a member of the political elite is offered in exchange for poetic praise, though the dynamics of reciprocity between poet and patron is, of course, much more nuanced and complex than a simple *do ut des* (Gold 1987; White 1993; Nauta 2002). Despite its brevity, epigram is an ideal vehicle for the bestowal of fame, for it has, from its very beginnings as an inscriptional genre, served multiple commemorative and honorific purposes: inscriptions are, to quote Svenbro (1993, 62), "machine[s] designed to produce *kléos*." As the discovery of the Milan Posidippus papyrus (cf. Gutzwiller in this volume) has made clear, Hellenistic epigrammatists engaged much more intensively with Ptolemaic themes in their praise of royal family members and prominent courtiers than many scholars had assumed on the basis of Meleager's *Garland* (ca. 90–80 BCE), through which most Hellenistic epigrams have come down to us (Ambühl 2007). Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's (1924, vol. 1, 122) contention that Greek epigram only became "courtly" ("höfisch") after its arrival in

Rome is untenable, even if the sociocultural context of late republican and early imperial Rome is hardly the same as that of Ptolemaic Alexandria.

As Ambühl (2007, 293) points out, “the Roman conception of patronage as *amicitia*” is mirrored in the portrayal of close relationships between poets and patrons. This personal bond finds expression in the *mise-en-scène* of gift giving, in birthday greetings (e.g., Antipater, *AP* 9.93) or dinner invitations. Philodemus, for instance, invites Piso, affectionately addressed as φίλτατε Πείσων (“dearest Piso”; *AP* 11.44.1), for a simple meal among true friends (v. 5) in celebration of Epicurus’ birthday, inspiring with his epigram a whole tradition of Latin invitation poems (Bettenworth 2012). Such private avowals of friendship are, as far as we can tell, absent from Hellenistic epigram; an author like Posidippus more typically appears in the role of a “mediator between the Ptolemies and the public” (Ambühl 2007, 284), glorifying royal achievements and euergetism for a wider audience without explicit mention of himself.

We also encounter this less personal type of encomiastic speech in imperial epigram, especially in eulogies of the emperor, who stands above “ordinary” patrons and does not appear as the poets’ personal *amicus*. Philip of Thessalonica, for example, celebrates Augustus as the bringer of peace by having the *rostra* of Antony’s ships, which were dedicated at Rome and Actium (Cass. Dio 51.1.3/19.2), tell of their miraculous transformation (*AP* 6.236): once “the weapons of enemies” (v. 5), they now function as beehives and have learnt to “nourish the fruits of peace” (v. 6) thanks to Caesar’s *eunomia* (v. 5). When Theocritus prays for Hiero’s victory over the Carthaginians, he calls to mind a future world of peace and bucolic bliss, in which spiders weave their subtle nets across weapons of war (*Id.* 16.96–97), an image familiar also from earlier poetry (e.g., Bacchyl. fr. 4.31 S-M). Philip goes one step further: Antony’s ὄπλα do not simply fall out of use, covered in spiderwebs, but become the locus of a new, peaceful productivity, home to industrious bees, whose well-ordered society can be read as a symbol for the Roman state that has once again become lawful and harmonious (cf. Dahlmann 1954 on the bees’ symbolism in Vergil’s *Georgics*).

27.3 Housing Lofty Themes in a Humble Genre (Crinagoras, *AP* 9.545)

While several recent articles deal with Roman elements in Greek epigram (besides the contributions mentioned above, cf. Meyer and Wirbelauer 2007; Bowie 2008), a more comprehensive literary investigation, which examines the various modes of communication between poet and patron as well as the

here as a poetological metaphor for the *Hecale*'s stylistic finesse, a quality not normally associated with epic. Τορεντόν, moreover, echoes the adjective τορός employed in Callimachus' dismissal of Antimachus' *Lyde*, a fourth-century elegiac poem, as "a fat piece of writing and unclear" (Λύδη καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν [fr. 398 Pf.] ~ Καλλιμάχου τὸ τορεντόν; cf. Acosta-Hughes 2012, 26). Through this evocation of Callimachus' own critical terminology, Crinagoras distinguishes his poem from that of Antimachus, which – like the *Hecale*! – was named after a woman.

Our epigrammatist thus inscribes himself into the literary dispute surrounding the *Lyde*, which, though disparaged by Callimachus, was highly praised by others. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of that complex debate (cf. Matthews 1996, 28–31), but let me briefly outline how Crinagoras implicitly engages with it: Asclepiades admired the *Lyde* as a "common work of the Muses and Antimachus" (τὸ ξυνὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα καὶ Ἀντιμάχου, AP 9.63.4). Though we only have a single line of Callimachus' epigram, it is clear that fr. 398 Pf. parodies Asclepiades' eulogy, which starts with the words Λύδη καὶ γένος εἰμὶ καὶ οὐνομα ("I am Lyde by origin and by name"). Antipater of Sidon, in turn, reacted to Callimachus' criticism by commending Antimachus' poetry as "forged on the anvils of the Muses" (Πιερίδων χαλκευτὸν ἐπ' ἄκμοσιν, AP 7.409.3), a work to be appreciated by anyone with a "sharp ear" (τορόν οὖα; cf. Prioux 2007, 89 n. 33).

By introducing the *Hecale* as a τορεντόν ἔπος, Crinagoras not only echoes Callimachus' οὐ τορόν, but also picks up Antipater's metallurgical imagery, replacing the coarse τέχνη of the blacksmith with the refined art of the engraver. He may, moreover, suggest that Callimachus' collaboration with the Pierian sisters was more successful than that of Antimachus by adding the Muses to his adaptation of the proverb πάντα κάλων σείειν ("to shake every sail"), with which he characterizes Callimachus as someone sparing no effort in his poetic undertaking (v. 1–2; cf. Gutzwiller 2012, 231–32). Crinagoras thus invites us to conclude that Callimachus' *Attic* woman – the poem's opening words are Ἀκταίη τις – is superior to Antimachus' *Lydian* one (while Lyde was named for her ethnic origin, Hecale gave her name to a precinct in Attica).⁴ The implicit *agon* between these two "ladies" brings us back to Asclepiades' epigram, in which Lyde declares herself to be "more august than all female descendants of Codrus" (τῶν δ' ἀπὸ Κόδρου / σεμνοτέρη πασῶν, AP 9.63.1–2). Cameron (1995, 303–7) reads this statement as a direct stab against Callimachus, whose Cydippe and Leimonis are of Codrid descent, while others (e.g., Sens 2011, ad loc.) simply take it to mean that Lyde, despite her barbaric origin and low social status, was made grander than all Ionian women by Antimachus (Ionia was colonized by the sons of the Athenian king Codrus). Whatever Asclepiades had in mind, it is tempting to

view Crinagoras' praise of the *Hecale* as a response to him, establishing the superiority of Callimachus' Attic heroine (now poor, but descendant of a wealthy family, fr. 41 Hollis) over Lyde, who had asserted her supremacy over the descendants of an Attic king (modifying Cameron, one might ask whether the *Hecale* could have been targeted by Asclepiades' polemic).⁵

Crinagoras no doubt presents Callimachus' epyllion to Marcellus against the backdrop of this notorious literary dispute. As Gutzwiller (2012, 243) has argued, the modesty of Hecale's dwellings and her reception of a hero can be read meta-poetically as signifying the "thin style" and "refined simplicity of Callimachus' poetry," which accommodates epic material to a distinctly non-epic context. Crinagoras reflects this juxtaposition of the lofty and the low in his summary of the work as dealing with the "hut of guest-loving Hecale" vis-à-vis Theseus' Marathonian toils. Strikingly, the expression Ἑκάλῃς τε φιλοξείνοιο καλῆν (v. 3) alludes to a line from Callimachus (φιλοξείνοιο καλῆς, fr. 80.4 Hollis), fr. 80.4 Hollis, reproducing its echo of Hecale in καλή (her name was connected with both εἰσκαλεῖν and εἰς καλήν; cf. Gutzwiller 2012, 242). This echo is multiplied throughout the epigram, reverberating not just in κάλως (v. 2), but also in Callimachus' own name (v. 1) and, with slight alteration, in that of Marcellus.

If Callimachus' epyllion is a τορευτὸν ἔπος, so, too, is Crinagoras' epigram (τορεύω can also refer to inscribing epigrams on stone, cf. Honestus, *AP* 7.274.4). As Campbell (2013, 206) notes, "if [...] Callimachus had "miniaturized" the scope of heroic epic in terms of geography and size, Crinagoras has gone one step further, reducing the *Hecale* and its core ethical and poetic message to epigrammatic length." In Crinagoras' poem, the metapoetic image of a simple hut sheltering an epic hero, moreover, acquires a new meaning, becoming, I submit, an emblem for the inclusion of imperial topics in the humble genre of epigram.

For all its engagement with Hellenistic aesthetics, the poem, after all, also has a panegyric function, presenting Theseus as a paradigm for Marcellus. In his role as the archetypical ephebe (Walker 1995, 94–96), he is a particularly apt model for the prince, not least since the *Hecale* itself seems to have stressed Theseus' youth with reference to the dedication of his hair at Delphi (fr. 14–15 Hollis) – might there be a link to the epigram on Marcellus' *depositio barbae*? As Campbell (2013, 204) points out, Theseus was aiming to emulate the heroic deeds of Hercules, which suggests another analogy with Marcellus, encouraging him to follow in the footsteps of Augustus, himself widely associated with Hercules.

The poem, moreover, evokes a further model by alluding, once again, to the boy's famous ancestor. For its last line, which starts with Μάρκελλε κλεινοῦ, echoes an epigram commemorating the elder Marcellus that was inscribed in a sanctuary of Athena Lindia on Rhodes:

Οὗτός τοι Ῥώμης ὁ μέγας, ξένε, πατρίδος ἀστήρ
Μάρκελλος κλεινῶν Κλαύδιος ἐκ πατέρων,
 ἐπτάκι τὰν ὑπάταν ἀρχὰν ἐν Ἀρῇ φυλάξας,
 ὧ πολὺν ἀντιπάλων ἐγκατέχευε φόνον.

This, stranger, is the great star of Rome, Marcellus Claudius, descendant of glorious fathers; seven times did he hold the consular office while at war, during which he shed much enemy blood.

The poem, quoted in Plutarch's *Life of Marcellus* (30.7–8), was designed to accompany a statue of the elder Marcellus, who had dedicated spoils from Syracuse at Lindos (Meyer and Wirbelauer 2007, 322–25 argue that the inscription was put up by one of his descendants; on its evocation by Crinagoras, cf. Clausen 2002, 150). As in the case of *AP* 6.161, Marcellus' distinguished ancestor lurks between the lines (Plutarch also concludes the latter's biography with the observation that his *genus* remained illustrious down to Augustus' nephew Marcellus, 30.10).

The *Hecale* is, in many ways, an ideal gift to be given by an epigrammatist. What makes it especially resonant in the context of patronal poetry is its depiction of *ξενία* between a humble and a lofty figure, which reflects the relationship between poet and prince (Bowie 2008, 231; Campbell 2013, 209–10). Figuratively speaking, the elder Crinagoras is inviting his young patron into his modest abode (like Philodemus does with Piso in *AP* 11.44); at the same time, he seems to appeal to his addressee's *φιλοξενία*, maybe even hoping for a lavish feast in Marcellus' *domus* in exchange for his verse. Perhaps he is suggesting that Marcellus ought not to wait too long either: after all, *Hecale* died before Theseus could return her hospitality. As a Greek writing in a Roman universe, Crinagoras is, quite literally, a stranger or *ξένος*. By presenting himself, an epigrammatist from Mitylene, in the act of sending a text composed by a Cyrenean poet about an Attic woman to a Roman reader, Crinagoras perfectly embodies his own intermediary function within the cultural encounter between Hellas and Rome.

27.4 Harvesting from a New Page: The *Garland* of Philip

We do not know in what context, if at all, Crinagoras presented this pair of epigrams to Marcellus. It is, however, a fair guess that they (also) formed part of a poetry book, where they entered into a meaningful dialogue with further texts, many of them devoted to members of the imperial household

(on Greek epigram books, cf. Gutzwiller 1998 and her chapter in this volume; Höschele 2010). Like other single-authored collections, Crinagoras' *libellus* has been lost, but a significant number of his poems became part of Philip's *Garland*, our main source for Greek epigrams composed over a period of roughly 150 years after Meleager's *Stephanos* (cf. Maltomini in this volume; Cameron 1993, 56–65 convincingly argues for a Neronian date). Philip's collection included at least 39 poets, 13 of whom are listed by name in its preface, which appropriates the floral metaphor of Meleager's proem. Whereas some of them, like Crinagoras, are relatively well known, many are completely obscure to us, with just a few poems attached to their name (for an overview of Philippan authors, cf. Argentieri 2007, 159–61). Following Gow and Page's calculations (1968, vol. 1, xxxvii), 576 epigrams (comprising 3272 lines) can be securely attributed to the *Garland*; further poems transmitted by the *Palatine Anthology* may or may not have been included (Gow and Page 1968, vol. 1, xxi–xxvii), while an unknowable number has been lost. As Philip himself declares, he wove his *Garland*, dedicated to a certain Camillus,⁶ in rivalry with Meleager's (*AP* 4.2.1–4; cf. Magnelli 2006; Höschele 2017).

Ἀνθεὰ σοι δρέψας Ἑλικώνια καὶ κλυτοδένδρου
 Πιερίης κείρας πρωτοφύτους κάλυκας
 καὶ σελίδος νεαρῆς θερίσας στάχυν ἀντανέπλεξα
 τοῖς Μελεαγρείοις ὡς ἴκελον στεφάνοις [...]

Picking Heliconian flowers and plucking the first-grown blossoms from Pieria
 famed for its trees, harvesting the ears of a new page, I have plaited in rivalry
 garlands similar to those of Meleager [...]

Although this explicit mention of his poetic model attests to a spirit of emulation, Philip's words serve only to confirm the negative view of many modern critics quick to dismiss him as a slavish imitator of Meleager. To this date, scholars have paid only meager attention to the literary merits of this second *Garland*, whose poems have been scoured more for historical data than examined with a view to their poetic technique, intertextuality, or verbal virtuosity. In general, their baroque style and mannerism, which manifests itself not least in their penchant for exotic neologisms, have not won them much favor (on diction and meter of Philippan authors, cf. Magnelli 2007).

Such scholarly neglect, however, is clearly unjustified: not only do close readings of individual epigrams reveal their artistry and offer a fascinating window into the literary culture of the age, but the *Garland* itself is a work of art in its own right. Contrary to Meleager, whose anthology was presumably

divided into four books containing *erotika*, *anathematika*, *epitymbia*, and *epideiktika*, Philip arranged the texts in alphabetical order by their initial letter (Cameron 1993, 19–40). His mode of organization unfortunately makes it harder to get a sense of the *Garland's* original layout: while Constantinus Cephalas excerpted epigrams from Philip in a linear manner, he distributed them among his own books according to their subject matter – hence none of the Philippan sequences in the *Palatine Anthology* entirely preserves its original state.

Nonetheless, we can still find traces of a sophisticated design. Hirsch (1966) and Cameron (1968) recognized, independently of each other, that what might strike us as a sterile, technical mode of arrangement was, in fact, anything but (for further reflections on the *Garland's* structure, cf. Höschele 2017 and forthcoming). The alphabetical order served simply as an external framework, within which Philip meaningfully connected epigrams through verbal and thematic links. By opting for this formal constraint, he imposed an even greater challenge on himself than Meleager, as he could only group together poems with the same (or, possibly, subsequent) initial letters. Just as individual epigrammatists, not least of all Philip himself, frequently vary poems by earlier writers, so Philip's anthology constitutes a macro-variation of sorts on the first *Garland*.

His collection distinguishes itself in particular through its focus on imperial Rome, which supersedes the Hellenocentric Eastern Mediterranean background of earlier epigram. Interestingly, the “Heliconian flowers” (*AP* 4.2.1) picked by Philip also include poems by an author, Honestus, who is known to us as the composer of verse inscribed in the Valley of the Muses near Mt. Helicon: besides a poem accompanying an image of Thamyris, Honestus wrote epigrams for a monument of the Muses as well as a statue group of an Augusta and her two sons, which was meant to be viewed together with an effigy of Mnemosyne (Höuschele 2014). While Romans thus inscribed themselves into traditional Greek landscapes, Philip's collection was, I think, designed to map the entire Roman Empire within an epigrammatic *kosmos*. Crinagoras' poem on Marcellus' return from Spain is but one of many epigrams evoking various regions, even the most remote areas, of the world under Rome's dominion (e.g. *AP* 6.235, 9.297,⁷ *APL*. 61; cf. Whitmarsh 2011, 203–6).

The all-encompassing reach of the empire and Caesar's power, which finds its poetic articulation in this collection, is neatly mirrored in a tapestry described in one of Philip's poems (*AP* 9.778): woven by Queen Cyprus of Judaea, the wife of Herodes Agrippa, and sent to the emperor in exchange for his hospitality, the tapestry represents the

“harvest-bearing earth that is girdled by the land-encircling ocean and obedient to great Caesar, as well as the gray sea” (v. 1–3; for the historical background, cf. Cameron 1980, 54–55). Given the widespread poetological metaphor of weaving (Scheid and Svenbro 1996), which also underlies the image of plaiting a garland, it is tempting to view this tapestry as emblematic of Philip’s collection, which likewise comprises the empire in an artistic medium.

Far less prominent in the second *Garland* are *erotika*, which had played a central role in Meleager: with the exception of Philodemus and Marcus Argentarius, Philippan authors only rarely engage with matters of love, at least in the surviving poems (this dearth of erotic elements may well reflect Philip’s personal aesthetics rather than the thematic preferences of individual authors). The amatory subgenre comes to the fore again later in the first century CE, in the oeuvre of Rufinus, a Greek author with possible Roman connections (Höschele 2006): Book 5 of the *Palatine Anthology* preserves 37 epigrams in his name, which in all likelihood were first published in a monothematic *libellus* portraying Rufinus’ never-ending passion for the female sex (he programmatically describes himself as *θηλυμανής* or “girl-crazy” in *AP* 5.19.2). His book of *erotika*, in turn, seems to have inspired the creation of a pederastic counterpart at the end of the first or in the second century CE, Strato’s *Paidike Mousa* (Floridi 2007).

Also largely missing from Philip are scoptic epigrams, the subgenre which displaces epigrammatic praise with the mockery of manifold human types and vices. While several poems collected by him are satirical – for instance, Bassus, *AP* 11.72, on a woman so old that the speaker wonders whether something has happened to Hades, or Antiphilus, *AP* 11.66, on a *vetula*’s futile attempts to make herself more attractive – this type of epigram largely flourished outside of the *Garland* in the second half of the first century CE (cf. Nisbet 2003; Coleman in this volume; again this may reflect editorial choices, cf. Floridi 2014, 9–14).

By contrast, the universe constructed by Philip is one of fame, not blame, though it also contains a wide variety of non-panegyric verse. Noteworthy is the large number of narrative epigrams relating paradoxical or curious incidents: Philip, *AP* 9.438, for example, recounts how ants, on little ships of straw, “sailed” to a hive, which a bee keeper had put into water; in *AP* 9.56 (a variation of Flaccus, *AP* 7.542), we learn of a boy decapitated by ice in the river Hebrus, whose mother was left with nothing more than a head to bury, while Bianor, *AP* 9.223, and Apollonides, *AP* 9.265, describe how a Cretan shooting an eagle was killed by his own arrow, as the dead bird dropped from the sky. This type of anecdotal epigram is hardly without precedent (cf., e.g.,

Dioscorides, *AP* 7.76, on a seafarer-turned-farmer, whose corpse was “shipwrecked” when the Nile destroyed his tomb), but it gains new prominence in Philip’s *Garland* – a clear testimony to the influence of rhetorical training, which frequently involved exercises on such themes, upon epigrammatists of this age (Rossi 2002).

As I hope to have shown with this brief survey, early imperial Greek epigram constitutes an intriguing, if hitherto widely neglected chapter in the history of the genre. In one of his poems, Crinagoras sets out on a voyage to Italy: *πλοῦς μοι ἐπ’ Ἰταλίην ἐντύνεται* (*AP* 9.559.1) – the Roman world evoked by him and other Greek epigrammatists is well worth a closer exploration.⁸

NOTES

1. Antipater’s Piso is the son of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (100–43 BCE), the father-in-law of Julius Caesar and patron of another epigrammatist, Philodemus.
2. Cichorius (1922, 328–30) identifies Pylaemenes with a Galatian prince; thus also Gow and Page (1968, vol. 2, 54). According to Jacobs (1799, 294–95), however, Pylaemenes is the Paphlagonian leader mentioned at *Hom. Il.* 2.851, whose people, the Eneti, wandered through Thrace before settling in Enetika (Venetia); cf. Strabo 12.3.8. The helmet, a relic from the Trojan War, has thus come from a distant time and place into the Roman present, recalling in its movement the Enetians’ transition from Troy via Thrace (the site of Piso’s military exploits, cf. n. 3) to Italy.
3. An allusion to Piso’s campaign against the Bessi from 13–11 BCE (Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, 18), whose successful conclusion Antipater celebrates in *AP* 9.428.
4. Cf. Gutzwiller (2012, 241): “Hecale’s ethnic designation suggests a stylistic manner, as does Λύδη that opens Asclepiades’ epigram and Callimachus’ variation [...] Ἀκταίη was an old name of Attica from the days of Cecrops, so that it easily evokes archaic Attic simplicity in contrast to the extravagances of Asiatic (or Lydian) culture.”
5. On the basis of Crinagoras’ epigram, Acosta-Hughes (2012) suggests that the *ἔπος* attacked by the Telchines in the *Aetia* (fr. 1.5 Pf) refers to the *Hecale*.
6. Against the identification with L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus (consul in 32 CE), who died in 42 after a failed revolt against Claudius, cf. Cameron (1980, 62).
7. Antipater’s propemptikon for Augustus’ grandson C. Caesar, who is about to go on a campaign against the Parthians in 2 BCE, is paralleled by a propemptikon on the same occasion in Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria* 1.177–228 (Holzberg 2005 argues that the *praeceptor amoris* invests the young Caesar with the traits of an *eromenos*, similar to what we find in Crinagoras’ epigram on Marcellus).
8. My heartfelt thanks to Peter Bing, Lucia Floridi, Niklas Holzberg, Margot Neger, and Francesco Pelliccio for their very helpful comments on this paper.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

Epigrams in the Graffiti of Pompeii

Kristina Milnor

The appearance of graffiti epigrams on the walls of Pompeii is a phenomenon much commented upon but little understood. In part, this is due to our lack of knowledge about graffiti writing in antiquity generally: the actual material evidence is scant, except for a few specific locations from which it is difficult to generalize; certainly we have nothing to compare to the city-wide graffiti landscape which is provided by Pompeii. In addition, the testimony of ancient texts is limited and, by and large, unhelpful. Although numerous prose authors from the Roman period, from Strabo to Suetonius, refer to the practice of writing poetic snippets on walls, their focus is almost exclusively on the political function and meaning of these inscriptions. In Pompeii, we do have examples of civically oriented texts, but they are by no means the majority. In a similar vein, it is a commonplace of bucolic amatory poetry to refer to poems inscribed in the landscape, generally on trees. Again, however, although some of the epigrams found in Pompeii might be described as erotic, their location in the urban environment, as well as their frequent obscenity, distances them from the pastoral world of shepherds and hillsides. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Pompeian material's closest literary analogue, in topics and tone, is the wide-ranging oeuvre of Martial. The Roman author's emphatic urbanism, colloquialisms, and interest in everyday social life overlap in many cases with the themes and style of the graffiti texts. On the other hand, Martial's self-conception as a writer *of books* is pronounced, and his almost paranoid defense of his authorial ownership of his works is at odds with the anonymity of most epigrams found on walls.

In sum, then, although we may find in literary authors some sense of the social and literary context of graffiti epigram, the best approach is to proceed from the evidence itself. Of course, poetry makes up only a small percentage of all Pompeian graffiti, much of which is names, salutations, drawings, or incomprehensible scratches. Even once we confine our attention to those texts which are legibly metrical, the vexed question of definition rears its head: given the brevity of most graffiti poetry – due, one suspects, to the effort involved in its production – as well as its inscribed nature, is there any poetry written on Pompeian walls which is *not*, in some fashion, epigram? Even canonical texts of other genres such as epic and elegy, as I will discuss below, are frequently ground down to pithy fragments in the mill of popular consumption. In a sense, then, to discuss graffiti epigram is to discuss all poetic efforts in wall-writing, an impossible task in the brief space allotted me here. Instead, then, I will confine myself to noting some aspects of Pompeian informal wall poetry which both shows the connection to, and difference from, the literary tradition with which graffiti coexisted.

As a starting point, it is important to note that the boundary between the poetic and not-poetic in Pompeian graffiti is porous; although there are certainly texts which are clearly not “literary” in any sense, there are others in which (at least) meter has crept in where we would not expect it. Thus, for example, a stretch of wall on the street between doorways 7.11.12 and 13 was originally adorned with a large painted composition of snakes and an altar, as well as the text *otiosis locus hic non est; discede, morator!* (“this is not a place for leisure; go away, lingerer!”: *CIL* 4.813). This scans as a hexameter, as long as we are willing to see synizesis between the first and second syllables in the first word. Exactly what motivated someone to create this large wall decoration here is not clear, although it has been noted that this stretch of street connected the Stabian Baths with the entrance to Pompeii’s main brothel, and thus might have been the site of some unacceptable behavior by those passing between the two (Franklin 1986). More difficult is how to interpret the fact of the meter – surely not accidental, was it a snippet of popular poetry? Intended to give the text added weight and authority? Most other signs with similar admonitory messages in Pompeii do not have metrical ambitions, although there was one other in Regio 5 which warns *stercorari ad murum progredere* (“dung-bearer, go to the city wall”)¹ and adds the hexameter *si pre(n)sus fueris poena(m) patiare necesse est* (“if you will have been taken [after committing the crime] it is necessary that you suffer punishment”: *CIL* 4.7038). Again, it is difficult to assess the source or significance of the hexameter here, although the sentiment it expresses is general enough that it could well have simply been a popular tag line. But my point

with these examples is to emphasize that wall writers in Pompeii were not necessarily bound by rules defining what was appropriate for poetic expression and what was not.

Moreover, when dealing with graffiti poetry generally, we cannot afford to forget how little we know about the ways that metrical texts circulated orally in the streets of the ancient city. We have certain tantalizing references, e.g., to the *circulatores* who “recited silly poems at midday,”² to public performances beyond the lofty confines of the dinner party or formal recitation. But, as with other forms of popular culture, our sources are few, and often written by those hostile to the traditions they describe. But in Pompeii, specifically with reference to epigram, we have significant evidence that oral and written poetry existed side by side and each contributed to the other’s forms. Pompeii’s walls preserve a number of lines and phrases which appear multiple times in different contexts and different hands. Analysis of the use of language and metrical patterns in these repeated texts has suggested that they show evidence of oral composition and circulation (Wachter 1998). Although some of these are in *senarii* (e.g. *CIL* 4.1811, 1870, 10634), the vast majority are built on the hexameter.

Perhaps most notable in Pompeii is the hexameter line *venimus huc cupidi, multo magis ire cupimus* or “we came here desiring; how much more do we desire to go away.” We have at least ten individual instances of this line or fragments of it from all over Pompeii, in a variety of material contexts. But even more important for our purposes is that it is twice found in combination with a pentameter to make an elegiac couplet, transforming it from a floating tag line into something recognizably epigrammatic. The two pentameters are different, however: *ut liceat nostros visere, Roma, Lares* (“so that we might be permitted, Rome, to see our homes: *CIL* 4.1227) and *sed retinet nostros illa puella pedes* (“but that girl holds back our feet”: Solin 1975, 252). The repetition of *nostros* in the same position in the line, as well as the sound coincidence of *Roma Lares* and *puella pedes* may point to a common original model, but the fact of the differing pentameters suggests that the authors were using popular building blocks to construct their own poems. Indeed, I have suggested elsewhere that one of the more famous “epigrams” to emerge from the Pompeian graffiti – due to the fact that it was edited and published by A. E. Housman (1927) – should be seen as a collection of pentameter tags, for use in funerary or other contexts as popular building blocks for elegiac couplets (Milnor 2014). The text is *CIL* 4.8899, and although it was destroyed soon after discovery, Della Corte preserved a line drawing which he published in Della Corte 1924 and subsequently in *CIL*.

Nihil durare potest tempore perpetuo;
 cum bene sol nituit, redditur oceano;
 decrescit Phoebe, quae modo plena fuit.
 Ventorum feritas saepe fit aura l[e]vis.

Nothing is able to endure forever; once the sun has shone brightly, it returns to the ocean; the moon grows smaller, who just now was full. The savagery of winds often becomes a light breeze.³

As can be seen, each line is syntactically self-contained, although the tone and themes are similar. The meter is pentameter throughout. This is a curious circumstance, as (if Della Corte's drawing is to be believed) the text was written on the wall with the second and fourth line indented, as though it were two fully-fledged couplets. It is unlikely to have been composed as an independent poem, as the continuous pentameter is unknown in either Greek or Latin poetry, but it might well be seen as a collection of lines available for use with a handy hexameter to create a couplet. This text, therefore, as well as the repeated *venimus huc cupidi* hexameter with different pentameters, suggests that such building blocks were actively being recycled into new epigrams in the streets of Pompeii. The wide circulation of *venimus huc cupidi*, as well as the aural similarity in the pentameters with which it is paired, certainly point to the importance of oral creation and repetition in this process. It is worth noting, however, that the pseudo-couplets in Della Corte's line drawing of *CIL* 4.8899 also underscore the ways in which the written form of the epigram was part of these popular poetic contexts – even in instances where it was not metrically appropriate.

Indeed, although Pompeian graffiti is often closely associated with orality, one of the most often quoted of the epigrams found on the city's walls insists on their identity as a written form: *Admiror paries te non cecidisse ruinis / qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas* ("I'm amazed, wall, that you haven't fallen down in ruins, / since you bear the tedious outpourings of so many writers"). This couplet was found scratched in at least three different places, in different hands, in Pompeii.⁴ Not only does the text explicitly invoke "writers" (*scriptorum*), but it puts the emphasis, humorously, on the materiality of graffiti, which is imagined to weigh heavily on the wall. A further useful instance of the interaction between graffiti as text and oral event may be found in *CIL* 4.2360:

Amat qui scribet, pedicatur qui leget,
 qui opsultat prurit, paticus est qui praeterit.
 Ursi me comedant; et ego verpa qui lego.

He loves, the one who writes; the one who reads is bugged. The one who criticizes burns for it. The one who passes by is a pansy. May bears eat me! I'm the reader and a dickhead too.

Unlike the examples quoted above, which are in the hexameter meters more common to Pompeian graffiti poetry, this is iambic senarii, an appropriately comic and conversational rhythm for such a cheerfully obscene poem. Its invocation of the different “sorts” of people based on their relationship to the text may also link it with the scoptic tradition of literary epigram which had come into vogue in first-century circles. But although the poem clearly articulates itself as a written, material text, the final line not only introduces a common verbal exclamation – may bears eat me! – it also creates a joke through a verbal encounter: if, as was common in antiquity, the text was read aloud, the reader is tricked into remarking to the world, *et ego verpa qui lego*.

In this consciousness of themselves as material texts which inhabit a world of living readers, graffiti sometimes reflect the more visible and easily accessible genre of inscribed epigram, namely funerary inscriptions. Indeed, a clever parody of a gravestone was preserved written in ink on a short stretch of wall between 3.5.3 and 4 (*CIL* 4.8899):

Hospes, adhu(n)c tumuli ni meias, ossa prec[antur],
 nam, si vis (h)uic gratior esse, caca.
 Urticae monumenta vides, discede, cacator.
 Non est hic tutum culu(m) aperire tibi.

Guest, do not urinate against this tomb, the bones beg you, for, if you wish to be more pleasing to this man, shit. You look upon the monuments of Urtica (“Nettle”); go away, shitter. It is not safe for you to open your ass here.

Although this is clearly a joke – there is no “monument” nearby, nor anywhere which could have been a genuine gravesite – the first line (*Hospes ... precantur*) is found in combination with a different second verse in a genuine funerary inscription in marble from Rome (*CIL* 6.2357). Beyond this quotation, the poem also refers for humorous effect to other tropes of funerary texts: the name (“Nettle”) is a joke, which offers another reason why the reader should hesitate to squat down in this place. Further, however, is the fact that by offering a joking and probably fictitious name in this commemorative format, the poem deconstructs the traditional role of grave inscriptions, namely to identify the dead person and maintain a certain presence for him or her in the world of the living. Here, though, the “monument” in question is simply the joke itself, the name pressed into service of the text rather than the other way around.

It has been pointed out that the humorous, mocking tone of most graffiti epigrams is at odds with the eulogistic goals which animate most funerary inscriptions (Morelli 2005). Indeed, we do have a few examples of approbatory graffiti texts, but they are found in a somewhat unexpected context, as part of political programmata. On the western wall of the street which runs between insulae 3 and 4 in Regio 5, notices of support were discovered for M. Lucretius Fronto's candidacy for aedile. The sign is in many ways typical of Pompeian programmata: the candidate's name is written in large letters (14 cm high), followed in smaller writing by the office for which he is running and the people who support him – in this case, his neighbors ([*M. Lucretium Frontonem / aed(ilem) vicini rogamus*, “we, his neighbors, ask for M. Lucretius Fronto for aedile”: *CIL* 4.6625). To the right of the notice proper, however, the same painter who wrote the sign added as an embellishment a slightly wobbly elegiac couplet: *Si pudor in vita quicquam prodesse putatur / Lucretius hic Fronto dignus honore bono est* (“if modesty is thought to bring any profit in life / this man Lucretius Fronto is worthy of good position”: *CIL* 4.6626). In a similar vein, just inside the door of a house to the south of the city in Regio I, we find a notice which supports C. Cuspius Pansa for aedile, again adding a couplet: *C. Cuspium Aed. Si qua verecunde viventi gloria danda est / huic iuveni debet gloria digna dari* (“C. Cuspius for Aedile: if any honor should be given to one living modestly / fitting honor ought to be given to this young man”: *CIL* 4.7201).

To find praise of a candidate in a programma is not itself surprising. After all, the point of these advertisements is to generate support for their subject, which is often solicited in moral terms such as those above. To find praise expressed in verse, however, is more curious. As I noted above, we have a number of prose sources which refer to a tradition of epigrams “spread around,” sometimes explicitly as graffiti, which function as a popular response to the political activities of the Roman elite. These texts are almost always represented as sharply critical, although Suetonius tells us that Augustus was accustomed to be welcomed home from a province with *modulatis carminibus* (*Aug.* 57.2) and that Tiberius was awoken by the people chanting (*concontinentium*) praises of Germanicus outside his window (*Calig.* 6.1). But these examples underscore the issue, that is, that the general explanation of the presence of poetry in such popular discursive contexts is its connection to oral communication. Aids to memory such as rhythm had a natural place in popular speech (Horsfall 2003, 11–19), and music or chanting concerning public matters and figures would have been heard at triumphs and other mass gatherings, formal or informal.⁵ In these contexts, chants, especially those with an easily remembered pattern, could even be recycled from one occasion to another:

David Potter suggests that the popular verse *salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus* which irritated Tiberius in 16 CE was left over from Germanicus' triumph three years earlier (Potter 1996, 138; Courtney 1993, 478). The programmata cited above, however, not only eschew the most "speech-like" rhythm available, the senarius, in favor the elegiac couplet, they also appear as part of the most material manifestation of popular politics which we have. This is not to say that they do not both bear traces of what we might consider oral aesthetics, in the sound repetition of *pudor ... putatur* in the first and the alliteration of *verecunde viventi* and *debet ... digna dari* in the second. Still, their constructed form and material manifestation would seem to situate them within a written as much as an oral tradition.

The ways in which Pompeian graffiti poetry exists in the nexus between the spoken and the written worlds can be seen even when we find it reaching deep into the canonical literary tradition for inspiration. For instance, the wall of Pompeii's basilica, which preserves a number of poetic texts, has the following "list" of couplets (*CIL* 4. 1893–96, 1898):

Surda sit oranti tua ianua, laxa ferenti:
 audiat exclusi verba receptus [amans.
 Ianitor ad dantis vigilet, si pulsat [ina]nis
 surdus in obductam somniet usque seram.

Quid pote tan durum saxso aut quid mollius unda?
 Dura tamen molli saxsa cavantur aqua.

Ubi perna cocta est si convivae apponitur
 non gustat pernam lingit ollam aut caccabum.

Quisquis amat calidis non debet fontibus uti
 nam nemo flammis ustus amare potest.

Deaf let your doors be to one begging, relaxed for the one bringing gifts: Let the lover inside hear the words of him left on the doorstep. The doorkeeper should be awake for benefactors, but if someone knocks empty-handed, deaf let the keeper sleep on the locked door bolt.

But what is so hard as stone or what is softer than liquid? Nevertheless hard stones are hollowed out by soft water.

When the ham has been cooked, if it is placed before the guest, he doesn't taste the ham but licks the pot and pan.

Whoever loves should not enjoy hot springs, for no one who has been burned is able to love flames.

It is a curiously heterogeneous grouping. Four of the five couplets are elegiac, the fifth is iambic senarii (*ubi perna cocta est* ...); the first two couplets clearly imagine the elegiac world of the unhappy lover at his mistress' door, while the final three are more generally gnomic and vaguely pastoral in flavor. But perhaps more importantly, the first three couplets are all quotations from canonical literature: Ovid's *Amores* 1.8.77–78, Propertius 4.5.47–48, and Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* 1.475–76 respectively. It is of course possible that the other two quote some source which is lost to us, but the opening *quisquis amat* of the fifth echoes numerous other graffiti epigrams in Pompeii, and its rather contrived conceit (that the heat of love can be exacerbated by a hot bath) strongly suggest a less professional author.

The sententious qualities of these couplets, as well as their placement on the wall of the basilica, may indicate a connection with oratory: Seneca the Elder recommends the mimes of Publilius Syrus as a source for punning maxims, and Cicero laments the habit of wicked people quoting from Accius' *Atreus* (*Sest.* 102), even as he quotes him himself. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* speaks rather disparagingly of the student who thinks it clever to compile a list of sententiae from Ennius' tragedies (4.4.8). But the majority of these references in literary texts are to a form of entertainment widely acknowledged as a source for popular culture, namely the theater. The Romans, after all, were "a muscial people" (Dupont 2003, 115), and Ovid imagines the general populace on the festival of Anna Perenna, lying on the banks of the Tiber and "sing(ing) whatever they learned in the theater" (*cantant quicquid didicere theatris: Fast* 3.535). On the other hand, the elegiac couplet had long been popular in funerary epigram. It also has the merit of a particularly defined shape, the famous "rise" of the hexameter and "fall" of the pentameter, which lends itself to the construction of short, pointed poems which feel like a unified whole. Looking back to the basilica list, in particular those inscriptions which are definitely quotations from longer poems, we may see this power of the couplet in action: these particular lines have been able to be abstracted from their much longer original context, to be turned neatly from elegy into epigram. As I noted above, in the streets of Pompeii there seems to have been a leveling process by which almost anything, of any genre, might be reconceived as epigram.

No discussion of "the literary" in Pompeian graffiti epigram would be complete without reference to the one canonical, or pseudo-canonical, author to have emerged from the corpus of inscriptions, namely Loreius Tiburtinus. Tiburtinus claims ownership – of what kind we will turn to in a moment – to an epigram, or a set of them, which was discovered in 1883 outside the west gate which leads to Pompeii's small theater. This structure itself is generally dated to the early part of the first century BCE, and the wall on which the poems were written was actually covered over when the

adjacent building (the “gladiatorial school”) was built, probably in the mid-first century CE (Richardson 1988, 83–87). Thus, unusually for Pompeian graffiti, we may say with confidence that the poems predate the destruction of the city by at least 30 or 40 years; on the basis of certain lexicographical and stylistic features, moreover, they are usually judged to be “preneoteric” and dated to the 70s BCE (Bücheler 1883; Morelli 2000, 237–57). There are 11 separate poems, or fragments of poems, although only three of them are well enough preserved to reconstruct (nos. 1, 2, and 6). Fortunately, the plaster fragment on which the poems were written was removed from its find-spot soon after discovery and may now be seen in the epigraphy collection of the Naples Archaeological Museum. Poems 1–5 are written in a vertical list on one side of the plaster fragment on which the texts are all preserved; poems 6–7 are a second group to the bottom right of that collection; poems 8–11 comprise a third vertical list to the right of group two. The texts of the poems 1–6 that can be reconstructed are as follows:

Poem 1 = *CIL* 4.4966

Quid f]it? Vi me oculi posquam deduxstis in ignem
cur i]mbrem⁶ vestreis largificatis geneis?
Ust]o non possunt lacrumae restinguere flamam,
hui]c os incendunt tabificantque animum.

What is happening? Eyes, after you have brought me by force into the fire, why do you pour rain down my cheeks? Tears are not able to put out the flame for a man burned, but for him they fire up his face and melt his soul.

Poem 2 = *CIL* 4.4967

Ardent]es veicinei incendia participantur,
Idalia]m flammam tradere utei liceat.

Neighbors, when burning, share in the fire; it should be permitted to hand over the Mother’s (?) fire for use.

Poem 3 = *CIL* 4.4968

....]bus per vic[.....a]morem
.....]etur dei[.....]stost
.....]cios[.....
....h]uc[.....]t

Poem 4 = *CIL* 4.4969

.....]n ore d[.....
.....]sumat aut ea va[.....
.....]sumpti opus est a[.....
.....]udam aut ei[.....]dai[.....

Poem 5 = *CIL* 4.4970

....]habere aiunt eum[....]que locare
]vi[...]um[..]deo condere uti liceat

Poem 6 = *CIL* 4.4971

Sei quid amor valeat nostei, sei te hominem scis,
 commiseresce mei, da veniam ut veniam.

If you know what strength love has, if you know yourself to be human, pity
 me, give me leave that I might come.

Two further words appear, written in larger letters beside poem 1 and extending over (at some distance above) the top of groups 2 and 3: *Tiburtinus epoeise*.

As I noted above, exactly what Tiburtinus is claiming with this statement is a matter of some debate. That is, is Tiburtinus the author of the poems in the sense that he composed them, or is he simply the person who wrote them on the wall? Generally speaking, we are not much afflicted by this question in ancient literary studies, as we have very few actual autographs. Our closest parallel to Tiburtinus' statement is the curious and unverifiable assertion by Cicero that Ennius included an acrostic in one of his poems which read *Q. Ennius fecit* (*Cic. Div.* 2.111). But this and other instances of sphragis poems contain the author's name as part of the poetic work, not, as here, as an independent signature. Complicating matters is the fact that the verb *ποιέω* is commonly used in the signatures of the painters and potters of red and black figure vases from classical Greece to claim "authorship."⁷ But is Tiburtinus using the word in the sense of the painters (which might push us closer to considering it as a claim of composition) or that of the potters (which might signify material construction, i.e., the act of writing)?

In one sense, as we know absolutely nothing about Tiburtinus other than his name – Della Corte's attempt to provide him a biography being, at best, an exercise in imaginative fiction⁸ – it matters little whether we think he composed the poems or simply wrote them on the wall. They might as well be associated with his name rather than with no one's. On the other hand, a question has arisen about the unity of the collection: are all of the poems by the same author, whether Tiburtinus or someone else? The fragmentary state of most of them, as well as the small sample size, makes this a difficult question to answer. But it is important to note that if, as most scholars agree, Tiburtinus seems to display some familiarity with the collections of Hellenistic epigrams which were circulating in the mid-first century BCE, he would also have been familiar with the style of authorship

displayed by anthologizing poets like Meleager. This is an aesthetic which does not prioritize original composition *per se* but rather artfulness and variation in the arrangement of one's own and others' artistic work (Gutzwiller 1998, 227–36). If we see Tiburtinus as working within this tradition of *variatio*, as well as a graffiti practice which cheerfully appropriates others' words for one's own work, it seems a mistake to attribute to him the same kind of authorial intent as displayed in, for instance, Vergil's *Eclogues* or Ovid's *Amores*.

Of Tiburtinus' small oeuvre, it is the first, four-line epigram which has occasioned the most scholarly comment. This is due to its clear Hellenistic antecedent: the fire of love is a well-enough worn conceit, but the addition of the "rain" from the poet's eyes seems to mark a close connection with *AP* 12.92.5 (Meleager). Another, non-epigrammatic and Latin, parallel is Catullus 68.53–56 (*neque assiduo tabescere lumina fletu / cessarent tristisque imbre madere genae*, "my eyes do not cease to melt with continuous weeping and my cheeks to be wet with sad rain"). On the other hand, poem 6, which ends with the rather labored tag *da veniam ut veniam* displays a very Roman and popular interest in punning word play. Indeed, if we look back at Tiburtinus' "collection," there are a number of word repetitions, such as *incendunt* (poem 1) / *incendia* (poem 2); *flamam* in 1 and 2; *veicinei* (poem 2) may recur in poem 3; and *tradere uti liceat* (poem 2) is echoed by *condere uti liceat* (poem 5). This suggests that, at the very least, the unifying theme of the collection may not just have been unhappy love, but certain visual and sound repetitions from poem to poem. Indeed, looking back to the set of couplets from the basilica discussed above, we may note the repetition of *surdus* in the first two, *durus* in the third, and *perna* in the fourth; the fifth contains a double use of *amare* (*amat* in the first line), where the infinitive echoes the hard "r" sound which characterizes the earlier repeated words. Thus, particularly by employing such prosaic plays on sound, even these collections of "elite" literature bear the traces of a more popular aesthetic.

We have moved, then, from the most ordinary of public notices to the most "canonical" texts which the corpus of Pompeian graffiti offers, and seen that there is evidence throughout of what we might term a literary sensibility. Meter appears both where we would expect it and where we would not. While the conversational rhythms made popular by the theater are in evidence, there is a marked preference for those built on the hexameter, most notably the elegiac couplet. Given the popularity of the couplet in funerary texts, this is not entirely surprising, but it does attest to a connection to written forms rather than simply oral ones. Indeed, as we have seen, graffiti display a real awareness of themselves as texts qua texts, although they also

actively intersect and interact with the living world of communication. This too points towards a connection with funerary inscriptions, but graffiti's generally irreverent attitude towards the reader and the social world he/she inhabits looks more towards the tradition of Catullus and Martial than grave-stones. Generalizations about Pompeian graffiti epigram can be difficult to sustain, given their lack of unity in author, placement, and textual "type." At the same time, however, it is clear that they represent a kind of communal literary effort which connects both to the world of elite texts and that of popular communication.

NOTES

1. It is also possible that *stercorari* is meant to be the infinitive: "Go to the city wall to defecate."
2. *circulatores, qui mane edictum consulis ... recitant, meridie levia carmina dicunt*: Pers. 1.134; O'Neill (2003, 151–52).
3. In Della Corte's original transcription, the final line is rendered as *Venerum feritas saepe fit dura levis* ("the harsh savagery of love often becomes light"), which is sustainable on neither metrical nor paleographic grounds. The text I have provided is Housman's.
4. *CIL* 4.1904, 2461, and 2487 (found in the basilica, the large theater, and the amphitheater respectively). See Franklin (1991, 82–83) for line drawings and a discussion.
5. On poetry at triumphs, see Beard (2007, 247–49); primary sources include Suet. *Iul.* 49.4 and 51. 2.
6. I follow here the text of Courtney (1993, 79–81), who replaces Bücheler's *porr/o* in line 3 with *ust/o* and *hae/c* in line 4 with *hui/c*. Autopsy also confirms Courtney's suggestion of *cur i/mbrem* for Bücheler's *no/n ob vim*: there is a break in the plaster which partly obscures the short-angled stroke of the left side of "r." They can, however, be seen under strong light and in digital photographs. It then becomes clear that what had been taken as the right-hand stroke of a "v" is actually the left-hand stroke of an "e" (with the former "i" forming the right stroke). Once these two letters are established, moreover, it becomes additionally clear that what the original readers of the text thought was a narrow and damaged "o" to the right of an "n" at the beginning of that line is probably the rightmost stroke of an "m."
7. The classic study of this phenomenon is Kelin (1887). The fact that both painters and potters seem to have used ἐποίησε but painters alone used ἔγραψεν has been the source of much controversy and confusion: Rouet (2001, 28–29).
8. Della Corte associated the nomen Loreius with the cognomen Tiburtinus on the basis of several programmata outside the house at 2.2.2, some of which address a certain Loreius and some of which refer to a Tiburtinus. It is important to recognize, however, that the two names appear nowhere together, and their connection with one another, as well as with the house, is entirely conjectural; Della Corte (1932, 3–5).

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CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

Martial's Early Works: The *Liber Spectaculorum*, *Xenia*, and *Apophoreta*

T. J. Leary

29.1 Introduction

Book 1 of Martial's epigrams was not the first book he wrote. In addition to the early works discussed below, we know of certain juvenile compositions which he says could be obtained, by those with time to waste, from the otherwise unknown Quintus Pollius Valerianus, a man by whom his trifles (*nugae*) were not allowed to die (Mart. 1.113.6). Such self-depreciation occurs throughout his works (cf. Mart. 14.1.7, discussed below, and see, e.g., Kay 1985, 52) and is more a poetic pose in keeping with the epigrammatic tradition than serious self-dismissal. Had he really wanted all memory of his early efforts to disappear, he would not have mentioned them here. Nevertheless, his describing himself as a *iuvenis* and *puer* when he wrote them suggests that he was little more than 20 then and it is indeed likely that his later work was better. Quality aside, some of the poems might have foreshadowed features such as the "typical" bi-partite Martialian epigram, first described in 1771 by G. E. Lessing (see Sullivan 1991, 298), which opens by engaging the reader's attention and curiosity (Lessing's *Erwartung*) and ends with an often witty, satiric, pointed, or unexpected conclusion (his *Aufschluss*; see further Citroni in this volume). However, while many of Martial's epigrams comply with Lessing's formulation, many do not (cf., e.g., Watson and Watson 2003, 16). Since the poems are now lost, speculating further about them is pointless.

The earliest of Martial's works to survive in any form of completeness are a collection of epigrams traditionally called the *De Spectaculis* – about shows in the arena – and two of poems describing gifts, which are traditionally numbered books 13 and 14 but are properly called the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*. The poems in these books sometimes pre-figure “characteristic” Martalian practice, and even the *Erwartung-Aufschluss* formulation, but they also differ. For instance, in the first Martial never uses the first-person singular, common in his later books, but subsumes his *persona* into that of the crowd watching the spectacles; and the format of the latter two, where an introductory poem or poems is followed by a sequence of couplets, each preceded by a *lemma* identifying the poem's subject, makes them appear very different from the “typical” books 1–12. A thematic unity marks all three, in contrast with the diverse content of the later books, and their appreciation requires a fuller understanding of their literary and/or social context. Regarding the book on spectacles, there are in addition many questions concerning such matters as its dating, content, and occasion. Such differences and difficulties are possibly why these books have generally attracted less notice than the others – often being excluded from Martial selections (Watson and Watson 2003 is a recent example). Nevertheless they richly repay attention.

29.2 The *Liber Spectaculorum*

Martial's work on spectacles has traditionally been held to commemorate the inauguration of the Flavian amphitheater or Colosseum under the Emperor Titus in 80 CE, but this glosses over a number of problems.

The collection as we know it is transmitted by several *florilegia* which were apparently excerpted from a longer work. It is therefore almost certainly incomplete, although its original length can only be guessed at. Further, although ascribing them to “Martialis epigrammaton libri,” the *florilegia* do not generally give their extracts a specific title. Therefore, while this ascription to Martial is not contested, we do not know what the original collection was called. Its most recent editor suggests *Liber Spectaculorum* on the analogy of *libellus Xeniorum*, the words Martial uses to refer to the *Xenia* (Mart. 13.3.1), and to distinguish it from Tertullian's very different *De Spectaculis*. She acknowledges, however, that it may not have had a title at all, just a dedication to the emperor (Coleman 2006, xxviii).

The identity of the emperor or “Caesar” eulogized in its epigrams constitutes another uncertainty. Martial neither names Titus specifically nor says

that the epigrams mark the inaugural games, and although they contain nothing which contradicts the prose accounts of this inauguration (Suet. *Tit.* 7.3; Cass. Dio 66.25), they do not corroborate them specifically either. Also, while *Spect.* 2, which clearly refers to the Flavian amphitheater, could point to Titus' reign and it can be inferred from their related content that *Spect.* 1 and 3 do too, since the amphitheater was not actually completed until after Titus' death, they need not; and other epigrams in the collection point clearly to Domitian (cf. Buttrey 2007).

Of these, most telling are *Spect.* 11 (9) and 26 (22 + 23), which describe the display of a rhinoceros. Several examples survive of a bronze quadrans which commemorates one displayed by Domitian. While the obverse shows the rhinoceros, the reverse is inscribed *Imp(erator) Domit(ianus) Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) s(enatus) c(onsulto)*. The coin therefore post-dates 83, when Domitian assumed the title *Germanicus* to mark his defeat of the Chatti, and it cannot have been issued after 85 when the imperial legend on fractional coinage changed to include the consular year. Domitian is unlikely to have issued a low denomination and therefore widely circulated coin celebrating an exotic animal like a rhinoceros if one had already been exhibited by Titus. Since Mart. 14.53.1, in a work dating to 84 or 85 (see below), mentions that a rhinoceros had recently (*nuper*) been displayed by Domitian, a Domitianic date appears certain for these two epigrams.

Various attempts have been made to account for the presence in the collection of poems from different periods. For instance, the rhinoceros poems might be later interpolations – but would they not then have been placed together? Alternatively, we might have the second, Domitianic edition of a work originally presented to Titus – but Domitian would not have been flattered at receiving a second-hand gift. Coleman (2006, lx-lxiv) suggests that the collection combines, for public consumption, *libelli* originally presented to each emperor individually, and that therefore Domitian would not be offended by a composite work, since he would already have received a separate edition containing those poems specific to him. In contrast, since *Spect.* 1–3 need not refer to Titus, Buttrey simply assigns the whole collection to the same, Domitianic date (i.e., 83–85), suggesting (2007, 112) that, given how many shows Domitian staged, it was to be expected rather than cause for surprise that this one is otherwise unattested. However, we might never know the truth.

If the *Liber Spectaculorum* was a composite work, this increases the difficulty presented by the collection's transmission via *florilegia* of commenting on the original structure of a book where even the numbering and division of its poems are debated. It is possible, however, that, in making

their selection, the excerptors retained the order of the original with its opening sequence on the Flavian amphitheater followed by those on the spectacles within it, and that the opening sequence was originally balanced by a more substantial closing series than now survives.

The first poem in the *Liber Spectaculorum* establishes the amphitheater as surpassing the traditional wonders of the world and, by encompassing their collective glory, making them henceforth redundant:

Barbara pyrimidum sileat miracula Memphis,
 Assyrius iacet nec Babylona labor,
 nec Triviae templo molles laudentur Iones;
 dissimulet Delon cornibus ara frequens,
 aëre nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea 5
 laudibus immodicis Cares in astra ferant.
 Omnis Caesareo cedit labor amphitheatro:
 unum pro cunctis Fama loquetur opus.

Let barbarous Memphis be quiet about the marvels of the pyramids, Assyrian toil not boast of Babylon, and the soft Ionians not be praised for Trivia's temple. Let the altar crowded with horns say nothing of Delos nor the Carians extol to the skies with excessive praises the Mausoleum poised in thin air. All labor yields to Caesar's amphitheater: fame will speak of a single work instead of them all.

Poem 2 then locates it within the city of Rome while 3 presents it as the hub of the empire, in all its cosmopolitan diversity. All three poems focus on praising Caesar.

Martial's standing has fluctuated over time, and in particular the obscenity of some of his poems and his flattery of the emperor have drawn disapproval, especially given the alacrity with which, following Domitian's death, he turned to praise his successors (cf. Howell 2009, 63, 70). The concerns of the *Liber Spectaculorum* are ill-suited to obscenity, but the panegyric elements within it are particularly marked. Often, they take the form of instances where the animals in the arena show by their behavior that they are conscious of the emperor's divine aura or *numen*. An example is the elephant in *Spect.* 20 (17) which kneels before the emperor without having been told but through untutored reverential awe. Suchlike flattery draws sardonic comment from Juvenal at *Satire* 4.69–71, after a Picene fisherman has declared, when presenting an extremely large turbot to Domitian, that it had wanted to be caught. No one is taken in by it – except perhaps Domitian. It might seem excessive and distasteful to the modern reader but, although not taken as the literal truth even by the ancients, it was, as has

been shown by Dewar (1994), a standard ingredient of panegyric and accepted as the required norm.

Coleman notes (2006, xliii–xliv) that Martial's characteristic "sting in the tail" epigrams are a latent rather than overt feature in the *Liber Spectaculorum*, although almost every epigram ends with an elegant inversion or juxtaposition, often employing a parallel structure or paired oppositions. *Spect.* 24 (21), which describes an execution by way of the almost complete re-enactment of a myth, combines the concept of an unexpected ending with the perverse but crowd-compelling showmanship of the arena:

Quidquid in Orpheo Rhodope spectasse theatro
dicitur, exhibuit, Caesar, harena tibi.
Reperunt scopuli mirandaque silva cucurrit,
quale fuisse nemus creditur Hesperidum.
Affuit inmixtum pecori genus omne ferarum 5
et supra vatem multa pependit avis,
ipse sed ingrato iacuit laceratus ab urso.
Haec tantum res est facta παρ' ἱστορίαν.

Whatever Mount Rhodope is said to have watched in a show put on by Orpheus, the arena has displayed to you, Caesar. Rocks have crept and, a compelling wonder, a forest has run, one such as the grove of the Hesperides is believed to have been. Every type of wild animal was present, mingled with the domestic herd, and many a bird hovered above the bard. But he himself lay torn by an ungrateful bear. Only this was done counter to the story.

While the opening poems in the *Liber Spectaculorum* are satisfyingly cohesive, the three printed at the end are not. None is transmitted in the main tradition. One of them, a couplet criticizing Domitian, clearly belongs elsewhere. The second, from a different source, appears fragmentary but has topical relevance and may well belong in the book. The third, preserved with the second, is an elegant conceit, well-suited to conclude a collection celebrating a public occasion while it was still fresh in the popular memory, especially if it were the culmination of a longer closural sequence (*Spect.* 35 [32 S; 31 L, H]):

Da veniam subitis: non displicuisse meretur,
festinat, Caesar, qui placuisse tibi.

Give pardon for hasty work: the man who hurries to please you, Caesar, doesn't deserve your displeasure.

29.3 The *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*

Both the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* were written for the festival of the Saturnalia and recall the dinner parties, customs, and entertainments that characterized its celebration. This is clear from their prefatory poems, and especially Mart. 14.1:

Synthesibus dum gaudet eques dominusque senator
 dumque decent nostrum pillea sumpta Iovem,
 nec timet aedilem moto spectare fritillo
 cum videat gelidos tam prope verna lacus,
 divitis alternas et pauperis accipe sortes: 5
 praemia convivae det sua quisque suo.
 “Sunt apinae tricaeque et si quid vilius istis.”
 Quis nescit? Vel quis tam manifesta negat?
 Sed quid agam potius madidis, Saturne, diebus,
 quos tibi pro caelo filius ipse dedit? 10
 Vis scribam Thebas Troiamve malasve Mycenae?
 “Lude” inquis “nucibus”: perdere nolo nuces.

While the equestrian and lordly senator rejoice in dinner dress, and while the adoption of the freedman's cap befits our Jupiter [i.e. Domitian], and the homebred slave does not fear to look at the aedile while shaking the dice-box when he sees the icy waters so near, receive the alternated presents of rich and poor men: let each give to his table companion gifts suited to his means. “They are trifles and distractions and whatever is meaner than those.” Who does not know this? Or who denies what is so obvious? But what should I rather do, Saturn, on the drunken days which your son himself gave you in return for heaven? Do you want me to write of Thebes or Troy or evil Mycenae? “Play with nuts,” you say. I do not want to lose my nuts.

Little is known about the early worship of Saturn in Italy, although it seems to have predated Rome's foundation (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.7.24). Further, he was apparently associated with agriculture (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.7.25), and was commonly identified with Kronos (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.319–327). Having been deposed by Zeus/Jupiter, he fled to Latium (so called, after *latere*, because he hid there: Verg. *Aen.* 8.323), which he civilized and which, after his instructions in agriculture, enjoyed a Golden Age.

Celebration of the Saturnalia in historical times may date from the consultation of the Sibylline books in 217 BCE during the war with Hannibal, when a sacrifice was made at the Temple of Saturn and a holiday in his honor was decreed in perpetuity (Livy 22.1.19). Nonetheless, the holiday, which was observed at mid-winter, was popularly seen as a return to the Golden Age, a

period of universal freedom and happiness under the rule of the kind and just Saturn, whom Jupiter allowed back for a short spell. Martial hints (Mart. 14.1.10) that he did so in accordance with the license which marked the festival, and saw a relaxation of the usual societal norms so that slaves and social inferiors were accorded parity with and even superiority over their masters. The law courts were adjourned, schools closed and gambling (usually illegal), over-eating, excessive drinking, and dirty jokes were all tolerated, everything being regulated by the alternative law (suggested in Mart. 14.1 by an icy dunking) of a Saturnalian king. Characteristic of the festival was the giving of gifts. Amongst the earliest of these were candles, which recall Saturn's agricultural associations since they originally symbolized the return of life and light or the sun after the winter solstice, but a wide range of other presents later came to be given. The names of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* must be understood in the context of these gifts.

By Martial's day it was long the practice at dinner parties and other feasts for extra food to be "carried away" by the guests, either to eat themselves or to pass on to others (cf. Petron. *Sat.* 40.4, 60.7). This custom inspired the term *apophoreta* (cf. ἀποφέρω), the application of which was gradually extended from food to other things associated with the dinner, for example cutlery, crockery, furniture, and even the slaves who had waited at table or provided entertainment. Eventually it was used of any gifts, whether or not directly associated with the dinner. The word was thus an appropriate title for Mart. Book 14, which includes food items (poems 69–72) but also things like weapons, bedding, and works of art. However, it would not have done for items only of food and drink, as are found in Book 13.

The origins of the title *Xenia* are more complex. The word is rare in Latin, but has a long history in Greek: first, ξενήτια is used of the guest-gifts characterizing the heroic hospitality code in Homer and given by hosts to departing guests to symbolize the friendship bond between them. These gifts were not generally food, but objects of value – like precious metals, arms, and armor. Nevertheless, Martial possibly saw guest-friendship as recalling the Roman concept of *amicitia*, which played an important part in Roman gift-giving and will be discussed below. Secondly, ξενήιον can also be used generally of hospitable entertainment. This double usage is combined in the later Greek ξενία, used of the reception and entertainment of strangers, and also of the gifts, including food, which were given to them.

In Latin, *xenia* is used of gifts made in return for advocacy (Plin. *Ep.* 5.13.8), such an exchange according with the expectations of *amicitia*. It is used at Plin. *Ep.* 6.31.14 of gifts (not necessarily food) sent by the emperor to departing dinner- and house-guests, and at Vitruvius. *De arch.* 6.7.4 – which deals with the reception of and provision for guests – of paintings done of

the food sent to them. In addition, *xeniola* survives of presents of food at Apul. *Met.* 2.11, although Apuleius may have been influenced by Martial. Nevertheless, while aspects of the Greek ξενία can be paralleled by Latin usage in contexts of friendship, departure, entertainment, and food, it seems to have been Martial alone who exploited the word's connotations with any comprehensiveness and connects it with the Saturnalia.

After the introductory verses, the couplets in the *Xenia* are grouped to reflect the courses of the Roman *cena*, or at any rate a representation of it: the exact nature of Roman dinners is difficult to establish since the surviving accounts are all distorted by their literary or satirical purposes. Poems 6–60 deal with the *gustatio* or *hors d'oeuvres*, 61–78 with fowl, 79–91 with sea food, 92–100 with game and, recalling the *comissatio*, 106–25 with wine. There are often subgroups within these main groupings: thus 22–29 all deal with fruit while 30–33 deal with cheese. Both 35 and 36 refer to food from Picenum. Loose devices bind the main groups. Thus 5, about pepper, corresponds with 101–5 (seasonings and sweeteners), while 4, describing incense for divine offering at the start of a banquet and flattering the emperor, corresponds with 127, about rose garlands but also flattering the emperor. Poem 127 is closely connected with 126, about unguent, both unguents and garlands being characteristic of a Roman banquet, while garlands recall the carefully arranged ἀνθολογίαι of poets like Meleager or Philip. Together with 4, after the prefatory material, it therefore precisely defines the limits of the book and the *cena* it recalls.

The bounds of the *Apophoreta* are also clearly marked: after the introductory lines there is a group of poems (3–11) dealing with writing equipment (appropriate to the start of a poetic compilation), while the final poem (223) alludes to children going to school and therefore marks the end of the Saturnalian festivities. As well as the group of writing equipment, we find games (14–19), lighting equipment (39–44), toiletries and cosmetics (56–60), furniture and furnishings (84–85, 87–90), works of literature (183–96), slaves and gifts associated with them (201–23), and so on. But whereas grouping is fundamental to the arrangement of the *Xenia*, the principle governing that of the *Apophoreta* is indicated by Mart. 14.1.5, quoted above, which announces the alternation of cheap and expensive presents. Thus 14.12, describing the rich man's gift of an ivory box, is followed by an epigram about a wooden box, while 177–78 describe two statues of Hercules, one of bronze and the other wood. In a variation of this, the poor man's gift sometimes complements the rich man's. Thus 14.122 describes a ring, while 123 describes a ring case.

The tight ordering of the material within the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* suggests that, although some sections may have been circulated earlier

(e.g., that dealing with fabric and clothing at Mart. 14.124–58; see Leary 1996, 188), they were published in their entirety in the format in which they now survive. Therefore they can be dated by references within individual poems.

A *terminus post quem* for the *Xenia* is supplied by Mart. 13.4.1, which, like the rhinoceros coin already mentioned, refers to Domitian as *Germanicus*. Inscriptional and further numismatic evidence shows that, while he took this title in 83, he had not done so on 9 June although he had by 28 August (Leary 2001, 13). The *Xenia* must have been completed after that. Since a December publication date can reasonably be supposed for a Saturnalian collection, it was possibly ready for December 83 although 84 is more likely – especially if the *Liber Spectaculorum* appeared around this time too.

The *Xenia* do not yield a *terminus ante quem*. For this, one must look to the *Apophoreta*. These were also published after Domitian assumed his “true name,” i.e., the title *Germanicus* (cf. Mart. 14.170.1–2, *cui nomina Rhenus / vera dedit*). However, since Mart. 14.34.1 speaks of the “certain peace of the Emperor” (*pax ... certa ducis*), presumably again celebrating the Chatten defeat, they would not have been published after the Dacian wars began in 86. The pressure of time and their different concerns (food and objects) means that it is unlikely that both books were published in the same year. Instead, Martial's success with the shorter *Xenia* one year possibly encouraged him to publish the *Apophoreta* the next. This suggests that if the *Xenia* came out in 83 or, more probably, 84, the *Apophoreta* appeared in 84 or, more probably, 85.

Saturnalian gifts were often sent to their recipients, as is testified by Catullus 14.14 *misti* and Mart. 7.53.1 *misisti*, often being accompanied by verses. (At 13.3.5–6, Martial suggests, while playing the poor poet, that his verses could be sent instead of gifts.) Otherwise, they could be distributed as *apophoreta* at a dinner party by means of a lottery (cf. those dispensed by Augustus at the Saturnalia and other festivals: Suet. *Aug.* 75). Such a lottery is suggested by *sortes* at Mart. 14.1.5; cf. Mart. 13.5.2, quoted below. Although the *cena Trimalchionis* was probably not at the Saturnalia, the dinner-table lottery most closely comparable with Martial is that described in Petronius. In particular, note Petron. *Sat.* 56.7: ... *cum pittacia in scypho circumferri coeperunt, puerque super hoc positus officium apophoreta recitavit* (“When labels began to be carried around in a goblet and a boy put in charge of this duty read out the *apophoreta*”). The labels bear legends referring to punning substitutes for the gifts actually distributed and the guests would derive amusement from trying to guess what these gifts were, and seeing whether they were right. Thus they can be associated with the longstanding practice of asking riddles as a dinner-time entertainment (cf. Leary 2014,

10). Martial's epigrams are like these labels and, although they are not "riddling" in themselves, their *lemmata* often explain what they are about. A good example is Mart. 14.136 *cenatoria*, concerning dinner-suits (which are contrasted with the formality of the toga):

Nec fora sunt nobis nec sunt vadimonia nota:
hoc opus est, pictis accubuisse toris.

Neither courts nor securities are known to us. This is our task, to recline on embroidered couches.

Comparing Martial's poems and their *lemmata* to dinner-time riddles immediately raises a pressing question, however: why give the "answer" first?

Although it was unusual in the classical period for poets to preface their epigrams with *lemmata* (Kay 1985, 161), those in the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* are clearly authorial rather than later editorial additions: note Mart. 13.3.7–8, and 14.2.3–4:

Lemmata si quaeris cur sint adscripta, docebo:
ut, si malueris, lemmata sola legas.

If you ask why *lemmata* are added, I will tell you: so that, if you prefer, you may read the *lemmata* alone.

The self-depreciation here recalls the "apinae tricaeque" of Mart. 14.1.7, and merits as little credence: firstly, further to the epigrammatic tradition of self-denigration, weighty composition was considered inappropriate for the Saturnalia (Leary 1996, 54). Secondly, the pains Martial took over ordering the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* belie any protestations as to their indifferent quality, or the possibility that, although their subject matter is gifts which could be and actually were given, they were just lists of ideas for unimaginative donors. Thirdly, since the poems are just couplets, reading the *lemmata* instead of them would hardly save the casual reader much time (cf. Lausberg in Leary 1996, 58). Martial was undoubtedly realistic in expecting some of his readers to dip and skim (cf. Leary 2014, 13), but if they could be bothered to read the *lemmata*, they could surely be expected to glance over the poems too, and Martial is being disingenuous in suggesting that they might choose not to. The true and undoubtedly literary motivation of the poems and their *lemmata* therefore demands explanation.

Several of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* give instructions regarding the use of the gifts they describe. An example is Mart. 13.5 *piper* ("pepper"):

Cerea quae patulo lucet ficedula lumbo,
cum tibi sorte datur, si sapis, adde piper.

When a wax-colored beccafico which shines with ample loins is given to you by lot, if you are wise, add pepper.

It was traditional to write mock-didactic verse for the Saturnalia and, in the *Tristia*, Ovid mentions several such compositions, which have connections with the objects in the *Apophoreta*, e.g., dice and board games (*Tr.* 2.473–80; cf. *Mart.* 14.14–19) and ball games (*Tr.* 2.485; cf. *Mart.* 14.45–48). It is possible that this didactic tradition influenced Martial – note that *adde* in *Mart.* 13.5 is a common “didactic” word (Leary 2001, 50) – but more is needed to account for the format of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* and their preoccupation with gifts.

Two other literary traditions can be cited. First, epigram has been used in dedicatory contexts from the earliest times and Martial’s use of couplets as “gift tags” is a natural extension of this, especially as the contractual nature of Roman religion and dedicatory sacrifice (*do ut accipiam*: “I give that I might receive”) finds parallel in the reciprocity which underpinned Roman gift-giving. This links to the second literary tradition.

Poetic catalogues or lists also have a venerable history: note for instance the catalogue of Achaean forces at *Hom. Il.* 2.494–759. As their practical convenience diminished, e.g., in aiding oral composition, their status as literary forms increased and they came to feature in contexts other than epic and didactic verse. By the Flavian period there existed a well-established tradition of Saturnalian catalogue poetry, which listed presents while making some joke or humorous social comment. The particular context of this humor was the relationship of *amicitia* and the principle of mutual obligation which underpinned all interaction between the different levels of Roman society: when Roman *amici* were of equal status, the gifts or services they exchanged were expected to be of equivalent value, whereas more powerful or wealthier *amici* (“patrons”) were expected to give more costly gifts or valuable services to their less powerful friends (“clients”) than they received from them. Usually, if an *amicus* did not reciprocate a gift or service according to the expectations of him as either a “patron” or “client,” he became a “social debtor” and faced censure and even exclusion from society. However, while both the givers and receivers of gifts at the Saturnalia remained very conscious of their value, the freedoms of the season generally and the inversions of the societal norms it sanctioned saw the jocular up-ending of the normal gift-giving conventions.

An excellent example of the Saturnalian catalogue poem is Statius *Silvae* 4.9. Here the poet adopts an indignant pose following the arrival of a mean

book from his social superior, the senatorial Plotius Grypus, when he had sent him a luxury edition. Statius then embarks on a long catalogue of inferior Saturnalian gifts, asking whether Grypus had been unable to obtain these instead. Catalogue poems in Martial include 4.88, in which the poet rebukes his addressee for not reciprocating the gift he had sent him, even by passing on one of the gifts – like the several which are instanced – which he had received from someone else. But whereas *Silvae* 4.9 and Mart. 4.88 list many objects in a single poem, the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* list many objects separately in two unified books of poems; and while the latter's regular alternation of cheap and expensive gifts reflects the general concern for material value (and perhaps suggests that one had as good a chance of drawing a valuable lot as not), there are several epigrams in the *Xenia* where the value of the gifts described is evident and in which, with a certain wryness, since in a lottery one has no control over one's winnings, the materialistic or profit-conscious interests of their recipients are observed and mocked. Note, e.g., Mart. 13.122 *acetum* ("vinegar"):

Amphora Niliaci non sit tibi vilis aceti:
esset cum vini, vilior illa fuit.

Don't regard as cheap a jar of Egyptian vinegar. When it held wine, it was cheaper.

In placing the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* within the catalogue tradition, Martial was both inviting comparison with his predecessors and setting himself a considerable challenge: lists are inherently boring, and in addition he had often to deal with unpoetic subject matter (like onions and ear picks: Mart. 13.34 and 14.23), while his chosen format (a collection of distichs, mostly in elegiacs) meant that he could not rely on such devices as varying poem length or meter to retain his readers' interest. Instead, as well as through their intricate ordering, he had to captivate them by the cleverness and skill with which he crafted individual poems. For instance at Mart. 13.4 *tus* ("incense") he compresses his praise of Domitian in to just two lines, although literary panegyric was usually lengthy:

Serus ut aetheriae Germanicus imperet aulae
utque diu terris, da pia tura Iovi.

That Germanicus rule the heavenly palace late in time [i.e. die], and long rule the earth, offer pious incense to Jupiter.

While obscenity is to be expected in Saturnalian compositions (cf. Kay 1985, 72), Martial's readers would have admired Mart. 13.71 *phoenicopteri*, a

sophisticated poem about a flamingo which, while suggesting oral sex, combines etymologizing, word play, and *double entendre* (see Leary 2001, 127–29); and they would have appreciated Mart. 13.48 *boleti* (“mushrooms”), which, while part of the catalogue in the *Xenia*, also contains a mini-catalogue:

Argentum atque aurum facile est laenamque togamque
mittere; boletos mittere difficile est.

It is easy to send silver and gold and a cloak and a toga; to send mushrooms is hard.

Humor combines with literary allusion at Mart. 14.66 *mamillare*, describing a brassiere which is too small for its putative recipient: her breasts merit the scale of land-measurement applied to the site of Carthage at Verg. *Aen.* 1.368:

Taurino poteras pectus constringere tergo:
nam pellis mammas non capit ista tuas.

You could have bound your chest with the hide of a bull: for this skin doesn't hold your breasts.

While the *lemmata* and distichs which follow them can be associated with the tradition of dinner-table riddling, the difficulty “of giving the answer first” can also be explained within the context of a “poetic challenge.” Their combination constitutes a version of the *Erwartung-Aufschluss* formulation in that the epigram's resolution is the “set up” and the expectations raised by the heading are trumped by the wit of the poem itself. By announcing an unpoetic or metrically intractable topic, the poet insures the interest of his reader, who wants to see what he can make of it, and invites both his criticism and admiration. An example of the latter is Mart. 14.57 *myrobalanum*, describing ben-nut oil:

Quod nec Vergilius nec carmine dicit Homerus,
hoc ex unguento constat et ex balano.

This, which neither Vergil nor Homer mentions in poetry, is made of ointment and ben-nut.

The *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* were poetic *tours de force*, but despite the richness and variety of their contents (of which the above examples represent mere

glimpses), Martial perhaps feared that, after two books in this style, he was unlikely to succeed with another. At any rate, he turned to the forms of verse composition for which he is best known.

29.4 Symphosius' *Aenigmata*

To our knowledge, nothing like the *Liber Spectaculorum* was written after Martial (Coleman 2006, lxxxiv). This appears surprising, whereas the difficulty of composing potentially monotonous “catalogue-style” works like the *Xenia* or *Apophoreta* might be expected to discourage imitators – which seems indeed to have been the case until the *Aenigmata* of Symphosius in the fourth/fifth century. Since Symphosius was in turn to have a profound influence on his successors, it is appropriate to conclude with a few remarks about him.

Little is known of Symphosius. Even his name has been queried, but his collection of a hundred riddles, which survives in the *Latin Anthology*, is clearly indebted to Martial. It also begins with a prefatory poem establishing as its context a Saturnalian dinner, and it comprises short compositions preceded by a *lemma* and which are carefully ordered in a tightly structured book. However, whereas Martial wrote couplets describing dinner-table gifts, at times in a riddling manner, Symphosius' riddles, each comprising three hexameters, are not concerned with gifts at all but recall and develop the dinner-time entertainments by which they were distributed. Perhaps the greatest of Symphosius' followers was Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne (ca. 639–709), but his influence on Alcuin of York (ca. 735–804) is also clear, and it transcended the Latin riddle to inspire several in the Anglo-Saxon “Exeter Book.”

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FURTHER READING

The most readily obtainable text and translation of Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum*, *Xenia*, and *Apophoreta* can be found in Shackleton Bailey (1993). There is a general appreciation of the *Liber Spectaculorum* in Sullivan (1991, 6–12). The most recent edition is Coleman (2006), in which she revises some of the views expressed in Coleman (1990, 1993, and 1998). General treatment of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* can again be found in Sullivan (1991, 12–15) and Leary (1998). See too Leary's commentaries on the two books (2001 and 1996), and, *inter alia*, Roman (2001, 130–38) and Neger (2012, 23–30). Lorenz (2002, 55–110) discusses all three works. The most readily available text of Symphosius is probably that in Shackleton Bailey (1982), while Leary (2014) is the most recent commentary. For Roman gift-giving in the context of *amicitia* and "social exchange theory," and for the Saturnalia, see Spisak (1998, 248–254 and 2007, 93).

CHAPTER THIRTY

Micro to Macro: Martial's Twelve Books of Epigrams

Sven Lorenz

“Triginta toto mala sunt epigrammata libro.”
Si totidem bona sunt, Lause, bonus liber est.
Mart. 7.81

“Thirty epigrams in this whole book are bad.” – If as many are good, Lausus, this is a good book.

This poem from the seventh of Martial's *Epigrammaton libri duodecim* (12 books of epigrams) displays typical features of Martial's poetry. It is short and bipartite in structure: a set-up arousing the reader's curiosity is followed by a surprising twist or punchline.¹ Here Martial tells us that with his books of epigrams, one must be happy to get an equal mix of good and bad pieces. This act of self-deprecation is perfectly in line with Martial's overall tendency to downgrade his own work – often by comparing it to great forms of literature, such as epic poetry, and by stating the low quality of his epigrams, which deal with trivial topics from everyday life (Banta 1998, 87–102). But Martial also frequently expresses his pride in his poetry, especially in his success with the readers. Epigram is the smallest genre and therefore of lesser value than the grand genres. But it can rival epic poetry by presenting an accurate picture of everyday life in Rome. Martial claims that, unlike great works on hackneyed mythological topics, his poetry “tastes of man” (*hominem pagina nostra sapit*; 10.4.10). And even if we take Martial's statement about the bad epigrams in 7.81 seriously, this poem will certainly be among the good ones. Martial states that this is exactly what a book of epigrams

should be like and he illustrates his point through the positions of the words themselves in the hexameter: *triginta mala epigrammata* are dispersed over the first line just as “thirty bad epigrams” can be scattered over the book. Furthermore, the third and fourth words in line 1 correspond with the third and fourth words in line 2 (*mala sunt – bona sunt*) and the central term *bonus* appears as the third word from the beginning and from the end of the second line. The parallel and symmetrical arrangements illustrate that the idea of a *liber* full of bad epigrams is turned into praise for a *liber bonus*.

In addition, 7.81 makes clear why small epigrams can compete with grand epic poetry: Martial’s genre is not only epigram, but the book of epigrams – and in a genre that derived from inscriptions, the fact that the poems are presented in book form is conspicuous. Between 85 and 101 (Nauta 2002, 441–42), Martial published his 12 *Epigrammaton libri*, each of which comprises between 82 and 118 poems on various topics for different addressees. Books 1, 2, 8, 9, and 12 are also preceded by a prose preface. And each book has specific thematic and structural features that differentiate it from the others: e.g., Book 3 is split up into a section that contains no obscene poems (3.1–67) and a section that is not deemed suitable for virtuous ladies (3.68–100). There are no obscene poems in books 5 and 8 because of their reverence for the emperor Domitian. In terms of arrangement, Book 9 differs from all other books in that it shows a regular division into sections of almost the same length by poems and pairs of poems on statues or other images (Lorenz 2003). Book 11, which was published after Domitian’s assassination in 96, hails the new emperor Nerva with an unusually high number of obscene poems (cf. 11.2). And the final Book 12 mentions Martial’s return to his Spanish homeland, where he spent the last years of his life.

30.1 The Arrangement of the *Epigrammaton libri*

Martial’s books are no mere collections of individual pieces: there are various ways in which the poems interact. Often epigrams are connected through common themes and motifs or through verbal links; these connections all spin an epigrammatic web, which becomes apparent during a linear reading of the book (Lorenz 2004; cf. Merli 1998). In arrangement of the individual poems various structural devices can be detected (Scherf 2001). Occasionally, epigrams display a symmetrical arrangement and some books have structured middle parts (Holzberg 2004). But in most cases, Martial just picks up a certain topic and presents variations of it. Barwick (1958) was the first to refer to groups of epigrams on the same topic as “cycles.” It has proved to

be useful to apply the term, in a broad sense, to groups of poems “that display a common theme or motif, common use of language, or common structural features” (Lorenz 2004, 257). Greenwood (1998) also coined the term “mini cycle” for a small group of epigrams connected by a common motif. Usually cycles are scattered over the whole books; the three consecutive epigrams on the birthday of the epic poet Lucan (7.21–23) are an exception. And sometimes Martial makes it really difficult to understand the connections, as in epigram 4.35, which talks about two antelopes killing one another in a fight. The readers have to wait until 4.74, which functions as a prequel to 4.35 and tells them that the fight was part of a circus game.²

But the most obvious cases of a planned structure can be found in the opening passages of the books (with dedicatory poems and metapoetic epigrams which introduce central topics of the book) and in closural sections. An interesting case is the beginning of Book 1. As Holzberg (2002, 37–39) has shown, the first ten epigrams in the book present a parade of central themes and motifs as well as Martial's most important meters (elegiac distichs, hendecasyllables, choliambics): following the prose preface, epigram 1.1 introduces the author; 1.2 commends the book (in this case, a small pocket-book edition) to a benevolent reader and describes the way to the bookshop where Martial's *libri* can be obtained; 1.3 addresses the book itself and warns it of a critical readership; 1.4 addresses the emperor Domitian, whose favor the epigrammatist tries to obtain. Domitian himself is the speaker of 1.5:

“Do tibi naumachiam, tu das epigrammata nobis:
Vis, puto, cum libro, Marce, natare tuo.”

“I give you a naval battle, you give me epigrams. I believe, Marcus, you want to go swimming with your book.”

At first glance, the emperor's threat to throw Martial and his book into the water (maybe into the basin where staged sea fights took place) sounds frightening. But Martial's Domitian has been turned into a veritable “epigrammatic emperor” who himself answers in the poetic form of an epigram and finishes his answer with a humorous twist (Lorenz 2002, 116–20); the interaction of the two poems 1.4 and 5 is typical of the *Epigrammaton libri*. 1.6, then, is the first poem in the book that describes a show in the arena sponsored by Domitian and thus continues with the topic of imperial games. 1.7, for the first time, addresses a private patron; 1.8 praises another *amicus* for the way he lives according to the Stoic philosophy; 1.9 and 1.10 are the first instances of satirical mockery in the book. So, the book begins with

three poems about poetry, three poems about the emperor, two about patrons, and two about ridiculous individuals. Poetry, the emperor, public entertainments, private patronage, philosophy, and mockery of ridiculous people are, in fact, among the most prominent subjects in Martial's *Books of Epigrams*. And in terms of length and meter, epigrams 1.5 (one distich) and 1.6 (three distichs) are symmetrical with 1.8 (three distichs) and 1.9 (one distich).

Most of Martial's books end with a closural epigram or even a group of epigrams (Canobbio 2007). A good example is the end of Book 2. The last poem is 2.93:

"Primus ubi est," inquis, "cum sit liber iste secundus?"

Quid faciam, si plus ille pudoris habet?

Tu tamen hunc fieri si mavis, Regule, primum,

unum de titulo tollere iota potes.

You say, "If this is the second book, where is the first?" What can I do if that one is more bashful? But if you, Regulus, want to turn this one into the first, you can take a iota from the title.

Martial's *amicus* Regulus has read Book 2, but has not seen Book 1, so Martial cheekily suggests that Regulus change the Roman numeral II into I by removing one "I" (i.e., the Greek letter iota) and thus bring the book to a humorous closure. By the time Book 2 was published, Martial's books, or Martial himself, had no reason to be "bashful," for he had already enjoyed some success with his readers – even with the emperor. This becomes clear in the two poems that precede 2.93: in 2.91, Domitian is praised as a great ruler and asked for the *ius trium liberorum* ("right of three children"), which granted various legal privileges and could also be bestowed on childless citizens. Martial argues that he deserves this right because of his epigrams. In a manner similar to epigrams 1.4 and 5, his request is answered in the following poem, but this time it is not the emperor, but Martial himself who tells us: in 2.92, we learn that Domitian has granted Martial the privilege, so the poet says (verses 3–4):

Valebis, uxor,

non debet domini perire munus.

Farewell, wife. Our lord's present must not be wasted.

2.91/92 are also linked with the two poems that precede them (Lorenz 2014, 61–65): Martial's statement that one does not need a wife if there are

other ways to obtain the “right of three children,” sounds like a blatant contradiction of what he just said in 2.90, an address to the famous rhetorician Quintilian. In 2.90, Martial states that he is not interested in a career, but will be happy with a simple life in the country. He concludes (verses 9–10):

Sit mihi verna satur, sit non doctissima coniunx,
sit nox cum somno, sit sine lite dies.

I wish to have a well-fed home-born slave, a wife who is not too educated,
sleep at night, the day without quarrel.

And surprisingly, there is also a connection between Martial's address to the greatest rhetorician of his time and the obscene epigram 2.89:

Quod nimio gaudes noctem producere vino
ignosco: vitium, Gaure, Catonis habes.
Carmina quod scribis Musis et Apolline nullo
laudari debes: hoc Ciceronis habes.
Quod vomis, Antoni: quod luxuriaris, Apici. 5
Quod fellas, vitium dic mihi cuius habes?

That you prolong the nights drinking too much wine – I forgive you, Gaurus: you have the vice of Cato. That you write poems without inspiration from the Muses and Apollo – one must commend you for that: you have that from Cicero. That you puke comes from Antonius, that you live in luxury from Apicius. That you suck dicks – tell me, whose vice have you got there?

Martial lists a number of bad habits and ironically justifies them by referring to famous persons who did the same, i.e., he adduces *exempla* from Roman history, just like an orator would. Only for Gaurus' last vice, the practice of fellatio, Martial cannot come up with a historical *exemplum* and that is why the poem ends with a question. A first reader of Book 2 (or a listener at a recital) will make a connection with the vocative *Quintiliane* at the beginning of the following poem 2.90. Quintilian, the greatest expert on rhetorical theory and practice would be the obvious person to ask when one is in need of a historical *exemplum*.³ Only as one reads on does it become clear that 2.90 does not continue the theme of 2.89, but is a statement about the ideal life.

There are different ways for Martial to link his poems. 2.91 and 92 are connected by the same topic, his request for the *ius trium liberorum*. 2.89 and 90 deal with completely different topics and are, in fact, completely different in tone, but they are connected by the common motif of rhetorical theory. Other epigrams are connected by verbal links. A good example is

cited by Maltby (2008, 257): in 1.111, Martial's patron Regulus is praised (line 1: *Cum tibi sit sophiae par fama et cura deorum* – “Since your wisdom and devotion to the gods are equal”) and then offered two presents: Martial's *liber* and incense. This is the following epigram 1.112:

Cum te non nossem, dominum regemque vocabam;
nunc bene te novi: iam mihi Priscus eris.

When I didn't know you, I called you “lord and king.” Now I know you well.
From now on, you will be “Priscus” to me.

A poem praising a patron called *Regulus* (“little king”) is followed by an epigram on a patron who probably didn't provide the expected material support and is therefore deemed unworthy of the formal address as *rex* (“king” – a common denomination for a patron) and *dominus* (“lord”). And the connection is made even stronger by the fact that both poems begin with *cum* and a pronoun for the second person singular. This could be a hint that the two epigrams should be read together. So, some readers may ask themselves if Regulus, himself, is secretly criticized for not providing enough support – or if he is presented as a good patron whom Priscus should take as his model. And even word-sound may provide a link between epigrams as in epigrams 1.9 and 10:

Bellus homo et magnus vis idem, Cotta, videri:
sed qui bellus homo est, Cotta, pusillus homo est.

You want to be seen as a pretty and also a great man, Cotta. But a man who is pretty, is a petty man.

Petit Gemellus nuptias Maronillae
et cupit et instat et precatur et donat.
Adeone pulchra est? Immo foedius nil est.
Quid ergo in illa petitur et placet? Tussit.

Gemellus wants to marry Maronilla and wishes and pushes her and begs and gives presents. Is she so beautiful? Not at all, nothing could be uglier. So what is it that makes people desire and like her? She coughs.

Traditionally, the diminutive *bellus* in 1.9 was not an adjective one would use for a Roman man. Consequently the contrast of *bellus* and *magnus* is changed to *bellus* and *pusillus*, another diminutive form. And it may not be a coincidence that the double-*l* sound, which indicates the diminutive form, is also present in the two proper names that feature in 1.10: Gemellus and Maronilla (whose money Gemellus hopes to inherit) are thus presented as

“minor” characters who only serve the purpose to be the butt of Martial’s joke. And, to take things even further, it may not be a coincidence that the Cotta who is addressed in 1.9 recalls the philosophical statement from the preceding poem 1.8, where the suicide of the great republican Stoic Cato is mentioned. Cotta is, as Fitzgerald (2007, 79) suggests, “a Cato with the vowels reversed.”

Before we go on, some methodological caveats are in order. Juxtaposition (on the term see Fitzgerald 2007, 4–7) of epigrams on completely different topics can produce tension and we should not automatically conclude that every serious statement that stands right next to a humorous epigram is ironic. And it is difficult to discern whether the juxtaposition of two epigrams is just arbitrary or if the poems are linked in a way that has a bearing on our understanding of them. Once one starts looking for links between poems in a collection, one will certainly find them. So, some scholars of Martial will disagree with a reading of the epigrams that focuses on links between the poems and others will detect even more linking devices. Any debate on whether there are links between two poems or not will inevitably draw on arguments of plausibility.

And yet, looking for such links is just a natural approach to reading collections of short pieces – especially since Martial himself points out that he did not only write epigrams, but books of epigrams. If we try to approach the *Epigrammaton libri* from the perspective of a recipient who encounters the book for the first time in a linear reading, we have a good chance of appreciating what the juxtapositions have to offer: we are confronted not only with individual epigrams, but also with the collection that consists of the individual pieces – and that is part of the fun of reading a book of epigrams. One never knows what’s going to come next: a satirical attack on some dubious figure, a sublime panegyric of the emperor, a metapoetical statement, an obscene depiction of sexual practices, a philosophical statement on the right life, a poem begging for material support from a patron, or a grieving lament for somebody who recently died. One never knows if an epigram continues a topic that has just been introduced by another poem or if it comes up with a new subject. This is what reading a book of epigrams is like, so this way of reading cannot be wrong for Martial scholarship.

30.2 The Addressees of Martial’s Epigrams and the “*Libellus* Theory”

In his epigrams, Martial addresses different people. With many of Martial’s addressees it is difficult to determine if they are real or fictional, or real people with a fictional name (Nauta 2002, 43–47). We have already

some at least of the effects of placement within the book must be seen as secondary constructions on the part of the author. And while some effects may be created by the adjustment of existing poems or the addition of new ones [...], others require no further intervention at all. Some effects may be virtually automatic. For any poem that contains a complex of ideas, one location will activate one resonance, another another.

The question whether Martial's *Epigrammaton libri* functioned as a mere receptacle for previously published shorter collections or Martial composed (most of) his poems for publication in the book cannot be answered conclusively. But Nauta (2002, 105–20) has shown that White's dedications probably refer to the whole book rather than a short private *libellus*.⁶ Furthermore, Martial tells us that his epigrams have the power to bestow fame on the people he mentions in his poetry (e.g., 5.15), but that could only be achieved through the books for the general readership, not through private *libelli*. Maybe there were *libelli* for patrons – and below we shall see that in Book 12 Martial mentions a separate collection for the emperor – but it is unlikely that they were decisive for the content and structure of the *Books of Epigrams*. Since the *Epigrammaton libri* had to be attractive for the general audience, it is unlikely that they are just the result of “secondary constructions” deriving mostly from collections of poems that had previously been used in communications with individual patrons.⁷ If the primary function of Martial's epigrams had been to perform communicative acts towards his patrons, they would not have worked that well with Martial's general readership (cf. Lorenz 2002, 10–12).

In addition, White's “dedications” work perfectly well in the context of the published book. This is also true for 7.26, the poem for Apollinaris, which interacts with its context on various levels. First of all, the largest thematic group of poems in Book 7 are epigrams about writing epigrams. Even though, in all of Martial's books, there are numerous poems in which Martial talks about his own work, among the 99 poems in Book 7 there is an especially high number of poems about epigrammatic poetry;⁸ one of them is 7.81, which says that an *epigrammaton liber* contains good and bad poems (see above). So, 7.26 is part of a large number of epigrams in Book 7 that deal with the production, publication, or reception of poetry.

Furthermore, 7.26 develops ideas that have been expressed in the preceding epigrams: in 7.12, Martial tells his *amicus* Faustinus that somebody has spread the rumor that Martial composed aggressive verses in the style of Archilochus, who was said to have driven an opponent into suicide with his iambic poetry. Martial expresses the wish that the emperor will not believe

that, but keep on reading the epigrams. In both poems, 7.12 and 7.26, Martial points out that his poetry is friendly and asks a powerful reader, Domitian (or Faustinus, who might forward his request to Domitian) and Apollinaris, for support against malicious enemies (7.26.9: *malignos*). A slanderous enemy is also mentioned in 7.24, where Martial says that somebody wants to destroy his friendship with Iuvenalis (probably the famous satirist) by telling lies. Martial curses that *perfida lingua* (“perfidious tongue”) and implies that it is involved in deviant sexual practices. After reading this, one can have no doubt that the epigrams have the power to retaliate against calumny if necessary. And the aggressive power of epigrammatic poetry is also the topic of 7.25: Martial criticizes an anonymous epigrammatist for writing nothing but *dulcia epigrammata* (“pleasant epigrams”), whereas Martial prefers *quae novit pungere, Chia* (“a fig that knows how to sting”), i.e., that can be aggressive.⁹ Again, Martial makes clear his poetry has the power to fight back.

And even though the tone of the poem for Apollinaris is extremely friendly, the epigrams’ power to attack people is also implied in 7.26: it is no coincidence that Martial uses and mentions the *scazon*, a verse which was often used in personal attacks. One example that readers of 7.26 will still have in mind is 7.20, a lengthy attack on a thief named Santra.¹⁰ Furthermore, the first line of 7.26 recalls the beginning of Catullus’s 42, where iambic verses are summoned to attack a *moecha turpis* (“base adulteress”): *Adeste, hendecasyllabi!* (“Come here, hendecasyllables!”). For Martial, Catullus was an important forerunner in formulating poetic attacks (Lorenz 2007, 429–32),¹¹ but normally Martial uses the broader generic term *epigrammata* for his poetry. Since Catullus’ terms *iambi* and *hendecasyllabi* refer specifically to aggressive poetry (see Holzberg in this volume), Martial’s address of the iambic *scazon* in 7.26 makes us think of the aggressive nature of the iambic meter. Also, in the only other instance where the term *scazon* is used by Martial, in 1.96, the verse is prompted to visit a dear friend, but at the same time the poem attacks an anonymous individual for sexual deviancy (cf. Obermayer 1998, 238–39). 7.26 thus combines the themes of success with a friendly readership and of the aggressiveness of epigram.

The idea that Martial might get into trouble because of malicious slanderers who spread lies about him resurfaces in 7.72: Martial praises his patron Paulus and wishes him happy Saturnalia. But after the relaxed holiday atmosphere of the first 11 lines, the poem finishes in a different mood (verses 12–16):

Si quisquam mea dixerit malignus
atro carmina quae madent veneno,
ut vocem mihi commodos patronam
et quantum poteris, sed usque, clames: 15
“Non scripsit meus ista Martialis.”

If some malicious person says that poems which drip with venom are mine, then, please support me with your helpful voice and shout as loudly as you can (but don't stop), "My Martial did not write that!"

This poem refers back to 7.12,¹² and also uses the term *maligni* from 7.26. Together epigrams 7.12, 24, 26, and 72 form a cycle on the support Martial needs from his patrons against false accusations. The last line of 7.72, a clear statement in favor of Martial, provides a powerful ending of the cycle. Given the connections between these poems for different addressees in Book 7, I find it hard to believe that they were written for any other context than the book and that the effects created by the interplay of the epigrams "may be virtually automatic," as White put it. Martial himself points out that the *Epigrammaton libri* are his chosen form of publication.¹³ Examining the functions of the poems in the published books is, therefore, a much more promising way of understanding Martial's works than focusing on hypothetical pre-publication *libelli*, which we have not got.

30.3 Martial's *Epigrammaton Libri Duodecim* – A Twelve-Book Opus?

Book 7 ends with a poem about Domitian. Martial tells the imperial courtier Crispinus that Domitian knows his epigrams and asks Crispinus to say some nice things about their author (7.99). Book 8, then, begins with a prose preface, which is addressed to Domitian. Martial's relationship with the emperor seems to have developed, for he no longer has to rely on Crispinus' brokerage when he wants to approach the emperor. We do not know to what extent this reflects the real contact Martial had with Domitian. In any case, the imperial theme at the end of Book 7 and at the beginning of Book 8 provides a smooth transition from one book to the next (Sapsford 2012, 49–50).

There are, in fact, not only connections between individual epigrams, but also verbal and thematic links between consecutive books (Maltby 2008, 261–67). Since Martial is an author who paid a lot of attention to the arrangement of the epigrams in his books, it does not come as a surprise that he also seems to have made an effort to arrange his *Epigrammaton libri duodecim* as a coherent work. In addition, the number of 12 books is reminiscent of epic poems (such as Vergil's *Aeneid*) and Martial's return to his native Spain in the last book recalls the homecoming of epic heroes, like Odysseus or other Greek warriors after the Trojan War (Lorenz 2002, 228–29; cf. Fowler 1995, 33). As I said, Martial takes pride in the fact that his *Epigrammaton libri* with their colorful depiction of everyday life in Rome

can rival grand poetry on great historical and mythological themes. So, the number of 12 books may not be coincidental and it is possible that Martial at some point in his career decided to produce a 12-book opus. The 12-book corpus deserves further investigation,¹⁴ but a few points on the arrangement of Martial's oeuvre can be made. In particular, the depiction of the emperors in the last *Epigrammaton libri* is interesting. Holzberg (2002, 135–36; 2004–5, 213) divides the twelve *libri* into four triads, which differ from each other in their depiction of the emperors, and he points out that in books 1–3 and 10–12 there are not as many poems for the *princeps* as in 4–6 and 7–9. Book 9 is the last existing book that was written and published before the assassination of Domitian in 96 CE. Book 10 is presented as a second edition and many scholars believe that the first edition contained poems for Domitian which Martial did not want to be read after the emperor had been killed. The second edition contains a few poems for the emperor Trajan. Book 11 was published before the second edition of Book 10 and praises Nerva, Domitian's successor, who was in power for a short time before he died in 98 and his adoptive son Trajan became emperor. Martial's last *liber*, Book 12, contains some poems for Nerva and some for Trajan.

I have already mentioned that Book 9 is structured differently from the other *libri*: it is divided into sections by poems or pairs of poems on statues and other *imagines* (Lorenz 2002, 228–30; 2003; Henriksen 2012, xxxiii–xxxvi). Near the end of the *liber nonus* (which contains 103 epigrams), we read the last of these pieces on statues: the lengthy epigram 9.101, a poem about a statue of Domitian depicted as Hercules, first mentions the labors of Hercules (verses 1–10) and then offers a list of the important deeds of Domitian, who is called “the greater Hercules” (11–22). This catalogue creates an effective closure to the *Epigrammaton libri* produced under the reign of Domitian and I do not think that this is a mere coincidence. In fact, Martial may not have been as eager to make people forget about his panegyrics of Domitian as many scholars believe. Since he wrote the majority of his works under the reign of Domitian and extensively praised him, any attempt to extinguish the memory of his previous praise would have been futile anyway.¹⁵ Of course, this is highly speculative, but the suppression of the first edition of Book 10 may have served the purpose of turning Book 9 into the last book for Domitian and to create a 12-book corpus.¹⁶

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the second edition of Book 10 provides an elegant link between books 11 and 12 (Lorenz 2002, 221–22). Book 11, which celebrates the reign of Nerva, finishes with three epigrams, each with four lines, on the topic of reading Martial's poetry and on the question if his book is too long or too short: 11.106 ironically applauds a certain Vibius for not reading Martial's books carefully, but skipping

epigrams. 11.107 is about a Septicianus who just pretends to have read Martial's book. And in 11.108, a reader who wants more epigrams is asked to pay for them. This is the first poem of Book 10:

Si nimius videor seraque coronide longus
esse liber, legito pauca: libellus ero.
Terque quaterque mihi finitur carmine parvo
pagina: fac tibi me quam cupis ipse brevem.

If I seem like a book that is far too long with an end that comes too late, read just a few pieces and I will be a little book. In three or four cases one of my columns is finished with a short poem. Make me as short for yourself as you personally like it.

Again, Martial pretends that his work is of no great importance, otherwise he could not advise his readers to stop reading whenever they want to. So, the topic of the length of Martial's books from the end of Book 11 is continued in another four-line poem. And there is also a transition from the end of Book 10 to the beginning of Book 12: in 10.104, Martial tells his book to travel to Spain where everything has to be prepared for his return. And in the prose preface to Book 12, Martial apologizes to his friend Priscus for his long silence – i.e., for not producing another book of epigrams in three years – and tells him that in Spain he lacks inspiration. We do not know how Martial made it clear that the second edition of Book 10 should be read after Book 11, but the transitions from books 11 to 10 and from 10 to 12 make perfect sense and add coherence to these books as a group.¹⁷

Even though Book 12 is said in the preface to have been sent from Spain to Rome, many poems refer to life in the capital. The mixture between a Spanish and a Roman perspective is also apparent in the depiction of the emperors (Lorenz 2002, 232–46): in 12.8, Martial tells us that personified *Roma* takes pride in the valiant emperor Trajan and 12.9 addresses Trajan himself and thanks him for sending A. Cornelius Palma as a governor to Spain. However, Trajan is not the only emperor mentioned in Book 12: 12.6¹⁸ praises the *procerum mitissimus* (“mildest of leading men”) Nerva and 12.11 asks Nerva's chamberlain Parthenius to forward Martial's *timidusque brevisque libellus* (“frightened and short little book”) to the emperor. The reason why we read poems for the late emperor Nerva and for his successor Trajan in the same book is given in 12.4: here Martial offers a collection of poems from books 10 and 11 to *Caesar*. He seems to have produced a short collection for Nerva which also contained laudatory epigrams for the new emperor. And some of these were then incorporated into Book 12.¹⁹

Many scholars believe that Book 12 as we have it was not edited by Martial himself, but contains posthumous additions, among them the poems from the collection for Nerva (cf. Sullivan 1991, 52–55; Nauta 2002, 438–40). However, the depiction of the powerful statesman Trajan together with praise for his friendly and condescending adoptive father Nerva is very common in Trajanic propaganda, e.g., in Pliny's *Panegyricus* (cf. 6.1–2; Lorenz 2002, 240–46). So, the poems on the imperial theme in Book 12 are not – as John Sullivan (1991, 55) put it – “outdated and read like left-over drafts.” They are a valuable contribution to the public praise of the emperor as it was common in Trajan's times.²⁰ Book 12 shows Martial in retirement in his homeland, looking back at Rome, also at the two emperors who ruled the empire during his last years in the city. In terms of content and structure, it is an unusual book, but certainly an adequate conclusion to Martial's complete works.

Much work remains to be done on the function of the individual epigrams and books of epigrams in the 12-book corpus. Martial gives us short pieces of poetry which can be read on their own. But at the same time, they interact in the published books, which interact with each other and form a fascinating 12-part whole. Martial's *Epigrammaton libri duodecim* are much smaller than grand poetical works and, at the same time, a worthy rival to epic poetry. By arranging short poems into an impressive literary oeuvre, Martial subverts common concepts of genre.²¹

NOTES

1. Cf. Lessing's terms “Erwartung und Aufschluss” with Watson and Watson (2003, 15–21).
2. Similar ways of arrangement can be detected in other works that combine different pieces; cf. Holford-Strevens (2003, 33–36) on Gellius, whose work shows “[s]ome attempt at deliberate arrangement,” including “deliberate repetitions” and “deliberate disruption.”
3. Cf. Juv. 6.279–81 on a woman who has been caught in adultery and asks Quintilian if he can come up with a good excuse – but he cannot: *Sed iacet in servi complexibus aut equitis: Dic, / dic aliquam sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem! / “Haeremus.”* (“But she lies in a slave's or a knight's embrace. Tell me, please, tell me just any excuse, Quintilian! – ‘I'm stuck.’”).
4. Henriksén (2012, xli–xlii) has shown that these poems are part of a great “emperor-cycle” that stretches throughout books 7–9, and which is held together by the motif of the Second Pannonian War. Cf. below for further links between consecutive books.
5. One should keep in mind, however, that Martial also uses the term *libellus* for his published books.

6. Nauta (2002, 365–74) believes, however, that Martial sent separate collections to the emperors.
7. Among the “poems which announce the presentation of a book,” White (1974, 56 with n. 63) lists ten epigrams from Book 7. If all of those originally had presented a *libellus*, then Book 7, as we have it, would not contain much else but poems from previously published *libelli*.
8. Mart. 7.3, 11, 12, 17, 25, 26, 28, 29, 42, 51, 52, 68, 72, 77, 80, 81, 84, 85, 88, 90, 97, 99; cf. Sapsford (2012, 42–64).
9. 7.27, which follows the Apollinaris poem, describes a giant boar that is too big for Martial’s hearth – a poem that has been interpreted as a metapoetical reflection on Martial’s small genre that is not fit to deal with huge topics. Thus, 7.26 is surrounded by two epigrams that employ food imagery for Martial’s poetry (Neger 2012, 96; cf. Banta 1998, 2–7).
10. It is worth noting that readers of Book 7 have so far only encountered two epigrams in choliambics: 7.20 and 7.7, a panegyric poem for Domitian. At first sight, the choice of meter for that poem may take the readers by surprise, but 7.7 contains a humorous and satirical description of the Roman people, who cannot think of anything else but the emperor and as a result do not even pay attention to the horse races (Watson 2006, 290–1).
11. Since the repetition of the opening line at the closure of a poem is a technique that Martial seems to have taken over from Catullus (e.g., 16), it is even more probable that many readers detected an allusion to his *carmina*.
12. Cf. 7.12.5–7: *Quid prodest, cupiant cum quidam nostra videri, / si qua Lycambeo sanguine tela madent, / vipereumque vomat nostro sub nomine virus, / qui Phoebi radios ferre diemque negat?* (“What use is that when some people want to make it look as if any weapons that drip with Lycambes’ blood belong to me and somebody who cannot bear the sunshine and the light of day spits snake poison under my name?”)
13. This is not contradicted by the fact that Martial himself tells us that he kept revising his books (e.g., 7.11, 17). There certainly is a difference between revising a finished book (maybe even by applying changes to its content) and compiling a book from previously published material.
14. In order to prove the unity of *The ‘Epic’ of Martial*, Sapsford (2012) examines the theme of “oral sex” in all of Martial’s books and is the first to view the *Epigrammaton libri duodecim* as a coherent work. Even though one may doubt whether recurrent themes are really a sign for unity of the 12 books (given Martial’s thematic concept, it would be rather surprising if themes and motifs did not feature again and again in different books), Sapsford’s approach to investigate in what way readers will re-evaluate the previous books after reading the later ones is interesting.
15. Martial does not try to make people forget about his poems for Domitian, but mentions them explicitly and tells his readers that he would not write poems like that again: *dicturus dominum deumque non sum* (“I’m not going to say ‘my lord and god’”; 10.72.3) – because the new emperor is completely

different from Domitian; cf. Lorenz (2002, 209–10). The situation was very different for Pliny, whose extant works were produced after Domitian's death. Pliny made a career under the reign of Domitian and it is likely that he had been on good terms with the former emperor. And yet, Pliny could present himself in his epistles as a sturdy opponent of Domitian's regime (e.g., *Ep.* 1.12, 7.27).

16. Such a deliberate move to produce an “epic” number of books would not be unparalleled. It is generally accepted that Vergil shaped an image of his own literary career as a poet through his poetry and that this model had a strong influence on other authors who also used their works to present their *vitae* as coherent literary careers; cf. Farrell (2002).
17. I must admit that Sapsford (2012, 148–49) has a point when she states that it would be natural to read the books in the order indicated by the book numbers. Holzberg (2002, 142–51; 2004–5, 214–22) tries to solve the problem by suggesting that Book 11, which has a strong Saturnalian flavor, is presented as a journey to the underworld, where we meet the deceased Saturnalian *princeps* Nerva. However, this unusual construction would also require a clear hint from Martial that would help us understand that the book is set in the underworld.
18. I follow the numbering of the poems in Lindsay's (1929) edition; cf. Lorenz (2002, 236–37).
19. This is a different case from the theory that Martial sent pre-publication *libelli* to private patrons. Here Martial states explicitly that there was a collection of poems from books 10 and 11, so that *libellus* used poems that had already been published for a separate collection. It is obvious that only the new dedicatory poems for the emperor from that collection could later be incorporated into Book 12.
20. From 12.8 on, there is a regular alternation in Book 12 of poems in elegiac distichs and other meters, which is only interrupted by 12.11. The fact that the poems for Nerva, including 12.11, are absent from the manuscript family γ has been interpreted as a sign “that these epigrams have been added by another hand” (Nauta 2002, 438 n. 195). However, 12.47, a two-line epigram in hendecasyllables, is also absent from γ even though it stands between two poems in elegiac distichs; so this absence also interrupts the metrical alternation. Since the first words of the two lines of 12.47 resemble the beginning of an elegiac distich, it is more likely that some posthumous editor of the book, who wanted to create a perfect metrical alternation, mistook 12.47 for an elegiac distich (even though the beginning of the hexameter with two self-contained feet would be unusual) and erased it together with the Nerva poems at the beginning of the book. Thus, the absence of the Nerva poems from γ does not support the idea that Book 12 was not edited by Martial himself (Lorenz 2002, 234–45).
21. I thank Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Niklas Holzberg, and Margot Neger for their comments on this chapter.

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FURTHER READING

For the scholarship on Martial see Lorenz (2003/2006) with an overview of the publications on different formal and thematic aspects of the epigrams. Introductions to Martial are provided by Sullivan (1991) and Holzberg (2002). The indispensable commentaries on the individual books 1–12 (on books 13–14 and the *Liber spectaculorum*, cf. Leary's contribution to this volume) are: Citroni (1975), Howell (1980) (Book 1); Williams (2004) (2); Fusi (2006) (3); Moreno Soldevila (2006) (4); Canobbio (2011) (5); Grewing (1997) (6); Galán Vioque (2002) (7); Schöffel (2002) (8); Henriksen (2012) (9); Buongiovanni (2012) (the long epigrams from 10); Kay (1985) (11); and Watson and Watson (2003) (select epigrams from all books). A complete translation of the *Epigrammaton libri* into English is provided by Shackleton Bailey (1993).

On the arrangement of Martial's books cf. the publications listed in Lorenz (2003/2006, 209–12). For the different structural devices see Scherf (2001), on cycles Merli (1993) and Lorenz (2004) and on linking devices Maltby (2008). For the discussion about pre-publication collections of epigrams, cf. White (1975, 1996) and Fowler (1995). The unity of Martial's *Epigrammaton libri duodecim* has been investigated by Sapsford (2012).

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

Carminis Incompti Lusus: The Carmina Priapea

Eugene O'Connor

This chapter discusses the ithyphallic god Priapus as a literary character, particularly as he appears in Latin epigram. It describes the god's roles variously as threatener, seducer, and comic buffoon. Indeed, one may speak of a special genre of poetry known as a Priapeum, that is, a poem centered on Priapus or Priapic themes. Priapea were written in several literary forms, notably satire, elegy, and especially epigram, the latter featuring obscenity, scatology, and epic burlesque. Priapic epigram in particular emphasizes the god's roles as guardian and aggressor. The obscenity of Priapic epigram suits this aggressive stance, since such language could be used to ward off evil influences. But the obscenity associated with aggression also had the power to provoke laughter.

This chapter begins with a brief account of the history and worship of the god Priapus by way of background. It will focus, however, on the imperial corpus known most commonly as the *Carmina Priapea* or *Corpus Priapeorum* (hereinafter *CP*).¹ The question of this work's authorship and date is still subject to debate, although the long-held *communis opinio* is that it is an anonymous collection compiled sometime in the mid-first century CE, predating Martial (O'Connor 1989, 8; Richlin 1992, 141–43).

Points to be covered in this chapter are the following: Priapus' dual roles as sexual aggressor and comic figure; Roman Priapic poetry outside the *CP*; the *CP*'s contested authorship and date; the *CP* as spoofs of more serious genres, such as dedications (e.g., *CP* 27) and *aretalogiae* (e.g., *CP* 6); the *CP* considered specifically as epigrams, beginning with their pretending to

be *ex votos* affixed to the god Priapus' statue; and a brief survey of Priapus' literary *Nachleben* from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. Special note will be taken of Antonio Beccadelli's early fifteenth-century corpus of epigrams in two books titled the *Hermaphroditus*, which is heavily indebted to Martial and the *CP*.

31.1 Some Historical and Literary Background

It is important, first of all, to differentiate the literary Priapus from the actual deity and his cult at Rome. Imported from Asia Minor (the city Lampsacus being his chief cult center), Priapus entered Greece possibly as early as the fifth century BCE, when he was syncretized with Dionysus (Ath. 1.30B). In myth Priapus is named as the offspring of Dionysus, or else Hermes, and Aphrodite, who rejected her son, repelled as she was by his grotesque appearance and hypertrophied genitals. Priapus at Rome served principally as a guardian of groves and gardens. The phallus had the power to ward off evil. Freeborn Roman boys, therefore, wore a phallic amulet to protect them from maleficent influences on their road to full manhood. Priapus functioned as a tutelary deity of the household; his swollen red phallus kept evil away and promoted fertility. This accounts for the frequent depiction of the phallus at the doorways of domestic and other spaces. Over the door of a bakery at Pompeii was found a phallus in relief with the inscription *Hic habitat felicitas*, "Here dwells happiness" or "good fortune." *Felicitas* could also indicate fruitfulness more generally.

Priapus had associations with fertility cults throughout Italy. Indeed, the ubiquity of phallic objects, including lamps, statues, and wind chimes, betrays a somewhat lubricious interest in representing the male organ in novel and sometimes outlandish ways. Statues of Priapus, which stood in gardens and orchards, were often of wood painted red (hence the frequent description *rubus custos*) and crudely wrought, although we have (possibly facetious) descriptions of Priapi elegantly sculpted in marble (Mart. 6.72), or even gold (Verg. *Ecl.* 7.36). A wall fresco of Priapus wearing a Persian cap to indicate his near Eastern origins was found at the front door of the House of the Vettii in Pompeii, thus signaling the god's role as protector of entryways. Unlike most Priapic figures, however, this Priapus is finely kitted out with an elegant tunic, fur boots, a golden torque, a gold hoop earring in his left ear, and a gold bracelet on both wrists (Kellum 2015, 200–1). The god weighs his enormous phallus on a scale, beneath which sits a basket laden with fruit. The image is, at once, one of plenty and bawdy humor, with Priapus literally hefting the poundage of his penis. But the Vettii being members of the

prosperous freedmen class, the scale denotes the weighing out of coin – the phallus in this case is literally worth its weight in gold.

The takeaway from this brief historical survey is the association of Priapus with boundaries, doorways, and good fortune. With links to the ithyphallic Hermes (who himself was the patron of commerce), Priapus served as a god of entrances and exits, as well as a guardian of passages over water along with Pan and Hermes/Mercury (Herter 1932, 15, 237). The god's role as ithyphallic guardian of entryways is a central one played by Priapus in the *CP*.

At Rome, several scurrilous and obscene literary types, both formal and informal, contributed to the content and tone of the Priapic poems. Included among these are the bawdy verses sung at weddings and triumphs to ward off evil, and also political lampoons which impugned opponents' unsightly physical defects and presumed effeminacy or debauchery. One particularly notable example, featuring the rare compound *effutuo*, meaning both "fuck" and "squander one's resources" (Adams 1982, 119), is a jibe launched at Julius Caesar on the occasion of his Gallic triumph: *Urbani, servate uxores: moechum calvum adducimus. / Aurum in Gallia effutuisti; hic sumpsisti mutuum* ("Citizens, put your wives away: we bring you the bald lecher. / You screwed away your money in Gaul; here you've taken out a loan"; Suet. *Jul.* 50).² Several witty and sexually explicit graffiti from Pompeii further reveal a taste for scurrilous attacks in the relaxed and open atmosphere of the early empire. There is in fact ample literary and epigraphic evidence that Romans of all classes could and did compose lascivious verses very like those of the *CP*.

It is this very openness and freedom to transgress that marks the poetry featuring Priapus: the enclosed space of the orchard or garden, at whose center the god stands with his erect phallus, is a place free of the sexual policing that should have come with Priapus' role as *custos horti*. It is an anarchic place where sexual desires can be graphically described and met; where they are not regulated or demonized; where gender roles are juggled, and where erotic attachments may attach as they will. Though claiming the central role as the dominant, normative male, Priapus is anything but: he fails constantly in his custodial role; indeed, he flagrantly violates it. He himself becomes the victim as much as, if not more than, those whom he claims to punish should they violate his Priapic space and steal what belongs in the garden. Contrary also to the claim of the Priapic space being a sacred precinct is the repeated emphasis on bodily fluids and wastes, including excrement, which would normally not be allowed since they were unclean. This reinforces the ludic quality of the *CP* as an anti-sacral playground where all manner of sex and sexual positions can be extolled and indulged in.³

31.2 Roman Priapic Literature Outside the *Carmina Priapea*

As a literary character, Priapus came into his own at Rome in the late republic, when Catullus and the neoterics took an interest in him. Catullus 47.4 derides Piso as a *verpus Priapus*, or a circumcised Priapus. As he does in his Mamurra-Mentula series, Catullus rails against the Priapism, that is, the profligacy, of others. For the Augustans, Priapus assumed his more familiar role as *custos horti*, to whom fruits of the field are offered (Verg. *Ecl.* 7.33–36). For the elegists, Priapus served as a seasoned *magister amoris* (Tib. 1.4). In Ovid, *Fasti* 1.391–440, a lustful Priapus pursues the nymph Lotis and comes upon her when she is asleep; but she is suddenly awakened by the braying of an ass and escapes just in time.

In the post-Augustan period, Persius, Petronius, and Juvenal appropriated the Priapic persona to inveigh against their enemies or to parody epic. The Priapic poems of the *Vergilian Appendix* portray the god as an ineffective guardian of the garden who also fails in promoting sexual potency (a theme also of the *CP*). Martial's many Priapic epigrams, some 14 in all, come closest to the themes, language, and form of the *CP*: the god is a keeper of gardens, though often ineffective; he embodies the salaciousness of epigram and symbolizes penile length. In 3.68 Martial connects the god, in his embodiment of ithyphallic lust, with the license of the Saturnalia, and in 1.35, he makes the claim that, just as husbands with their wives, his sexually charged epigrams cannot please without a *mentula*. To remove the salaciousness, therefore, would be tantamount to “castrating” Martial's book (Hallett 1996, 323). Keeping the Priapic theme going, Martial boasts that his randy verses will make even the most censorious male reader rampantly erect, his penis pressing against his clothes (11.16.5–6), and will make even the most morally upright woman *uda*, or “wet” (11.16.8).

31.3 The Contested Authorship and Date of the *Carmina Priapea*

The *CP* itself is a product of the mid- to late first century CE: its 80 (or 81, depending on whether the textually corrupt *CP* 72 counts as one poem or two) epigrams are composed in hendecasyllables, elegiacs, and scazons, although not the *metrum Priapeum*, consisting of a glyconic followed by a pherecratean, the meter, for example, of Catullus 17. The *CP* is, at 573 lines, the length of a standard (if perhaps somewhat short) *libellus* confined

to a single papyrus roll. It would therefore be roughly comparable in length to an epyllion or a piece such as the *Culex* (414 lines) or else Catullus 1–60 (738 lines).

The authorship and date of the *CP* have been disputed since the Renaissance, and the corpus was long thought to be by the youthful Vergil.⁴ Indeed, the *CP*'s literary sophistication, as noted, for example, by Young (2015a), could be used to argue for single authorship. A persuasive case for a single *Priapeendichter*, or Priapic poet, as argued by Vinzenz Buchheit (1962), is Holzberg (2005), following Kloss (2003). Single authorship is manifest, states Holzberg, first of all in the arrangement of poems according to meter: *CP* 1–14 are in alternating elegiac distichs and hendecasyllables; 15–70 can be broken down into four groups of fourteen, each with seven poems in hendecasyllables, followed by four poems in elegiacs (71–74), three in hendecasyllables (75–77), two in scazons (78–79), and an elegiac “epilogue” (80). “What we have, then, is obviously a carefully structured *liber* made up of five fourteen-poem modules and a coda” (Holzberg 2005, 369). There are, in addition, verbal and thematic links.

To bolster his case for single authorship, Holzberg also draws analogies between the *CP* and an elegiac *liber*: “A familiar situation in elegy – and a setting emblematic of the genre – shows us the *puella* ‘inside’ in her house and the *poeta/amator* ‘outside’ waiting to be let in, declaiming his erotic verses the while. Priapus, for his part, guards over a garden, and so the scene we have to imagine for the patter he delivers to those he leches after consists of an ‘inside’ and an ‘outside’ too” (Holzberg 2005, 371). Priapus, therefore, is to be imagined as an *inclusus amator* rather than the *exclusus amator* of elegy pining before his mistress’s shut door. The god is already “inside,” within the space of his garden. Indeed, this “inside”/“outside,” sometimes embodied as an actual barrier (e.g., *CP* 77), is a common feature of Priapic poetry. Martial appropriates it in *Epigrams* 3.68, where he warns a Roman matron not to venture beyond the “barrier” of the female-oriented part of his book. Beyond it are male-focused themes, including Priapus, described as *custodem ... horto*.

The *CP* follows the progression of an elegiac *liber*, according to Holzberg, in that it goes through the several stages of the “affair”: the original vaunts and enthusiasm, the erotic ups and downs (mostly downs), the disillusionment, and finally the affair’s cessation. Throughout the course of the *CP* Priapus becomes progressively “unmanned,” impotent, ineffective, too old, or repulsed by aggressive/ugly/old intruders. He needs help either in the form of aphrodisiacs (*CP* 46) or else with the aid of well-hung surrogates (*CP* 52) to punish these trespassers. In *CP* 68 Priapus waxes nostalgic for the heroic age, when he could have sexually satisfied Odysseus’ wife, Penelope, had he been manufactured at that time.

Holzberg makes a compelling case for single authorship. One can still argue, however, for a clever redactor who arranged a collection of poems by various hands according to standard epigrammatic meters, and who indeed may have composed some of the poems himself, including the introductory poems *CP* 1–2, and a coda consisting of a single couplet by the Priapic poet beseeching the god to make him erect: *Dum vivis, sperare decet. Tu, rustice custos, / huc ades et nervis, tente Priape, fave* (“Where there’s life, there’s hope. Be present, rustic guardian, and favor, Priapus with your stiffy, my genitals”). In the end, we shall never know definitively whether the *CP* is by a single hand or a collective composition. It was fashionable for poets in the imperial age to pen occasional lewd verses (e.g., Plin. *Ep.* 4.14). It would be less likely for any single man (or woman) of the elite classes to compose a book of short, lewd poems on Priapus for distribution, for to have done so would have made his or her name well known or even notorious. Assuming the corpus is a collective effort, it is not impossible that the names of some of the composers were known in antiquity. R. S. Radford (1921) and R. F. Thomason (1931) adduce Ovidian authorship on the evidence of Seneca, *Controversiae* 1.2.22: *Ovidianum illud “inepta loci”* (“that ‘inepta loci’ of Ovid”; cf. *CP* 3.8: *dum timet alterius vulnus inepta loci*). This could be Ovid or someone writing in the style of Ovid. Were the composer someone of Martial’s social status, the corpus would have opened with an appeal to a patron. That Priapus himself is in fact the corpus’s patron makes it less likely that here was a single Priapic poet looking for support; the book is in fact a parody from start to finish.

Also militating against single authorship is the formulaic nature of several of the poems in the *CP*, for example, those in which Priapus is compared with the major deities (*CP* 9, 10, 20, 36, 39, and 75). The structural similarities of related poems seem to increase the likelihood that this corpus is the work of various hands, composed, say, at a dinner party or other public gathering on a set theme or themes.

Joint competitive authorship of the *CP* by a close-knit group of expert versifiers would help explain the poems’ focus on limited and related themes: the god as seducer, buffoon, or riddler who indulges in (empty) sexual threats, word play, and scatology. The *CP* self-consciously references its status as a book (or non-book), e.g., at *CP* 2.2: *horto carmina digna, non libello* (poems worthy of a garden, not a book) and written lines, e.g., *CP* 5.1–2: *quam puero legem fertur dixisse Priapus, / versibus hic infra scripta duobus erit* (“the law that Priapus is said to have spoken for boys is written in two lines below”). The poems are something inscribed on the walls of the god’s shrine; for example, *CP* 8, which provides a link between reading *impudica*

verba and the act of viewing the lewd figure of Priapus (see also *CP* 54, discussed below). In *CP* 79 reference is made to *poeta noster*. In *CP* 4, a dedicatory poem, the prostitute Lalage offers painted tablets modeled on the books of Elephantis, with a prayer to the erect god to help her imitate these sex manuals.

Whoever he, she, or they were, the Priapic poet (or poets) was an accomplished versifier. The *CP*'s central figure is crudely carved and crudely behaved; the poems of the *CP* make no claim to high art (see *CP* 2.2 above). The poems themselves, however, for all their self-avowed crudeness of workmanship as well as for their obscene and scatological language, are composed with a great deal of sophistication (Young 2015a and b). One elegant example of this is *CP* 63, in scazons, which incorporates several Priapic themes: the god's exposure to the elements; his endless labors; his crude appearance and last place among the gods; and finally his swollen phallus, which draws a woman of gross sexual appetite who arrives with her lover (*cum suo futurore*), but who leaves unsatisfied, even though having exhausted the positions described in the sex manual of Philaenis (cf. *CP* 4). The poem opens with a series of rhetorical questions, marked by the anaphora of *parum* and the careful construction of *parum ... parum ... parem*. This admixture of carefully crafted diction and low theme is especially characteristic of the *CP*. The anaphora is characteristic as well of the *aretologia*, in which a god enumerates his or her sundry excellencies.

Another example of poetic art wedded to low themes is *CP* 3, in which Priapus issues his sexual threat bluntly as *da pedicare*, his Minerva being "crass" (*crassa*). But he is also capable of elegant doublespeak; for example, in the suggestion in *crassa* of both dull-wittedness and a thick male member, with this clever doublespeak redoubling the force of the obscene. In *CP* 67, the god spells out the threat *PEDICARE* by appropriating the opening syllables of well-known mythological figures. Another "spelling" poem is *CP* 54, a single couplet: *CD si scribas temonemque insuper addas, / qui medium vult te scindere, pictus erit* ("if you write CD and add a beam above it, he who wants to slice you in two will be pictured"). The reader is to imagine the letters *CD*, between which rises a vertical line, forming a picture of an erect penis and testicles. Thus does such elegant word play serve a lubricious purpose. The sexual word games, as well as the avowal of lack of skill in composition, are a feature also of Strato's *Musa Puerilis*: in his preface to Strato's book, which comprises Book 12 of the *Greek Anthology*, Cephalas "tells us that Strato used to recite his poems, παίζων, as a kind of intellectual game, delighting more in their turn of phrase than in their meaning. Strato himself tells us that he scribbled them down for this boy-lover and that ..." (Maxwell-Stuart 1972, 215).

31.4 The *Carmina Priapea*'s Sexual Attitudes

Being comic characters, Priapus (or the *Priapus personatus*) and his randy devotees employ obscene or scatological language. The *CP*'s frequent parody of more serious literary genres, principally its prayer parody, evokes such mock epics as Petronius' *Satyricon*. Word play, puns, and sexual double-entendres are common features of Greek and Roman epigram; ridicule of various social or sexual types, such as randy old women, are very much within the mainstream of Roman satiric literature. Several epigrams of the *CP* feature a question-and-answer construction, indicating perhaps a stylistic preference by one or more of the *CP*'s contributors. Words that appear a number of times, such as *laxus* and *ficus/ficosus*, are another idiosyncratic touch.

Despite its extremely vivid and Rabelaisian language, the *CP*'s sexual and social attitudes are fairly conventional if compared to the rest of the literature of the period. They reflect those of Catullus, Horace of the *Satires* and *Epodes*, Martial, and Juvenal. Priapus, or the *Priapus personatus*, despises cunnilinctors, pathic homosexuals, and ugly, old, or physically malformed women. He is aware of the social opprobrium attending various forms of oral sex and masturbation by adult males. Which is not to say that Priapus serves merely in the role of a moralizing or conservative persona; he is far more varied and ambivalent. Priapus loves verbal threats and obscenities. He claims to be a sexually aggressive and brutal sodomizer of thieves (e.g., *CP* 23 and 25), but he also has moments of exhaustion when he doubts his own potency and is merely a surrogate penis (*CP* 26, 56). Priapus sometimes chastises his female devotees for being too aggressive. Yet he openly invites them, men, and boys into his garden. He loathes pompous versifiers and littérateurs. Nonetheless, he presumes to be clever or literary himself. Priapus knows, as an average Roman would, who the gods are and what are their chief attributes. He desires to be included among them, and exposes his distinctive "weapon" in a Cynic disregard for conventional decency.

Although this is not the place for a general anthropological or psychological examination of the *CP*, such apparent polarities of attitude and representation are not uncommon in related sexual material where, for example, the seasoned lover suddenly finds himself impotent (cf. Mart. 11.97), or where the professed virgin is actually a whore (cf. Sen. *Controv.* 1.2.13). Clearly, the *CP* reflects longstanding social and sexual attitudes: Priapus, the ithyphallic deity, the "talking prick," assumes the dominant role of a freeborn Roman male. He is at the same time, however, an ithyphallic dwarf, and therefore a laughable figure. He often makes claims to be real, hence powerful; conversely, his penis is merely a wooden imitation with no real life of its own. Not surprisingly, then, several of the epigrams of the *CP* are decidedly scoptic: just as Priapus mocks others, labeling them as ugly, passive, or

shameless, so is he mocked by others in turn. The *CP* alludes to well-known authors, notably Homer, Vergil of the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*, and Catullus (Hallett 1996, 340), so often that it begs to be regarded and judged as literature in its own right, its aggression removed one step, at least, from real life, rather than as a mere expression of current sexual mores.

31.5 The *Carmina Priapea* as Epigrams

What makes the poems of the *CP* epigrams, specifically? Their brevity (with the exceptions of *CP* 51 and 68, at 28 and 38 lines, respectively); their posture as inscriptions; their subversion of more serious genres, such as epic; and finally their point and elegance. Though not all the poems are spoken through the mouth of Priapus, the Priapic character, or *Priapus personatus*, provides a unifying element. In imitation of funerary epigram, several poems feature a dialogue of sorts between the god and his addressee. Thus a rapport is established between the Priapic speaker and the reader, who is envisioned as a participant in, or observer of, the sexual activity that is going on within the space of the Priapic garden. Several poems are mock-heroic in tone, as in *CP* 25, describing the god's wooden phallus in terms of a kingly *sceptrum* and subtly alluding to the scepter as described in the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid*, and Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* (O'Connor 1989, 122). The entirety of *CP* 68 is, with its obscene and scatological language, a Homeric parody as well as an encomium of the god's prick, or *mentula*.

Several of the epigrams in the *CP* are dedicatory, detailing offerings to the god (see *CP* 4) or serving as offerings themselves (*CP* 2). *CP* 37 describes a painting of the male member dedicated to Priapus by a man who has been cured of his impotence. In a parody of the usual assent by the god, Priapus moves his *mentula* in place of nodding his head. In *CP* 41, instead of being offered poems, Priapus importunes his addressees for jocose verses; whoever does not runs the risk of becoming *inter eruditos ficosissimus poetas* ("most hemorrhoidal among the learned poets"), the superlative adjective *ficosissimus* denoting the "figs," or piles, that will result from violent anal penetration (cf. *CP* 49). The following poem, *CP* 42, is likewise a dedication, this time of wax apples, to Priapus with the prayer that the god may provide real fruit. Also on the dedication of verses theme is *CP* 61, in which Priapus is literally weighed down by the verses dedicated by a *pessimus poeta* (cf. Catullus 14.23: *pessimi poetae*). This may well allude to the versification by a number of poets on a set theme. Catullus 50 provides a similar process of collective composition of poetic *lusus*, being the poem composed by Catullus following a day of back-and-forth versifying with his friend Licinius (Hallett 1996, 336).

31.6 Priapus' *Nachleben* in Later Literature

To trace the history of Priapus as a literary character in medieval, Renaissance, and later literature lies beyond the scope of this chapter. I refer the reader to C. Legman, *The Horn Book* (1964), and F. C. Forberg, *Manual of Classical Erotology* (1884) for a classification and discussion of erotica from the Renaissance onwards. I offer here the following cursory and discursive survey of the wide range of literary figures who encountered Priapus in their reading of the classics.

Geoffrey Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* 253–56 is modeled at least in part on Ovid's *Fasti* 1.415–40:

The god Priapus saw I, as I wente,
Withinne the temple in sovergyn place stonde,
In swich aray as when the ass hym shente
With cri by nyghte, and with scepter in his honde.

In "The Merchant's Tale," verses 2034–35, Priapus is named as the god of gardens, appropriate in a context where the garden becomes a scene of sexual adventure.

Priapus became a symbol of, or associated with, several of the learned academies that sprang up in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These academies' members met not only to exchange learned ideas but to share jokes and risqué stories, all in a conscious revival of classical antiquity. Great interest was shown in the text of the *CP*, rediscovered in the late fourteenth century (see note 1). Indeed, no fewer than eight commentaries on the *CP* appeared between 1475 and 1606.

The Renaissance poet Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503) describes the familiar trappings of Priapus in a brief hendecasyllabic poem from his early erotic collection, *Pruritus*, or "Lust" (1449), included in his *Versus Extravagantes* (ed. Oeschger 1948, 453, poem 9):

Pruriturum feret hic novus libellus
ad rubri luteum dei sacellum,
qui semper puerisque furibusque
minatur, gladioque mentulaque.
at tu, si sapias, cave, libelle.

This new book will bring its prurient theme to the muddy [or mucky] temple of the ruddy god who ever threatens boys and thieves with both his sword and his prick. If you're wise, book, beware.

Pontano was influenced in his description of Priapus not only by the *CP* itself but also by the *Hermaphroditus* of his older contemporary, Antonio Beccadelli, more commonly known as Il Panormita (1394–1471). The *Hermaphroditus*, published in 1425, when Beccadelli was living in Bologna, is a corpus of bawdy but elegant poems modeled on Martial and the *CP*. It consists of two books of 43 and 38 epigrams, respectively, all in the elegiac distich. In the *Hermaphroditus*, anthropomorphized as a being with both a cunt and pecker (1.3), Beccadelli treats several Priapic themes, including bogus warnings to maidens and chaste matrons along with denigration of lustful women, and indulges in scabrous and scatological language. An apposite example of the mock-heroic themes and scatology typical of the *Hermaphroditus* is 1.22 (Coppini 1990), addressed to a certain Quinzio, who in *Herm.* 1.19 is described as a pederast.

Ad non dilectas, Quinti, mentula tenta est,
 si tibi iucunda est, non potes arrigere.
 qui vult posse, suum digitos intrudat in anum;
 sic perhibent Helenae consuevisse Parim.

Your cock hardens, Quinzio, only for rejects, get a girl you like and you can't get it up. Let him who wants to succeed poke a finger in his asshole: the method, they say, Paris favored when he bedded Helen.

Nonetheless, in the tradition of the *CP*, the epigrams of the *Hermaphroditus* are elegant in their revival of classical Latinity. The *Hermaphroditus* was but one of several works modeled on, or inspired by, the *CP*, such as Antonio Vignale's *Cazzaria*, or *Book of the Prick* (1530). In 1541 Niccolò Franco published his *Priapea* in imitation of the ancient collection. Early in this work Franco asserts that he will not resort to euphemisms but will employ vulgar language when necessary.

The *Hermaphroditus* was initially hailed by Beccadelli's fellow humanists, but shortly thereafter it became a cause of public censure for its obscenity and unabashed treatment of sexuality. Its dedicatee, Cosimo de' Medici the Elder, whom Panormita flattered in the opening poem of Book 1, later repudiated the book. Other former admirers, including some of the most eminent humanists of the day, who had initially praised Beccadelli, also fell away following ecclesiastical disapproval. He subsequently lost his position as court poet to the Visconti in Milan, although he would eventually become ambassador to Alfonso V of Aragon, later king of Naples.

To ward off censure, Beccadelli resorted to the classic generic argument used by Catullus and Martial to defend his composition of lascivious

verse, namely, *pagina lasciva vita proba*, that is, “My page may be lascivious, but my life is upright.” This rhetorical device provided a way of distancing the person of the poet from his work, while at the same time leaving him free to compose randy verses. Epigram especially being viewed as one of the “low” literary genres, Martial could argue, again, in 1.35.5, that his poems cannot please without a *mentula*, the “prick” being the salaciousness of the poet’s chosen literary form. Nor would one want to geld Priapus, for that would be “unnatural.” Assuming the inferior social role, Beccadelli, in his dedication to Cosimo, begs his patron’s indulgence. At the same time he offers Cosimo the pleasure of reading this wanton book – a sign not only of open-mindedness but also of literary sophistication. Being the refined reader, therefore, Cosimo knows that the *Hermaphroditus*, being the kind of book it is, cannot please without being titillating.

Jonathan Swift’s anti-sectarian satires may have been inspired by two contemporary works, *Priapus periclitans* (1690), an anti-papal tract, and *Priapeia presbyteriana*, or the *Presbyterian Peezle* (1720). In Swift’s *Tale of a Tub*, first published in the 1690s, the character Jack, who embodies “Protestant dissension,” develops several anti-social habits, one of which is the very Priapic practice of exposing himself and urinating on passers-by.

Swift’s contemporary, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, knew the titillating value of Priapus for the court wits around Charles II of England. Worthy of note is Wilmot’s poem titled “Signior Dildo” (1673), named for a well-endowed “Italian gentleman” (actually nothing more than an anthropomorphized prick), who is fought over and exchanged by the ladies. Worthy of note for their phallic imagery and portraiture of sexually aggressive women of the kind seen in the *CP* are verses 33–40:

Our dainty fine duchesses have got a trick
To dote on a fool for the sake of his prick:
The fops were undone, did Their Graces but know
The discretion and vigor of Signior Dildo.
That pattern of virtue, Her grace of Cleveland,
Has swallowed more pricks than the ocean has sand;
But by rubbing and scrubbing so large it does grow,
It is fit for just nothing but Signior Dildo.

The excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum especially led to a rekindled interest in Priapus and Priapic worship by scholars and dilettantes. Among the assiduous collectors of classical remains was the amateur archeologist Richard Payne Knight (1750–1824), who devoted part of his large fortune to collecting ancient bronzes and coins during his travels through Europe,

which he bequeathed to the British Museum. In his first book, *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus* (1786), Knight sought to recover the importance of ancient phallic cults. His book was lavishly illustrated by plates depicting the various phallic objects he had collected, whose purpose was to show that the cult of Priapus was a manifestation of an international impulse to worship “the generative principle” through a profusion of genital imagery. Knight also adduced evidence to show that this was an impulse which persisted into modernity. While Knight’s purpose was scholarly, the negative response to his frank discourse resembled the backlash against Beccadelli’s *Hermaphroditus*. The storm of protest by the higher classes forced Knight to suppress all copies of the book. The animus against Knight was occasioned as well by his being one of a group of independent scholars who questioned the authority of Christianity and Knight’s own advocacy of an esoteric pagan philosophy over religious orthodoxy.

The cult of Priapus in all its ramifications proved to be a durable literary staple into the twentieth century. He appears in the American poet Conrad Aiken’s “Priapus and the Pool” (1925) as the typical rustic god, “with fir-cones in his hair,” but also more generally as an image of humankind, the symbol of sexuality. But it is this sexual drive that leaves human beings longing and disconsolate. There dwells, however, in Aiken’s poem the very Priapic element of sexual aggression reminiscent of that passage from Ovid’s *Fasti* noted above, that is, as a pursuer of nubile maidens.

... Must we always, like Priapus in a wood,
In the underbrush of our perplexities,
Pursue our maidens – pursuer and pursued?
(verses 31–33)

Hilda Doolittle (H.D.) published her poem “Priapus: Keeper-of-Orchards” in the January 1913 issue of *Poetry* magazine, helping to inaugurate the Imagist movement in American poetry. There the god is apostrophized as “O rough hewn / god of the orchard.” The poem is a classic *anathematikon* in which the speaker brings as offerings to the god hazel-nuts, “grapes, red-purple, / Their berries / Dripping with wine,” pomegranates, figs, and quinces. H.D. may have been led to classical poetry on Priapus, possibly from the *Greek Anthology*, by her early mentor, Ezra Pound (Guest 1984, 40). Michael Gilleland (2012) adduces as possible models for H.P. epigrams 6.22 (anonymous) and 6.102 (Philippus) of the *Anthology*, both dedicatory pieces. Their lushly described gifts to the god, including hazel-nuts, red-purple grapes, and pomegranates, are reflected in H.D.’s own evocative verses.

31.7 Conclusion

Many of the epigrams of the *CP* begin from one of the main principles of Roman religion, namely, the formula *do ut des*, or bargaining with the deity. This occurs in a number of dedicatory poems, where, if the addressee gives (or takes) something, Priapus will give something in return, that being sexual gratification or sexual punishment (often construed as the same thing). The poems themselves are reflective of actual *ex votos* placed at the god's shrine. Indeed, the *CP* is largely a series of bogus prayers. Such prevalence of prayer parody would indicate some fertility or other role of the Lampsacenan god at Rome. The Priapea mirror, although in a distorted and comical way, actual religious ceremonies. This could be evidence of a corruption of Priapic worship. However, abuse of a god was a long-established literary *topos*, as seen in Greek and, to a lesser extent, Roman comedy. Along the lines of lampoons and graffiti, the epigrams of the *CP* revel in debasement both of the god Priapus and his adherents. They elicit loud laughter by exposing what should be kept hidden, most notably the sexual organs. But they are a vehicle not merely of ridicule. These scurrilous verses "level" all social classes in an atmosphere of revelry and license, such as at triumphs and on the occasion of the Saturnalia.

An anthropological survey of this widespread phenomenon is not the concern here, however. It is enough for the purposes of this chapter to point out how the *CP* and other Priapic poetry appropriate several genres and motifs relating specifically to ritual and prayer. They beg to be judged not merely as literary pieces, but also as witty, imitative exercises that call to mind several salient features of Roman ritual and serious or light forms of verbal communication, whether in prose or verse.

NOTES

1. The text of the *CP* has been handed down in a number of manuscripts, the oldest being the *Codex Laurentianus*, which was copied in the late fourteenth century by Boccaccio. The history of the *CP*'s dissemination has been thoroughly discussed by R. Clairmont (1983).
2. See the insightful discussion of these verses by Hahn (2015, 162–66), especially the broader meaning of *sumo mutuum*. Hahn interprets this lampoon thus (164): "Romans, look after your wives: we escort the bald adulterer. In Gaul he fucked away gold on women, but here he took wives on loan without interest."
3. Young (2015b) describes how the reading of the poems of the *CP* runs counter to Priapus' code of masculinity through their rhythms and sounds, turning the putative Priapic threat into a pleasurable experience.
4. One manuscript containing the *CP* titles it *Diversorum auctorum priapeia*. Buchheit (1962, 15) notes that this is a correction of an earlier title, still partly visible, VIRGILI ... MAR. Suetonian and other catalogs list the *Priapea* among Vergil's early works.

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FURTHER READING

Hooper (1999) provides a lively and readable introduction to the *Priapea*. O'Connor (2001) describes the afterlife of the *CP* in the Italian Renaissance and the often hotly debated place of erotic pagan literature within a climate of Christian orthodoxy.

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

Pseudo-Senecan Epigrams

Alfred Breitenbach

32.1 Transmission and Manuscripts

32.1.1 *The Anthologia Salmasiana and Death in Corsica*

At the end of antiquity, in Vandal Africa, an anonymous collector compiled a florilegium of poetic texts, some of which were contemporaneous, others from classical authors. The unknown late antique collector apparently arranged the texts into 24 books or chapters. The collection is preserved in a manuscript that is now kept in the National Library of Paris (Paris. lat. 10318) and usually named *Codex Salmasianus* after its former owner Claude de Saumaise, in Latin *Claudius Salmasius*, and the poetic florilegium that it contains is accordingly called *Anthologia Salmasiana* (see further Wasyl in this volume).

The original chapter numbers are written in the margin of the manuscript columns, and when we reach number XXI, we read as the first heading *Seneca* (= *Senecae*) *De qualitate temporis* (“Of Seneca, On the character of time”), and then an epigram of eight verses (in elegiac couplets), which describes how time destroys everything and foretells that even the sky at some time in future will burn and perish. The poem closes, after this philosophical description that culminated in the Stoic idea of *ekpyrosis*, with the following distichon (1.7–8),

Omnia mors poscit; lex est, non poena, perire;
hic aliquo mundus tempore nullus erit.

Death claims everything. To perish is a law, not a punishment. The whole world will, at some time in future, not exist any more.¹

Philosophical consideration has here been used, it seems, to console someone for a recent death by recalling the natural law of decline and destruction.

After three poems of different length from other authors we read again a heading *Senecae De Corsica* ("Seneca's 'On Corsica'") followed by 16 verses that have reasonably been divided by modern editors into two epigrams each consisting of eight verses.

The first epigram begins (2.1–6)

Corsica, Phocaico tellus habitata colono,
 Corsica, quae Graio nomine Cynos eras,
 Corsica, Sardinia brevior, porrectior Ilva,
 Corsica, piscosis pervia fluminibus,
 Corsica, terribilis, cum primum incanduit aestas, 5
 saevior, ostendit cum ferus ora canis ...

O Corsica, land once inhabited by the colonist of Phocis, Corsica, who once bore the Greek name Cynos, Corsica, shorter than Sardinia and longer than Elba, Corsica, that offers passage for rivers rich in fish, Corsica, terrible when summer alights, even more enraged when the wild dog star shows his face ...

This kind of hymn or prayer (note the *apostrophe* to the invoked island) leads to the final appeal (2.7–8):

parce relegatis, hoc est iam parce sepultis:
 vivorum cineri sit tua terra levis.

... spare the banished, that is spare those who are already buried: may your earth be light for the ashes of the living.

With the words *sit tua terra levis*, a variation of the common ending of funeral epigrams, this poem becomes an obituary or *epitaphion*, not for a physically dead person, but for someone who has gone into exile to Corsica and compares his relegation to (a social) death.

The words express a hope that there may be a life not so bad on the island (*sit tua terra levis*). When uttering the following verses the speaker seems to have been on the island for almost one year; the second poem on Corsica starts desperately (3.1–2):

Barbara praeruptis inclusa est Corsica saxis,
 horrida, desertis undique vasta locis.

Barbaric Corsica is encircled with precipitous cliffs, horrible, a wasteland with desert on all sides.

Then the four seasons are listed, each with one of its characteristic products that is non-existent on Corsica: autumn offers no apple, summer no corn, winter has no oil, and in spring, nothing sprouts (3.3–5). In short, nothing at all thrives on this island (3.6). Consequently, the epigram closes (3.7–8),

Non panis, non haustus aquae, non ultimus ignis;
hic sola haec duo sunt: exul et exilium.

On Corsica, there is no bread, not a mouthful of water, not even wood for the final cremation: exiled and exile, that's all the two things you can find here.

Again we have an allusion to death through the pyre (*ultimus ignis*), which now has the connotation of an actual death envisaged by the speaker in view of the despairingly barren land.

Apart from the motif of exile as a kind of death, we have to point to two authors, who shine through these verses: Seneca, of course, but also Ovid, the poet of exile *par excellence*.

Firstly Ovid, while on the passage to his exile at the Pontus, beseeches the deities of sea and heaven to grant him safe arrival (cf. *Ov. Tr.* 1.2.1–2) – and upon his arrival he unceasingly complains about the freezing climate and about the barbarian inhabitants. It has been observed that the description of Tomis in Ovid's exile poetry sometimes depicts the exact opposite of the Golden Age described by himself in the first book of the *Metamorphoses*. And this passage, on Iuppiter's introduction of the seasons after Everlasting Spring, is invoked in our epigrams on Corsica: There are clear parallels in the wording,² and we recognize the tendency to outstrip the Ovidian model: not only does one no longer have the Everlasting Spring of the Golden Age; not even the seasons of the Iron Age of Man introduced by Iuppiter fulfill their duty (see above).

Parallels to Seneca, on the other hand, are of course obvious, not only because we do not know of any other exile on Corsica apart from Seneca: he also wrote a *consolatio* to his mother in order to console her for his relegation (cf. 1.7, *lex est, non poena, perire*), and the descriptions of history and geography have clear parallels in this *consolatio* (cf. *Sen. Helv.* 7.8). But there is, of course, a very important difference: in the epigrams, it seems, it is the exiled himself who has to be consoled for his banishment, not a relative.

And although Seneca writes to his mother (*Sen. Helv.* 6.5)

Quid tam nudum inveniri potest, quod tam abruptum undique quam hoc saxum? ... Quid ad ipsum loci situm horridius?

What can be found so barren, what so precipitous on every side as this rock? ... If the very topography of the place (is viewed), what is more rugged? (trans. J. W. Basore, Loeb)

he continues by saying that in spite of this poor geography the island is populated by people who came there voluntarily, as it is in the nature of mankind to migrate, and so he, Seneca, is not alone, isolated, or dead: in this respect, the epigram is the opposite of the *consolatio* to his mother.

After these 16 verses about the exile on Corsica in the Salmasian manuscript we do not read anything more that could easily be connected with Seneca. But the three poems which bear his name in their headings are preserved in other manuscripts, descendants of *Codex Salmasianus* (Paris. lat. 8071, Vindob. 9401*).

32.1.2 *The Anthologia Vossiana and a Liber Epigrammaton*

Yet there is another manuscript that transmits the verses on Corsica. This one, a Leiden Codex (Vossianus Q. 86, after its former owner Isaac Vossius), has the verses under the heading *De Corsica* ("About Corsica"), but does not name their author.

After these verses, there follows a not small number of epigrams, which obviously belong together. They have common themes, e.g., the *vita* and exile of Seneca; a banished person laments his fate and addresses an unnamed enemy and also a friend, Crispus, speaks on friendship and its dangers, and in between these epigrams there are poems on Cato, on Pompey and his sons, on Athens and its ruins, about the eternity of poetry, and an elegy on *Spes* ("Hope;" 6–20). Thereafter we read a cyclis of epigrams that highlight the capture of Britain by Claudius (21–21f). Lastly, the depression of the speaker has vanished and we meet a lover of different kinds of women talking about his loves and his love poetry, praising country life and condemning luxury. But we also have poems that connect these themes with the *vita* of Seneca, with his brothers and his nephew Lucan; we learn that Crispus has died, we have more poems treating Cato and Pompey, the ruins of Greece, and death in civil war (22–54). All these poems are in elegiacs, with the exception of three in *hendecasyllabi*.

Thereafter follow, in the *Codex Vossianus*, poems in hexameters and elegiacs, which, partly because of their content, partly in light of other *testimonia*, seem to be *carmina* from the lost sections of Petronius' *Satyrica* and must therefore be separated from the epigrams in the ambit of Seneca; after this come excerpts from Martial.

The poems which are in some way related to "Seneca" and the excerpts from Petronius seem to be an anthology, or compilation, with an independent tradition, and are therefore referred to as *Anthologia Vossiana* from the *Codex*

Vossianus that transmits them. Only parts of it, namely two poems, were integrated in the famous *Anthologia Salmasiana*. One can only speculate as to why the poem “De qualitate temporis,” which certainly has to be taken as part of the “Senecan” epigrams, is missing in the *Anthologia Vossiana*. Perhaps it was the opening epigram of the group of Senecan poems and as such may have been lost already in the model of Cod. Vossianus Q. 86.

Poem 1 (“De qualitate temporis”) would indeed be a good beginning for our group of epigrams – destruction and death being central themes of these texts. Other connecting topics and themes are, as has been mentioned, exile, an enemy, etc. (“first” or “exile part,” 1–20a). After the praise of the conquest of Britain (21–21f) the general atmosphere in the personally spoken poems shifts from desperation to love, sexual desire, modest country life, and so on (“second” or “*vita quieta* part,” 22–54), while connections to the first part underline that all these poems constitute a composition, as do the historical epigrams which recall and continue themes from the first part.

All of this points to an epigram book in which Seneca is the central figure. We have to remember that already in the two epigrams about Corsica we observed a kind of temporal progression (journey to the exile, being in exile), and the other texts too seem to show the progression from the time of exile (1–20a) to a time when exile is over (22–54).

32.2 Themes in the “Senecan” Epigrams

32.2.1 *Seneca: His Birthplace, His Family and His Career, His Friend(s)*

Apart from the philosophical idea of destruction and *ekpyrosis* (1) and the island of exile (2–3), we find other aspects of Seneca’s life represented.

In one text (12), his birthplace, Corduba, is addressed: the city should be in mourning, in view of the ashes of the speaker; she should deplore her *vates*, as there was never in the history of the city such an horrific moment – not in the civil wars, not when in one night 300 inhabitants died (an earthquake?), not when a local hero and freedom fighter, Viriatus, fought against Rome. Now the famous child of Corduba is tethered to cliffs. One cold comfort there is: the city is far away from Rome, so she last of all has received knowledge about this tragedy.

There is nothing to say about the hyperbolic proposition of this poem which recalls the complaints about Corsica: in both cases we are wanting for the *ataraxia* which would be appropriate for the Stoic philosopher.

We have already seen in the epigrams on Corsica that the author makes use of Ovidian elegies. A sort of model for the epigram about Corsica is Ovid’s *epicedion* for Tibullus (*Am.* 3.9). The first distichon of the Senecan poem (12.1–2),

Corduba, solve comas et tristes indue vultus,
inlacrimans cineri munera mitte meo

Corduba, loose your hair and clothe your face with sorrow. With tears in your eyes send offerings for my ashes,

hearkens back to the third verse of the Ovidian elegy (*Am.* 3.9.3: *flebilis indignos, Elegia, solve capillos*), and the next-to-last distichon of “Seneca” (12.13–14),

Ille tuus quondam magnus, tua gloria, civis
infigor scopulo!

I, your once famous citizen, your fame, am tethered to a rock!

clearly recalls the third distichon of the Tibullus-poem (*Ov. Am.* 3.9.5–6):

Ille tui vates operis, tua fama, Tibullus
ardet in extructo corpus inane rogo.

He, that singer of thy strain, that glory of thine, Tibullus, lies burning on the high-reared pyre. (trans. G. Showerman, Loeb)

And again we remark a tendency to outdo Ovid: whereas, Ovid declares, Venus was “not less” aggrieved about the death of Tibullus than about the death of her beloved Adonis (*Am.* 3.9.15–16), Seneca assures that Corduba in her bloody history was never so doleful as now (12.4).

In the second part of the epigram book, the theme of quiet and happy country life is introduced with the speaker’s declaration (28.1–2) that he owns a small estate with small but entirely legal earnings, which provides great ease for him. He continues with a *recusatio* of political or military careers and concludes (28.7–8) that he wants to be part of the ordinary people, without any office, and to be master of his own time.

This second part of the Senecan epigrams gives the impression that it was written after the release from exile, and the social career that Seneca has made as royal tutor does not, of course, fit with these praises of simple life; neither do two epigrams against luxury, that nevertheless match the general tendency of Seneca to criticize luxury (36, 37).

The theme of the delights of country life is connected, in two texts, with the family of Seneca. In one case, after ten *adynata* that must happen before the speaker abandons his life in the countryside (33), he exclaims (34),

Sic mihi sit frater maiorque minorque superstes
 et de me doleant nil nisi morte mea;
 sic illos vincam, sic vincar rursus amando,
 mutuus inter nos sic bene certet amor;
 sic dulci Marcus qui nunc sermone fritinnit, 5
 facundo patruos provocet ore duos.

Thus let my older and younger brothers survive me, and mourn not over me unless at my death; thus I will conquer them and thus again be conquered in love; thus let mutual love be the substance of our dispute; thus let Marcus, who now chirps with sweet speech, challenge his two uncles with his eloquent tongue.³

The philosopher Seneca had two brothers: one who was older, L. Annaeus Novatus (later, via adoption, called Gallio), and a younger one, L. Annaeus Mela (verse 1); they both survived Seneca (verse 2), albeit shortly afterwards were put to death by Nero as well; Mela was father of Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (the poet Lucan, verse 5), who early in his life showed talent for speech and poetry. Only two of the brothers started their career through oratory and politics, Novatus and Seneca (verse 6), while Mela preferred a life in quiet and “scorned” public offices (cf. Sen. *Helv.* 18.2–6).

Another epigram (54)⁴ combines *recusatio* of a public career and praise of simple country life with the idea that “both brothers” shall collect the bones of the speaker after his death, that is (again), that it is expected that they will survive him.

Friendship is a theme in the section concerning exile and also in the part concerning relaxed life. One friend, Crispus, is highlighted in two poems: in the first (9) he is called the one and only lifeline for the banished speaker, in the second (38), he has just died. Probably it is C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus whom the speaker addresses (we do not know about a friendship between the real Seneca and this Crispus, but he mentions him with admiration (Sen. *QNat.* 4a, praef. 6)).

The structure of the poem recalls the first Corsica poem: again we find an *anaphora* of the addressee, and the tenor is fatal desperation (9.1–4, 7–8, and 11–12):

Crispe, meae vires lassarumque anchora rerum,
 Crispe, vel antiquo conspiciende foro,
 Crispe, potens numquam, nisi cum prodesse volebas,
 naufragio litus tutaque terra meo, [...]

 Crispe, fides dulcis placideque acerrima virtus, 7
 cuius Cecropio pectora melle madent, [...]

 abruptis iaceo saxis telluris adhaerens, 11
 mens tecum est, nulla quae cohibetur humo.

Crispus, my power and anchor in exasperating times, Crispus, who would have to be admired even in the forum of old, Crispus, never aggressive unless you want to be of service, you, the shore and safe land to my shipwreck [...] Crispus, you keep sweet loyalty and have virtue, that is gentle, but can also be violent, you, whose breast drips of honey from the land of Cecrops. [...] while I lie prostrate clinging to the broken rocks of this land, my mind is with you, which is not imprisoned by any soil.

Here we have an interesting phenomenon, as one verse, *cuius Cecropio pectora melle madent* (verse 8), is found with only a slight alteration in an epigram of Martial (7.69), in which he says about the bride of Canius Rufus that her “breast drips from the dowry that comes from the city of Cecrops” (verse 2, *cuius Cecropia pectora dote madent*). Which one was first?

About Theophila – the (Greek) name of Canius’ bride (verse 1) – Martial says not only that she is worthy of the dowry of Athens (i.e., eloquence), but also that the “Attic Garden” (i.e., the school of Epicurus, verse 3) and the Stoic crowd (verse 4) wish that she belonged to each of them; that a Greek girl with the name Pantaenis should admire her (verse 7; we do not know anything about this girl, not even whether she is a real character at all), although she herself is known by the Muses (verse 8, *chorus Pierius*), and that even Sappho would look up to her. We have a context that is completely Greek, and the *Cecropia dos* fits very well therein.

In the Crispus poem, on the contrary, there is nothing which points to Greece: the “*forum* of old times” (which was not very fond of Greeks) points to a Roman context, and so the verse about the *Cecropium mel* seems to be a foreign and borrowed element. This, then, together with the contradictions to Seneca’s *Dialogues* already observed, points to a date later than Martial.

Friendship is also the theme of a pair of epigrams, which reflect the fall of our speaker and the reason for his exile. In the first of these epigrams (11), the speaker refers to the suggestion that one should look for friends only among the socially equal and avoid friendship with the mighty (*reges*) – a recapitulation of Ovid from *Tr.* 3.4a (cf. esp. verse 4 and 44 with verse 11 of the Senecan poem). In the next text (11a) we hear the speaker’s advice to avoid friendship. This advice – which does not reflect Seneca’s attitude towards friendship, e.g., in his *Letters to Lucilius* – also contradicts his address to Crispus and his later hymn on three friends (23).

32.2.2 *An Enemy, Death, and Exile*

Enmity is another central issue of the epigrams of the first part. The first of the poems against an enemy follows immediately after the Corsica poems and reads:

Occisum iugulum quisquis scrutare, inimice,
tu miserum necdum me satis esse putas?
Desere confossum! Victori vulnus iniquo
mortiferum impressit mortua saepe manus.

Enemy, whoever you are, who probes my cut throat, don't you think I am wretched enough? Go away from me, the transfixed one. A dead hand has often inflicted a fatal wound to an immoderate victor.

These verses are in contradiction with what Seneca says when comforting his mother about his exile (*Helv.* 4.1–2):

Vincam autem (sc. dolorem tuum), puto, primum si ostendero nihil me pati propter quod ipse dici possim miser, nedum propter quod miseros etiam quos contingo faciam.

And too I shall conquer it (sc. your grief), I think, if, in the first place, I show that there is nothing in my condition that could cause anyone to call me wretched, still less cause those also to whom I am related [lit. "whom I touch," A.B.] to be wretched on my account. (trans. J. W. Basore, Loeb)

The differences are obvious.

The "dialogue" with the enemy – we only hear one side – develops in a sequence of poems: in the next one in this series (13) "Seneca" threatens to reveal the name of the enemy that tortures his own ashes, which reminds us of Ovid's deliberation, especially that naming his enemy in his poems would grant him eternity (cf. *Tr.* 3.11.1–2 and 31–32).

Continuing his theme, the speaker declares in the next poem against his adversary (15, 15a) that this stinker would even write poems (*carmina*) against the man in exile, and not only against him, but against everyone. The detested enemy, so says "Seneca," thinks these are jokes with which one regales his friends at a dinner party (15a.3: *per iocum dicis vinumque*) – but they are definitely malignant jokes, because they cause great harm.

In his work *De ira* Seneca reflects on how to handle malignant jokes and speeches against oneself and recommends that one ought not to take any notice of them. He gives the advice that one should react to these attacks

with lightheartedness and good cheer and calms himself after an insult by considering that it was uttered over a glass (or more) of wine (*Dial.* 5.11.1–2, 37.1; cf. *Dial.* 2.8.2, 12.3; *Dial.* 7.18.2, 27.1–3; Breitenbach 2009a, 15).

In the last poem in this series (19), the enemy is finally called by the name *Maximus* – yet we do not know if this is his “real” name, because the antithesis “great – small” is omnipresent, especially in the exile part of the epigrams, and thus *Maximus* could be a nickname for the man who thinks to have caused “great” trouble (lines 5–6). “Seneca” declares hatred to be the center of his life (verse 8: *odi nec mentem res magis ulla iuvat*, “I hate, and nothing pleases my mind more”): later the center of his life will be love (29.3–4).

32.2.3 Love and Love Poetry

In the second part (22–54) of the Senecan epigrams, love and sexuality are the central themes. In two poems (24, 26) the speaker talks about his program: he wants to “return to trifles and stolen wantonness”⁵ (24.1, *iam libet ad lusus lascivaque furta reverti*) and says goodbye to the serious Muse (24.2, *Musa severa, vale!*). A *puella* called Arethusa is the object which he uses to describe the contents of his poetry: her hair, how she knocks on his door by night, how skillfully she moves in the dark, how she wraps her arms around his neck, how she reclines, how she moves as depicted in erotic handbooks, how they have a fling in bed (24.3–10). Others can write epic poems: he will be content with his small dinghy, which keeps him near the shore (24.11–14, 26).

One wonders why the speaker shall *return* to love or love poetry (see below). It is also remarkable that the poem that announces the new theme “love” (starting with 22) does not introduce the second part of the epigrams, but is the third in this second part of the Senecan epigrams. Perhaps we have a reference to the *third* epigram of Martial’s eighth *liber epigrammaton* (cf. 8.3.2: *quid adhuc ludere, Musa, iuvat* with 24.2, 14: *ludere, Musa, iuvat: Musa severa, vale!*); otherwise we would expect to read the announcement of the new theme at the beginning of the second part.

There, immediately after the *Laus Caesaris* (21–21f) that separates the two parts, we read an epigram (22) that must have been highly erotic – most of the verses have been erased by a modest reader. The addressed girl is called “my light” (*mea lux*), and the speaker is longing for an everlasting night of love – what he wishes to happen on this night has been deleted. Already in this poem, it seems, there is a hint that the girl is not to be had easily (cf. verse 5, *saepe negas ... saepe recusas*, “you often say ‘no’ ... you often refuse”).

This girl we meet again at the end of the second part, in a series of three epigrams (48–50). In the first one (48) the girl is called Basilissa, and the speaker criticizes her because she attaches great importance to her appearance, her hair and make-up. The poem resembles in its first part an epigram of the Epicurean philosopher and poet Philodemus of Gadara (*AP* 11.34) who also dislikes elaborate carousals and prefers simple pleasure.

Then (49) Basilissa seems to want a “lead time” of several days before she can meet with her lover while the speaker prefers extemporaneity – a theme also treated by Philodemus in a poem now lost, but referred to by Horace (*Sat.* 1.2.119–22).

Finally (50), the speaker laments again about the tricks of his girl – now she is, in the last love poem, “my sunshine” (*mea lux*) again. And he becomes very concrete: the long time of waiting is very displeasing for a man because of his “tumescence” (*tentigo*), and he reminds the girl that there is “nothing better than to fuck” (50.7, *nil est ... melius fututione*).

But the speaker was not idle while waiting for Basilissa: between the poems to this girl we read about Arethusa (24, see above), a cute boy (25), a prostitute (32), a girl who betrayed the speaker with her brother (39), an affair with a married woman called Galla (42), an amour with Delia (43, 44), and a liaison with Cosconia (45).

Seneca went into exile because he had – it was said – an affair with a girl from the imperial family. If the second part of the epigrams is meant to show us Seneca after his return from exile, we understand why he declares that he “returns” to love (poetry) – the epigrams show, in the second part, Seneca as a fornicator who cannot desist from royal girls – Basilissa being in this respect a telling name.

32.2.4 *Historical Epigrams*

Among all the aforementioned epigrams we read texts that are ecphrastic and mostly concern historical themes.

But firstly another circle is to be pointed out: in the first epigram (1) – probably the introductory poem – the theme is destruction of everything. At the end of the first part, which deals with exile, destruction, and death, we read about the opposite, about the eternity of poems and poets (20, 20a): whereas the expensive buildings and tombs at the via Appia and the pyramids and the Mausoleum of Cleopatra will once be destroyed, only poems await no death. Not only do these two poems close the first part of the Senecan epigrams, but the Mausoleum of Cleopatra, “where she brings her peregrine husband” (20.6, *intulit externum quo Cleopatra virum*) points to the end of the whole epigram book, where we are – again in two epigrams – confronted with a

situation in the civil war between Antonius and Cleopatra on one side and Octavian on the other (52, 52a).

But our epigram book turns to the second civil war only at the end; before that, we read about the heroes from the first civil war, and especially about their death: Cato's suicide (7, 7a, 7b; comparison with Iuppiter: 27); Pompeius, his sons and their tombs (8, 8a, 8b; 46, 46a, 46b; also 16, 17, 17a; comparison with Alexander the Great: 31). Other topics are Xerxes, who invades Greece (5, 35, 51), the ruins of Athens and Mycene (11) and of the whole of Greece (40); and in an elegy about hope we read *exempla* from history and from mythology (18).

In the second part – in which Seneca and his brothers play a greater role – we also learn about a pair of brethren (*Cascae*) who participated in the assassination of Caesar; they were both on the side of the murderers, and ironically the author tells us in the last elegiac that they, had they been on different sides, would have been better subject matter in literature (47.7–8). Consequently we read, at the end of our book in two long poems (36 and 20 verses), about two brothers (*Maevii*) who fought on different sides in the second civil war (52, 52a): one of them, while collecting *spolia* after a battle, recognizes the corpse of his brother and then kills himself – the subject of the last historical epigram (52, 52a) being the same as in the very first one (7–7b): suicide in civil war.

The two parts (exile, love/*vita quieta*) of the epigrams are separated through a *Laus Caesaris* (21–21f), a cycle of epigrams that praise the conquest of Britain by Claudius (for “second voices” in this praise, cf. Breitenbach 2009b).

32.3 Literary Techniques and Aspects of Composition

We have already seen some elements of the composition of the epigram book on Seneca in the preceding sections: e.g., an introductory poem (1) that is picked up at the end of the exile part (20, 20a) which points to the end of the whole book (52, 52a). And of course, in general the division into two parts with different themes, exile on the one side (1–20a) and love and quiet life on the other (22–52a), invites a linear reading of the texts. While all this already indicates a structured *liber epigrammaton*, there are other elements that reveal in a more subtle way the hand of an arranging author.

Let us have a look at the historical epigrams and their themes (on the left-hand side the exile part, on the right-hand side the love part; cf. Breitenbach 2010, 59–61):

7–7b: suicide in civil war	27: “No tomb” is not “no fame” (Zeus compared)
8–8b: death of Pompeius + sons	31: Heroes without tombs (Pompeius + Alexander)
14: decline of Greece (Athens + Mycene)	40: decline of Greece
16: Heroes without tombs (Pompeius + Cato)	46–46b: death of Pompeius + sons
17–17a: “Large tomb” is not “fame” (Licinus compared)	52–52a: suicide in civil war

We see “chiastic” arrangement of the historic themes, obviously the work of the author and composer of an epigram book.

A concatenation of epigrams through special signal words can also be an indicator for a deliberate structure and sequence of epigrams; we find this technique throughout in the “Senecan epigrams” (e.g., 24.7 *collo* – 25.5 *column*; 25.1 *dignos* – 26.2 *digna*; 26.10 *parva* – 27.2 *magni* – 28.2 *magna* etc.).

A more sophisticated literary technique may be shown by the sequence of some epigrams: starting his new theme “love,” in 22, the speaker longs for an everlasting night (22.3–4):

Solis ad occasus, solis sic ... ad ortus
Hesperus hoc videat, Lucifer hoc videat.

From sunset to sunrise ... Let Hesperus see this, let Lucifer see this.

These words recall Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, in particular the situation, when Proserpina was abducted by Pluto and searched for by her mother (Ov. *Met.* 5.440–41, 444–45):

illam [sc. Proserpinam] non udis veniens Aurora capillis
cessantem vidit, non Hesperus ...
natam
solis ab occasu solis quaerebat ad ortus.

Not Aurora, rising with dewy tresses, not Hesperus sees her pausing in the search [...] she was still seeking her daughter from the setting to the rising of the sun. (trans. F. J. Miller/G. P. Goold, Loeb.)

The allusion to the underworld in this scene is continued in the following epigram (23), where a group of friends is compared to the monster Geryoneus, whose three heads recall, of course, the dog of the underworld – Ovid himself makes a connection between the two in *Her.* 9.91–94.

Then, in 24, the speaker displays his new poetic program, and his exemplary *puella* is Arethusa – Arethusa being also the name of the water nymph who revealed the story of Proserpina to her mother Ceres in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (5.504–5), and with this background one better understands some of the epigram’s unusual words (e.g., that Arethusa “effuses” her arms around the neck of her lover, 24.7 *diffusa*, strange for a normal girl, not inappropriate for an aquatic nymph).

Another example of such a connection of epigrams commonly alluding to a single text is contained in 14 and 15, where the Athenian story of Mercurius, Aglaurus, Herse, and Invidia is recalled (Ov. *Met.* 2.730–832, cf. Breitenbach 2009a, 155–56, 164–65).

Consequently, all of this suggests that we have in the “Senecan” epigrams the work of a sole author, who has written and composed a “standard” epigram book both in regard to the average length of the individual epigrams and to the total number of epigrams, and hence also to the length of the book as a whole.⁶ The longer epigrams appear in the middle and at the end of the book, as is common in Martial (Canobbio 2008). What is maybe unusual for an epigram book is the domination of the elegiac distich – only three poems are written in *hendecasyllabi* (37, 38, 50).

32.4 Date, Author, and Possible Purpose of the Book

32.4.1 Language and Style

As for the versification, there are no special characteristics (cf. Dingel 2007, 35–44), but we have to point to some prosodic peculiarities not found earlier than Lucan’s (*Catō*) and especially Silius Italicus’ (*Carthago*) epic poems.

On the other side, there is a not insignificant number of words or *iuncturae*, for which we have, apart from these epigrams, the first examples in Martial or in later imperial literature.⁷

We also find a number of acrosticha (7a: *IDAEOS*; 15: *CENA*; 19: *ATER* (telestichon); 21 + 21a: *AIO QVI FLEO*). In the literature of republican Rome and of the first century CE acrosticha are a rare phenomenon; in the third and fourth centuries (Commodianus, Optatianus Porfyrius) they become more common. If at least some of the acrosticha in the “Senecan” epigrams are intentional, this points to a period after the first and perhaps before the third century CE.

All this taken together, these epigrams reflect the meter, language, and style of the second century CE, and we have to recognize our *liber*

epigrammaton (which, considering the deliberate overall structure, seems to be at least nearly complete) as the work of a sole author who wrote, at any rate, after Martial.

32.4.2 Seneca “*Personatus*”

As the epigrams are influenced by the language of the end of the first or second century, and the similarities to certain epigrams of Martial show that he is the “original” from whom the quotations in the present book stem (as has been cursorily shown above, and could be corroborated by more examples; Breitenbach 2010, 97–105), Seneca is, of course, not the author of this book. A number of contradictions to the authentic work of Seneca, some of them also shown above, that would hardly be acceptable if Seneca were the author also of the epigrams, point in the same direction.

Perhaps, the author is a second-century writer who makes a Seneca speak to us first as an exile (1–21f) and then from a happier condition (22–52a), viz., after revocation of his relegation; cf. also Holzberg (2004).

This scenario fits very well into the tendency of the time: at the turn of the second century CE, we hear from several Roman authors that there were, in the poetic production of the philosopher Seneca, works that did not belong in his tragedies and must not be ranked among high poetry.

Quintilian does not quote Seneca among the authors of tragedies (*Inst.* 10.1.97–98), but mentions *poemata* (“poems,” 10.1.129) without further specification; Tacitus also notes that Seneca produced “poems” (*carmina*, *Ann.* 14.52.3), and Pliny the Younger names Seneca among authors who wrote “verses of insufficient severity” (*versiculi severi parum*, *Ep.* 5.3.2, 5). All this points to poems which their authors in antiquity called “trifles” (*nugae*, *ludus/lusus*), usually referring to elegies and epigrams.

At the same time, the life and fate of Seneca are described or referred to in several works: In Tacitus’ *Annales* the reign of Nero is displayed in detail. But also in the anonymous tragedy *Octavia* (end of first century CE), Seneca appears on stage, talks about his former life and mentions Corsica (verse 382 – Seneca himself never mentioned Corsica by name). Furthermore, Martial in his epigrams names the birthplace of Seneca, Corduba (1.61.7–8), which Seneca does not mention in his extant works (but probably in his lost *De vita patris*). In addition, Tacitus’ *Agricola* and the drama *Octavia* (esp. lines 25–33) call to mind the conquest of Britain by Emperor Claudius (43–44 CE).

As for the poetic production in general in the first and second centuries CE, there is a certain tendency to produce poetry which goes under the name of a prominent poet of former times, especially of the Augustan period (e.g.,

the pseudo-Vergilian *Catalepton* and Book 3 of “Tibullus”). And finally, in this period we find in the *Epigrammaton libri* of Martial and in the *Priapea* a series of author-arranged epigram books, and in this trend the book of Senecan epigrams fits as well.

What about the presumably deliberate contradictions with the authentic Seneca and the rather flippant appearance of “Seneca” in the second part? In Cassius Dio (c. 150–235 CE), there is very harsh criticism of Seneca: after returning to Rome from exile (with which he would have been punished because of an affair with a girl from the imperial house) he is said to have begun anew an affair with Agrippina – he had not been made any better by his exile (61.10.1; cf. the epigrams on the girls, esp. Basilissa, the “queen”). But this was not the only “mistake” Seneca made: he always did exactly the contrary to what he sermonized: he criticized tyranny and educated a tyrant, he condemned friendship with the mighty but did not keep away from the imperial court, he criticized flatterers but himself sent a book with flattery to Claudius and Messalina which he later burnt, he attacked the rich but was himself more than rich, he censured luxury but lived extremely luxuriously (61.10.2–3).

With the Senecan epigrams – which we are, then, justified in calling “Pseudo-Senecan” – we have perhaps the work of someone who wants to show a Seneca that corresponds to the picture Cassius Dio preserves for us. In any case, while the speaker of the Pseudo-Senecan epigrams may share with Seneca a range of themes and motifs, he is definitely no Stoic philosopher.⁸

NOTES

1. Unless indicated, the translations are my own. The numbering of the Pseudo-Senecan epigrams is taken from Zurli (2001), the text from Breitenbach (2010).
2. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.119–20: *tum primum ... canduit*~2.5: *cum primum incanduit*; for Ov. *Met.* 1.125–26: *tertia ... proles, saevior ... et ad horrida promptior arma*, see 2.6: *saevior* (Corsica) and 3.2 *horrida* (Corsica); the seasons enumerated in Ov. *Met.* 1.116–18 and in 3.3–5.
3. For the connection of poems 33 and 34, cf. Dingel (2007, 256), and Breitenbach (2009a, 433–34).
4. This poem is only transmitted by *Codex Fuerstenfeldensis Monacensis lat. 6911* (together with 40, 33, and 31). That it belongs to the Pseudo-Senecan epigrams is beyond doubt.
5. “Stolen wantonness” as translation of *lasciva furta* taken from Shackleton Bailey’s translation of Martial’s epigram 7.74 (Loeb).
6. For the statistics on Martial, see Grewing (1997, 24). For the view that we have a compilation of different authors, see Dingel (2007, 18–35).

7. E.g., 11.7 *longe ... cole*, cf. Mart. 5.3.6, 12.6 *belli ruina* and *bellum incubuit*, cf. Flor. 2.11.1, 4.2.6, 13.6; 13.6 *tumulos vindicat umbra suos*, cf. CLE 1174.2 (second century CE); 18.22 *catenas perferre*, cf. Sil. Pun. 17.367, etc.; more examples: Breitenbach (2010, 112–13).
8. Many thanks to Nate Carney for improving the English of this chapter.

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PART V

EPIGRAM IN LATE
ANTIQUITY

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

The Late Latin Literary Epigram (Third to Fifth Centuries CE)

Luca Mondin

33.1 The Epigrammatic Tradition after Martial

Despite the enduring repute enjoyed by Martial's oeuvre, the genre of humorous-realistic epigrams he so masterfully exemplified – the sort of poetry *quod possit dicere vita "meum est"* ("about which life can say: 'this is mine'"; 10.4.8) – did not continue to be practiced in late antiquity; nor, with the partial exception of Luxorius, did it find any real imitators. When, after roughly 200 years of apparent quiescence, the Latin Thalia finally seemed to awaken with a new flourish, her voice sounded radically different: late Latin literary epigrams come across as convoluted and rather rhetorical; they are often centered on fictional or conventional themes, and – even when preserving a link with real life or autobiographical elements – they are marked by an affectedly refined style, reflecting that neo-Alexandrian character which constitutes one of the acknowledged "aesthetic trends" of late antique poetry as a whole (Charlet 1988, 2008). The transformation seems less radical when one takes account of the fact that the high imperial epigrammatic tradition – in which the late antique one is rooted – is probably better exemplified by the manneristic "Seneca" and Petronius than by the brilliant and therefore unusual originality of Martial. Moreover, the few surviving second-century epigrams – by authors ranging from Pliny the Younger to the *novelli* and Apuleius – already display some of the features which epigrammatic poetry was to acquire at the time of its "rebirth."

In his letters, Pliny (c. 61–114 CE) describes the writing of epigrams as a high-class literary hobby, whose dignity he defends, thereby affording the poetic *lusus* of the late Roman elite an undisputedly authoritative model. Although his thematic repertoire is avowedly the personal and autobiographical one established by Catullus, with due concessions made to eroticism (*Ep.* 4.14), Pliny's inspiration is purely literary. The only epigram of his preserved outside of the *Epistulae*, a dull exercise on the theme of "love and wine," is believed to possibly be a translation from the Greek (*AL* 710 R):

Huc mihi vos, largo spumantia pocula vino,
ut calefactus Amor pervigilare velit.
Ardenti Baccho succenditur ignis Amoris,
nam sunt unanimi Bacchus Amorque dei.

Come to me, frothy goblets of plentiful wine, that heated Love may wish to spend a sleepless night. Ardent Bacchus kindles Love's flame, for Bacchus and Love are gods of one accord.

Besides, Pliny himself states that he was busy translating the Greek epigrams by his friend Arrius Antoninus into Latin (*Ep.* 4.18), so it is reasonable to suppose that he may have done the same with other authors. In the subsequent archaizing period the renewed appreciation and imitation of preneoteric poets entailed a study of their Hellenistic models also based on the translation and reworking of these texts. An unnamed friend of Aulus Gellius (Apuleius?) rewrote "Plato's" homoerotic couplet *AP* 5.78 (Gell. *NA* 19.11; cf. *FPL* pp. 345–46). Apuleius (c. 125–70 CE) certainly derived *Anechomenos*, his love poem in iambic senarii (*AL* 712 R), from Menander and adopted an Alexandrian style for the two pederastic epigrams featured in *Apologia* 9.12–14. The archaizing style of the *poetae novelli* also draws upon the preneoteric tradition in terms of versification, restoring the rich polymetry of short poetry genres which had been considerably limited by the rigor of the late republic and Augustan age. The outcome would appear to have been a stylized, Hellenizing, and somewhat affected kind of poetry. All that survives of Annius Florus' oeuvre, apart from his famous exchange with the emperor Hadrian, is a handful of very short gnomic poems written in trochaic septenarii (*AL* 245–52 R). A rarefied atmosphere must have pervaded the rural poetry of Annianus (*Falisca*) and Septimius Serenus (*Opuscula ruralia*), whereas Alfius Avitus (*Libri rerum excellentium*) transposed into iambic dimeters some of the episodes of archaic Roman history described by Livy, foreshadowing the scholastic tendency which was to emerge in late antique poetry.

33.2 The Secular Latin Epigram in the Third to Fifth Centuries: The Textual Evidence

33.2.1 *The Epigram and the Classroom: Didactic and Scholastic Epigrams*

While already with Pliny epigrammatic poetry had been added to the selection of exercise topics for orators (*Ep.* 7.9.9–14) and had consequently acquired a more “academic” direction, in late antiquity the authors’ well-known penchant for unpoetic themes (Hernández Lobato 2012, 224–38), combined with the prominence of school education in the culture of the period, give rise to erudite, bookish epigrammatic genres of an unprecedented sort.

Certainly, some apparent innovations compared to previous ages were due to the new book format. Paratextual epigrams, i.e., epigrams composed to preface, embellish, or to dedicate individual copies of literary books, were not uncommon in late republican and high imperial times, but none survived the transition from *volumen* to *codex*; conversely, a large number of these “book epigrams” have been recorded from the fourth and fifth centuries, since they were used to preface codices that are still preserved or from which extant manuscripts derive. We thus find the dedication of a copy of the *Cento Probae* to an eastern emperor (probably Arcadius: *AL* 719^d R) and of one of Cornelius Nepos’ *Vitae* to Theodosius II (*AL* 783); a note of acquisition for a copy of Aulus Gellius (904); and epigrams composed for works by Sedulius (491–93), Augustine (493b), and Prosper of Aquitaine (493a). The flourishing of *periochae* (summaries) and metrical *argumenta* of works by Vergil bears witness to the particular prominence assigned to the poet’s oeuvre in late Latin culture, especially through the influence of school education (*AL* 1, 2, 653, 654, 672a, 674a, 717, 720^a R).

The individual poems or small collections translating sundry pieces of knowledge into verse – possibly for the sake of memorization – reflect school education, while not being necessarily addressed to students. We find catalogic epigrams on the nine Muses (*AL* 88, 664 R), the twelve labors of Hercules (Auson. *Ecl.* 17), the three kinds of kisses (*AL* 681 R), the four seasons (*AL* 116), the months of the year (117, 394, 395, 665, 761^a), and other topics related to the calendar or to astronomy (488, 677–80, 680a, 786^b). Ausonius devoted a cycle of short poems to the calendar (*Ecl.* 1–16) and composed a work on the emperors of Rome (*Caesares*). The book, dedicated to the poet’s son Hesperius, consists of two sections modeled on a fixed formal pattern: first three hexametric poems of twelve *monosticha* each on Suetonius’ twelve Caesars; then a series of biographical profiles of

rulers from Julius Caesar to Heliogabalus – each made up of two elegiac couplets (*tetrasticha*) – with which the work comes to an abrupt end in the surviving manuscripts. The *Carmen de figuris* (AL 485 R), possibly composed by a contemporary of Ausonius, focuses on 61 figures of speech through as many hexametric triplets. Another composition which reflects the same tradition is Ennodius' *Opusculum* 6: an epistle written to exhort the poet's pupils Ambrosius and Beatus to pursue their studies, it is interspersed with epigrams on the educational value of poetry (*Laus versuum*), on virtues (*Verecundia*, *Castitas*, *Fides*), and the disciplines to be mastered (*Grammatica*, *Rhetorica*).

The most conspicuous example of scholastic epigrammatic poetry, however, takes us back to the early late-antique period. The so-called *Carmina XII sapientum* (AL 495–638 R) have plausibly been identified by Friedrich (2002) as the youthful composition by Lactantius which Jerome mentions under the title of *Symposium* (*De vir. ill.* 80): this would bring the revival of Latin epigrammatic poetry, which is usually dated to the latter half of the fourth century, back to the late third (c. 280 CE). This sophisticated collection of 144 epigrams reproduces a poetic dispute or symposium between twelve fictional authors, who take turns at discussing eleven topics through twelve variations for each, according to a given meter (hexameters or elegiac couplets) and length (between one and six verses), so as to create eleven different cycles of increasing length. Apart from cycle I, which is devoted to the game of dice, the topics are all descriptive (III: a mirror-like water surface; IV: wagons crossing a frozen river; V: the rainbow; VIII: dawn), catalogic (VII: the four seasons; XI: the twelve signs of the zodiac), or literary (II and VI: epitaphs of Vergil; IX: the twelve books of the *Aeneid*; X: epitaphs of Cicero). The parade is brought to an end by a twelfth cycle with a free choice of topic and arrangement. These final epigrams are longer and present a greater metrical variety: the themes they address are the labors of Hercules, Orpheus and the civilizing power of poetry, the fickleness of Fortune, Achilles, Hector, the Pythagorean meaning of the letter Y, the dangers posed by lust and inebriation, the twelve books of the *Aeneid*, a nice garden, the psychopathology of envy, and Ulysses and the Sirens' allure. The considerable space devoted to Vergil, the celebration of Homeric heroes, the cycle with Cicero's epitaph, the poem on Orpheus, the narrowing down of the topics to funerary and epideictic epigrams, the classical refinement of the language, and the faultless meter: everything in this epigrammatic "encyclopaedia" speaks of a scholastic approach and reflects an educational purpose. The pedagogical foundation of the book and the cultural climate of the late third century are best illustrated by the poem *De libidine et vino*, which exudes an anti-hedonistic moralism and rigor hitherto quite foreign to the

Latin epigrammatic tradition (*AL* 633 R= 140 Friedrich: quoted below are the opening and closing lines, verses 1–2, 15–16):

Nec Veneris nec tu vini tenearis amore;
uno namque modo vina Venusque nocent.

...

Vina sitim sedent, natis Venus alma creandis
serviat: hos fines transiluisse nocet.

Do not let yourself be seized by love for either Venus or wine, for Venus and wine are harmful in the same way ... Let wine just quench your thirst, let life-giving Venus help you beget offspring: crossing these limits is harmful.

33.2.2 The Art Epigram

In the *XII sapientes* one finds an early *specimen* of some underlying features of the late Latin epigram: a taste for serial compositions with variations on a theme, erudite subjects, the prevalence of epideictic compositions, and a moralistic tone. The typological richness of late epigrammatic poetry, however, is best exemplified by the work of Decimius Magnus Ausonius (c. 310–94 CE), the most versatile poet of the fourth century. A school man himself, Ausonius switched from a post as *grammaticus* in his native Bordeaux to the role of preceptor of the young Gratian Augustus at Trier. He then pursued a career as a high imperial official, eventually crowned by a consulship (379 CE). The labels he uses to describe most of his texts (*lusus*, *nugae*, *versiculi*) make them fall within the bracket of light poetry, and many of his *opuscula* take – or approximate – the epigrammatic form. In addition to a few isolated epigrams, such as the poetic *Praefationes*, the epilogues to a lost book of *Fasti* and some of the verse *Epistulae*, Ausonius' *corpus* includes:

Four monothematic cycles or *libelli*. *Eclogae* 1–18, on calendar-related themes, and the *Caesares* have already been discussed. *Bissula* is a refined cycle of vaguely erotic compositions in honor of a young Swabian slave girl, with a prose and verse dedication to the author's friend Axius Paulus (the booklet, consisting of only six epigrams in different meters, may be incomplete). The *Epitaphia heroum qui bello Troico interfuerunt* are 26 short epitaphs on Greek and Trojan characters from the Trojan saga written in elegiac couplets and hexameters. They may partly be compared to the epigrams from Aristotle's *Peplos*. In the letter *Ad lectorem* Ausonius states that he has translated the poems from an unnamed erudite source. The *Epitaphia* follow two funerary *libelli* with compositions belonging to different genres (epigrams, short elegies, and lyric poems of varying lengths), with which

they form a triptych of *funebria*: the *Parentalia*, thirty *epicedia* on relatives of the poet's, and the *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium*, twenty-four *epicedia* on grammarians and rhetors from the Bordeaux school.

A *libellus* of *Epigrammata* on various topics and in different meters, preserved in two different manuscript versions, for a total of 121 compositions in the Green (1991, 1999) edition. Of these epigrams, one is prefatory (*Epigr.* 1), five are courtly (2–6), another five on personal topics (19, 20, 27–29), six funerary, forty-seven epideictic (twenty narrative and twenty-seven ecphrastic), one anathematic, eight erotic, forty-one satirical, three gnomic, and three catalogic. A work that finds no parallel in Latin poetry, Ausonius' *libellus* includes three epigrams in Greek (33, 34, 98) and three in alternating Latin and Greek verses (31, 35, 41), to which we should add four scoptic compositions with obscene double-entendres based on Greek words and letters (82, 85–87). The most striking feature of the book however – one it shares only with the *Epigrammata Bobiensia* – is the high number of epigrams constituting a more or less free rendition of original Greek ones. Over thirty have been identified, many of which bear the explicit indication *ex graeco* in their title; in conjunction with the *Epitaphia heroum*, they make Ausonius one of the most conspicuous Latin “translators” of Greek poetry. The models he draws upon are authors ranging from the Hellenistic age (“Plato,” Asclepiades, Posidippus) to the imperial period (Lucillius, Nicarchus, Strato, Rufinus). The Greek epigrammatic tradition exerts a far greater influence on the collection than Martial's poetry, and lends it an overall Hellenic sheen. The influence of school culture emerges in the predilection for historical (King Agathocles: 9; Lais and the sculptor Myron: 18; the *aition* of the statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous: 22; Spartan heroism: 24–25), doxographical (Cynic philosophers: 30–31, 54–56), and mythological (106–14) subjects. The satirical epigrams have conventional targets (the female drunkard with a revealing name: 21; the aphasic rhetor: 45–52; the quack doctor: 77–79). The themes of the funerary epigrams, however, are less commonplace: a race horse (7), a happy man (8), praises of the fulfilled life of a sixteen-year-old mother (13), musings on an epigraph with a faded name (37), the felicitous inscription on a family tomb that is still empty (38), and the epitaph of a *puer delicatus* (53: the last example of a *musa puerilis* in Latin, along with *Epigr. Bob.* 31, a funerary composition translated by “Plato,” *AP* 7.670). The narrative epigrams often focus on paradoxical cases: twists of fate (15, 23) and tricks played by nature (72) or divine justice (10, 76). Although Ausonius devoted the *Bissula* to the Nordic gracefulness of his slave girl and composed a casual little poem on the qualities of the ideal lady friend (*Epigr.* 89), his love epigrams, when not focusing on the *chagrin d'amour* (39, 90, 91, 102, 103), are more about wisdom (40, 88, 105) than

joy or sensuality. The poet's sentimentality emerges at its best in the melancholy proposal to Galla (14), a free take on a cruel epigram by Rufinus about a woman who is no longer attractive (*AP* 5.21):

Dicebam tibi: "Galla, senescimus: effugit aetas.
 Utere vere tuo; casta puella anus est."
 Sprevisi, obrepit non intellecta senectus
 nec revocare potes qui periit dies.
 Nunc piget, et quereris quod non aut ista voluntas 5
 tunc fuit aut non est nunc ea forma tibi.
 Da tamen amplexus oblitaque gaudia iunge.
 Da fruar, etsi non quod volo, quod volui.

I used to say to you: "Galla, we are growing old, time is slipping away. Make the most of your youth: a chaste girl is an old woman." You scorned my warning. Age has crept upon you unperceived, and bygone days you cannot call back. Now you are sorry, you regret either that you lacked the will you have now or that you do not have your former beauty. Still, make love to me, let us share our forgotten pleasures. Let me enjoy, if not what I want, what I wanted.

An original interpretation of the principle *lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba* ("my page is wanton, my life pure"; Mart. 1.4.8) is to be found in *Epigr.* 19: after reading some love verses by her husband, the poet's wife confidently states that they are only literary amusements. Another innovation to the epigrammatic genre is made by *Epigr.* 20 (*Uxor, vivamus ...*) addressed to the poet's wife, which translates the youthful erotic urge expressed by Catull. 5 into a restrained exhortation to everlasting youth in the marriage bed. In keeping with the best tradition, Ausonius does not shy away from explicit sexual references or indecency, but these remain firmly within the scopic sphere, predictably focusing on perverted or socially reprehensible expressions of erotic desire: the corrupter of children (73), the homosexual *fellator* (74), the woman with many partners (75), the unrepentant *cunnilingus* (82–87), the man pimping his own wife (101). Unlike in the case of Catullus, Martial, or the *Priapea*, such topics are not accompanied by the use of direct and coarse language: although the crudeness extends as far as olfactory details, the language is sophisticated, if not pedantic. Thus Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Pliny the Elder are quoted in relation to a case of transsexualism (72), a passage from Lucilius in relation to a pederast (73), Afranius' comedies and Vergil's Dido in relation to a lustful woman (75). This show of erudition is intended to create a grotesque contrast with obscenity, with a disarming effect: for it reveals it is merely a literary *lusus*.

Drawing upon Mart. 11.17 *Non omnis nostri nocturna est pagina libri: / invenies et quod mane, Sabine, legas* (“Not every page in my book is of the night. You will also find, Sabinus, matter to read in the morning” (trans. Shackleton Bailey)), the proemial poem states that the *varietas* of the book pays a tribute to license while remaining rigorously within the bounds of convention (*Epigr.* 1):

Non unus vitae color est nec carminis unus
 lector: habet tempus pagina quaeque suum.
 Est quod mane legas, est et quod vespere. Laetis
 seria miscuimus, temperie ut placeant.
 Hoc mitrata Venus probat, hoc galeata Minerva, 5
 Stoicus has partes, has Epicurus amat.
 Salva mihi veterum maneat dum regula morum,
 ludat permissis sobria Musa iocis.

Life does not have only one color, nor poetry only one reader; there is a time for every page. Some things are best read in the morning, others in the evening. Merry themes I have mingled with serious ones, to create a pleasant balance. Mitre-crowned Venus likes one thing, helmeted Minerva another; the Stoic loves some parts, Epicurus others. As long as I respect the rules of ancient customs, let my sober Muse enjoy jokes that are permissible.

For all his eclecticism, Ausonius remains a representative of erudite poetry. The role of epigrammatic poetry as a field for aristocratic *amateurisme* in the same years is instead illustrated by two other sources: Q. Aurelius Symmachus’ letters and the so-called *Epigrammata Bobiensia*. The verses penned by Symmachus and his father Avianius on themes reflecting the senatorial world-view (the praising of one’s *villae* and the memory of the *boni viri* of the past: Symm. *Ep.* 1.1–2; cf. *FPL* pp. 392–96) are the outcome of amateur efforts. Naucellius (c. 310–405 CE), however, the elderly senator to whom Symm. *Ep.* 3.10–16 are addressed, circulated a whole book of poems among his friends: probably the same volume of which extracts survive among the *Epigrammata Bobiensia*. Already partly known to Ausonius’ humanistic editors, this anthology of seventy-one or seventy-two epigrams by different authors was rediscovered by Augusto Campana in Vat. Lat. 2836 (s. XVI in., ff. 268r–278v) in 1950. Most of the poems were composed between the late fourth and early fifth century CE, although the collection also includes two couplets by the Augustan poet Domitius Marsus (*Epigr. Bob.* 39–40 = *FPL* Domitius Marsus 8–9), a funerary poem *ex sepulchro Latinae Viae* (*Epigr. Bob.* 43), and a non-epigrammatic text: the “satire” of seventy hexameters entitled *Sulpiciae conquestio de statu rei publicae et temporibus Domitiani* (37). Aside from Naucellius’ autobiographical verses

(*Carm.* 18–19), these texts consist in short verse epistles of a personal nature: a letter of apology for the author's rejection of the offer to compose an epithalamium (12), a prayer for tax exemption addressed to emperor Majorian (13), two invitations to birthday parties (17, 20), and finally a poem to accompany the gift of fish (21). After taking the priestly vows and being appointed bishop of Clermont (469/70 CE), Sidonius refrained from publishing other verses. Following the example of Pliny the Younger and Symmachus, he instead used his prose epistles as a means to record old and new expressions of his *Thalia*: Sidonius interspersed his nine books of letters with sixteen poems varying in type, meter, and length (between 2 and 120 verses), explaining when and why they were composed. Seven of these poems are epigrams composed for funerary or religious monuments (*Ep.* 2.8, 2.10, 3.12, 4.11, 4.18, 7.17) or for an art object (4.8); another five poems are largely jocular letters in verse, which were embedded within as many prose epistles upon request of the author's correspondents (*Ep.* 8.9, 8.11, 9.13, 9.15, 9.16). We then find four *ex tempore* compositions, with a description of the particular circumstances they reflect (*Ep.* 1.11, 5.17, 9.13, 9.14). One striking feature of this collection of *carmina inserta* is the fact that Sidonius uses the term *epigramma* not just for an *impromptu* composition of one or two couplets or inscriptional poems ranging between twelve and thirty verses in length, but also for much more substantial poems consisting of fifty-nine hendecasyllables (*Ep.* 8.9) or 120 Anacreontics (9.13). What lies behind these compositions is the model of Martial's *epigrammata longa* (which nonetheless do not extend beyond the fifty-one choliambics of 3.58 and the forty-two iambics of 1.49), and especially a broader notion of *epigramma*, one no longer confined to conventional short epigrams, but more generically applied to any occasional poems of limited length. The *libellus* of *nugae* (*Carm.* 9–24), which mixes short epigrams and compositions of considerable length, rests on the same conception. In addition, this idea of epigrammatic poetry dispenses with fanciful themes: Sidonius' epigrams are either epigraphic or of a personal, epistolary sort. Still, a few more traditional epigrams are also to be found, such as the following poem which Sidonius penned in the manner of Martial to sing the beauty of his Avitacum *villa*, comparable to the proverbial beauty of Baiae (*Carm.* 18):

Si quis Avitacum dignaris visere nostram,
 non tibi displiceat: sic quod habes placeat.
 Aemula Baiano tolluntur culmina cono
 parque cothurnato vertice fulget apex.
 Garrula Gauranis plus murmurat unda fluentis 5
 contigui collis lapsa supercilio.

Lucrinum stagnum dives Campania nollet,
 aequora si nostri cerneret illa lacus.
 Illud puniceis ornatur litus echinis:
 piscibus in nostris, hospes, utrumque vides. 10
 Si libet et placido partiris gaudia corde,
 quisquis ades, Baiae tu facis hic animo.

Whoever you may be, who deigns to visit our *Avitacum*, let it not displease you; and in return let what is yours please you. Its roof rivals the cone of Baiae in height and an equal pinnacle towers with its proud peak. The chattering water that falls from the brow of the nearby hill babbles more loudly than the streams of the Gaurus. Rich Campania would be ill-pleased with the Lucrine Lake, if only she beheld the waters of our own mere. That shore is adorned by red sea urchins: but in our fish, guest, you see both spines and color. If it pleases you, and if you share these joys with a contented heart, dear visitor, you will make Baiae of this in your mind.

Magnus Felix Ennodius (474–521 CE), himself a Gallo-Roman aristocrat, is the most prolific epigrammatist after Ausonius for the period we are examining. His literary oeuvre spans the twenty years between his priestly ordination and his appointment as bishop of Pavia (494–513/14). In its transmitted form, the *corpus* of Ennodius' writing is a hotchpotch of letters, school declamations, and other prose texts, sacred hymns and poems of varying length. According to the prevailing view among scholars, this collection was assembled after the poet's death by an "editor" who copied down Ennodius' writings as these were to be found in his archive, where they were probably arranged in a rough chronological order. The 151 epigrams which make up the second book of the *Carmina* in Jacques Sirmond's edition (Paris 1611) include: a cycle of eulogies on the thirteen bishops of Milan, thirty epigraphs for sacred buildings, ten (probably inscriptional) funerary epigrams, four inscriptions composed for objects, thirty-four ecphrastic epigrams (descriptions of jewels, decorated vases, animals, and domestic and natural environments), three narrative epigrams, forty-four scoptic epigrams, three on literary subjects related to the author's own writing, and ten occasional, of homage and epistolary epigrams. To these we should add the four epigrams inserted in the prose letters (*Ep.* 5.7–8, 7.21, 29), along with five epigrams complementing prose declamations (*Dict.* 12, 13, 24, 28), and the six epigrams featured in the paraenetic epistle to the poet's pupils Ambrose and Beatus (*Opusc.* 6). Aside from the choice of a convoluted style verging on obscurity, which is typical of Ennodius' writing as a whole, what distinguishes his epigrammatic poetry is – as in the case of Sidonius Apollinaris – the prevalence of "real" themes over fanciful ones. Also striking are the number of compositions associated with small shows of friendship or personal

relations, the range of epigrams said to have been written *ex tempore* – and hence for some social occasion (*Carm.* 2.25, 57, 105, 107, 142) – and the poet’s epigrammatic exchanges with his friends Faustus (2.141, 143) and Messalla (2.144–46). Sexual themes are not foreign to the scoptic epigrams, and include a certain taste for repugnant details (2.97). Repeated descriptions of vessels decorated with images of Pasiphaë and the bull afford Ennodius the opportunity to focus on the details of their beastly intercourse (2.25, 29–31, 103). Among the many examples of the poet’s unconventional epigrammatic Muse, one might quote the following autobiographical hexameters on a summer night’s ride (2.128):

Astrorum populus necdum de lumine solis
 perdidit lucem, gremio sed noctis adultae
 fundebat rutilos madefacto aspargine crines;
 Cynthia per croceas fulgebat lactea bigas,
 rescindens quicquid descripserat orbita fratris; 5
 vernabat tacitus splendor de munere noctis,
 torrida frigorebus confringens tempora Cancri:
 cum me curarum cupientem spernere fasces
 ruris amoenati facies depicta vocavit.
 Cornipedem scandi, qualem vix Cyllarus aequat, 10
 mollibus aetherias qui vincit cursibus auras,
 immobilis currit cuius per devia sessor
 in statione volans pedibus constanter adactis.

The cluster of stars had not yet lost its glimmer before the brightness of the sun, but a dewy shower of sparkling rays poured forth from the womb of the late night. Cynthia shone milky-white above the golden chariot, erasing all traces of her brother’s orbit; a silent splendor reigned in the night, its coolness offering some respite from the torrid season of Cancer. Then, as I yearned to free myself from my burden of worries, the charming countryside summoned me with its painted face. I mounted a steed hardly equaled by Cyllarus, whose smooth gallop outstrips the winds of the air: the one mounting it will speed motionless down unbeaten tracks, flying, while remaining still, with feet always firm.

33.3 Epigrams in Context

33.3.1 The Epigram Book

The kind of *libellus* marked by thematic and formal *varietas* – the one exemplified by Martial’s books 1–12 and “Seneca’s” epigrams – is not the prevalent mode of composition for the period we are examining. Leaving

aside the *Epigrammata Bobiensia*, which gather texts by different authors, the only surviving collections of the sort just described are Ausonius' one and, at a later date, the anonymous *libellus* AL 90–197 R and Luxorius' *Epigrammaton liber*, included in the *Codex Salmasianus* anthology (sixth century; see further Wasyl in this volume).

As regards Ausonius' *Epigrammata*, most of the 121 in the Green edition have been transmitted by the family of manuscripts conventionally labeled Z, while a smaller selection is featured in the precious ninth-century Leid. Voss. Lat. F 111 (V). On account of its consistency, the collection from the Z codices may be regarded as a genuine *libellus*. Despite a certain disorder due to accidents in the manuscript tradition (which are easy enough to correct), traces are detectable of the author's original arrangement: the presence of a prefatory poem (*Epigr.* 1), the concentration of epigrams eulogizing the emperors at the beginning (2–6) and of obscene epigrams in the latter part of the collection, and finally the possible presence of a conclusion (116–21 against one Silvius Bonus who had criticized the poet's verses). Variations on the same theme or epigrams on similar subjects are arranged in pairs, threes, even whole cycles (45–52 on the inept rhetor Rufus; 63–71 on the *bucula Myronis*; 82–87 on the *cunnilingus* Eunus; 116–21 on Silvius Bonus), although one also finds subtler juxtapositions. The texts which may be dated show that the *libellus* transmitted by Z combines some chronologically very distant compositions, across a time span of at least three decades: *Epigr.* 27–29 on the poet's wife Sabina have as their *terminus ante* the woman's passing, around the mid-350s; *Epigr.* 3–4 celebrate the end of Valentinian I's Alamannic campaign of 367–69, while the verses dedicating the book of *Fasti* to the poet's friend Gregorius Proculus (*Fast.* 1, 3–4) – included among the epigrams by the poet himself – are from 382 and presumably date the completion of the collection. *Epigr.* 1, which announces the variety of the book and of its potential readers (see above), bears witness to the author's idea of issuing an *editio*.

The collection by Naucellius which Symmachus had the opportunity to examine and transcribe when it was still a work in progress (*Ep.* 3.11.4) must have been another *libellus* of epigrams on a variety of subjects. There is no way of telling whether the *Epigrammata Bobiensia* correspond to Naucellius' book plus a few additional texts, or whether they are an anthology which only includes Naucellius as one of its sources. The fact that five of the seventy-one compositions have an explicit attribution (38 *Cuiusdam*, 39–40 *Domitii Marsi*, 43 *Ex sepulchro Latinae Viae*, 65 *Anicii Probinii*) may suggest that all the others are by the same author, namely Naucellius, who is mentioned in 2.1 and 6.1. However, the fragmentary nature of the *corpus*, which is

missing the beginning and possibly the end, makes any hypothesis regarding the authorship of the texts as well as the overall structure of the collection uncertain. The “satire” on Sulpicia (37), featured in a central position, would appear to divide the anthology into two parts of equal length: the first part, containing only elegiac couplets and iambic trimeters, is arranged into neat thematic sections (2–9: autobiographical epigrams by Naucellius; 10–21: ecphrastic poems; 22–27: gnomic poems; 28–29: narrative poems; 30–35: erotic monodistichs); in the second part, which also includes hexametric poems, the different kinds of epigrams (funerary, ecphrastic, gnomic, narrative, and scopic) are all instead mixed together. It is difficult to tell whether this discrepancy reflects a conscious editorial choice or, on the contrary, editorial neglect, inconsistent compiling, and possibly the variety of the sources collected.

What is better represented than the book on various different themes is the monothematic *libellus*, a model already adopted by Martial with his *Liber spectaculorum* and by the author/compiler of the *Priapea*. This category includes Ausonius’ *Parentalia*, *Professores*, *Epitaphia heroum* and what remains of his *Bissula*, as well as – on the Christian side – the *Epigrammata* by Prosper of Aquitaine. A particularly popular model, reflecting the catalogic taste that marks late antique aesthetics as a whole (Hernández Lobato 2012, 389–401), is that of *libelli* comprising serial epigrams of fixed length. Exemplified by Martial with his two books *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, this model is further illustrated by Ausonius’ *Caesares* (see above), the six-line portraits of Roman gentlemen by Avianus Symmachus (Symm. *Ep.* 1.2), and – in the sphere of Christian epigrams – the subgenre of *tituli historiarum*. Also belonging to this category are the hexametric triplets of the *Carmen de figuris* (see above) and *Aenigmata Symp(h)osii*, and the *libellus* of epanaleptic elegiac couples on mythological subjects AL 38–80 R from the *Codex Salmasianus*.

The posthumous sylloge of Claudian’s *Carmina minora* marks the beginning of a new type of “mixed book” featuring short poems of different kinds, in which compositions that may be regarded as epigrammatic are featured alongside texts dozens or even hundreds of verses long. This formula was adopted by Sidonius Apollinaris for his *libellus* of *nugae* (*Carm.* 9–24), in which lengthy poems alternate with long and short epigrams according to a criterion of *varietas* that applies to both the meter and the length of the compositions: the lighter and more “private” the subject, the shorter the texts. Sidonius clearly took Statius’ *Silvae* as his model, but breached its typological limits by opening it up to both epigrammatic *brevitas* and the unusual length of *Carmina* 9 (346 verses) and 23 (512 verses).

33.3.2 *Epigrams in Non-Epigrammatic Contexts*

The epigrams added to codices as dedicatory or ornamental poems have already been discussed. In parallel to this development, epigrams came to be widely employed as prefaces or epilogues even for non-epigrammatic works. The first examples are to be found in the *Carmina figurata* by Optatianus Porfyrius (*Carm.* 1 and 4). At a later date, compositions of this sort appear quite regularly in the *Opuscula* by Ausonius, whose most sophisticated pieces (*Praef.* 1 to the reader, *Praef.* 3 to Theodosius I) foreshadow the elegiac prefaces to Claudian's and Sidonius Apollinaris' panegyrics. Prosper of Aquitaine prefaced his poem *De ingratis* with an epigram, Sedulius the books of his *Carmen Paschale*. The use of prefatory epigrams also extends to prose classroom texts: Phocas' grammar (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* 5.410–39), the anonymous treatise *De ultimis syllabis* (ibid. 4.219–264), Fortunatianus' rhetoric manual (*RLM* 81–134), and some of Ennodius' declamations.

The genre most receptive to Thalia is epistolary writing, which shares the same personal and occasional character as epigrammatic poetry, as well as its *brevitas*. Clearly, a letter in verse may display the form or brevity of an epigram (Auson. *Ep.* 1, 2, 16, 18; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 2H; Claud. *Carm. min.* 19, etc.); conversely, an epigram may take on or simulate an epistolary function (Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 17, 20, 21; Ennod. *Carm.* 2.107). What we are referring to here, however, is the inclusion of epigrams within prose letters – another development which reflects the influence of Pliny the Younger. While a poetic insertion may be used to complement or embellish a letter (Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 1H.; Symm. *Ep.* 1.8; Ennod. *Ep.* 5.8, 7.21), in most cases it constitutes the very object of the epistle, which will serve as an accompanying text and framework for a poem composed at the addressee's behest or in any case conceived for his enjoyment. Regardless of the stated purpose of an epigram, its inclusion in a letter constitutes a kind of *editio* that makes use of the epistolary format as a showcase for short poems whose origin and background are explained by the prose text. Aside from the collection of twenty-seven Christian epigrams in *Ep.* 32H, addressed by Paulinus of Nola to Sulpicius Severus, the most conspicuous examples are the epigrams by the two Symmachi featured in Symm. *Ep.* 1.1–2, and the sixteen poems which Sidonius Apollinaris interspersed across the nine books of his correspondence, for a total of 560 verses.

As in previous ages, prose texts often quote epigrams for their historical or documentary value. In one of his letters (*Ep.* 5.8.2) Sidonius reproduces the couplet which Ablabius, consul 331, had affixed on the gates of Constantine's palace to denounce the tyrannical ruthlessness of the emperor in doing away with his wife Fausta and son Crispus: *Saturni aurea saecula*

quis requirat? / Sunt haec gemmea, sed Neroniana (“Who would now want the golden age of Saturn? / Ours is a diamond age, only on Nero’s pattern”; cf. *FPL* p. 381). According to the model of Suetonius’ *Vitae Caesarum*, the privileged venue for an erudite display of political pasquinades of this sort was provided by imperial biographies: the *Historia Augusta* quotes a series of texts from the period between Septimius Severus and Aurelian – epigrams written for or against certain emperors, or by emperors themselves, along with oracular responses and epigraphic poems – which in most cases are presented as translations from the Greek (*SHA Pesc. Nig.* 8.1–6, 12.4–8; *Opil. Macr.* 11.3–7, 14.2–4; *Diad.* 7.3–4; *Alex. Sev.* 38.3–6; *Tyr. Trig.* 11.5–6; *Claud.* 10.2–3; *Aurel.* 6.4–5, 7.2; cf. *FPL* pp. 366–73). Like many of the pieces of information, names, and sources quoted by this untrustworthy source, at least some of the above texts may well be fabrications, in which case the versatile late Latin Thalia should also be credited with the subgenre of fake historical epigrams.

[translated by Sergio Knipe]

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FURTHER READING

No comprehensive monograph on late Latin epigrammatic poetry has seen the light in recent years. However, readers may glean an overview of current scholarly trends from Guipponi-Gineste and Urlacher-Becht (2013), starting from the introductory survey by J.-L. Charlet (29–39). See too Munari (1958), Bernt (1968), La Penna (1998), and Mondin (2008).

On Latin epigrammatic poetry after Martial, in the years between Pliny and Apuleius, and on the epigrams by Ablabius and the two Symmachi, see Courtney (1993, 365–453). On the didactic epigram: Mondin (2016). *Carmina XII sapientum*: Friedrich (2002). Ausonius: Green (1991, 1999); on the *Epigrams* see also Kay (2001). *Epigrammata Bobiensia*: Munari (1955); Speyer (1963); Nocchi (2016); a still useful overview is provided by Mariotti (1962); history of the text: Portuese (2017). Claudian: Birt (1892); Hall (1985). Sidonius Apollinaris: Luetjohann (1887); Anderson (1936–65); Loyen (1960–70); on the *Carmina minora* and the poems in the *Epistulae*: Condorelli (2008). Ennodius: Hartel (1882), following J. Sirmond's order; Vogel (1885), following the order – or, rather, disorder – of the manuscripts; on the epigrams: Di Rienzo (2005), but see too Wasyl (2011, 237–51).

CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

Greek Epigram in Late Antiquity

Gianfranco Agosti

One of the most remarkable features of late antique Greek literature (fourth–seventh century CE) is the revival of poetry.¹ The epigram played a relevant role in it. Palladas and Gregory of Nazianzus in the fourth century, or the “begetters of the new poetry” (νέης γενετῆρες ἀοιδῆς) whose poems were collected in Agathias’ *Cycle*, like Agathias himself, Paul the Silentiary, Macedonius, Julian the Egyptian and others, gave new vigor to the literary epigram, and renovated the Hellenistic and imperial tradition with original tones. Furthermore, the “counterpart” of literary epigrams, i.e., verse inscriptions, increasingly grew in the fourth and fifth century, and became an important vehicle of classical culture (*paideia*) in late Roman society. Verse inscriptions were constantly in dialogue with literary poetry, displaying imitations and allusions to prestigious models, and exerting their influence on literary poems too (in cases of high quality and refined inscriptions).²

34.1 Authors

The most remarkable poet of the fourth century is Palladas of Alexandria, a grammarian and a prolific epigrammatist – with some 150 epigrams he is one of the best represented in the *Greek Anthology*. The traditional chronology for his activity is the second half of the century (Kaster 1988, 337), and he is credited to be an eyewitness of the anti-pagan riot in Alexandria, led by bishop Theophilus (identified with the addressee of the venomous *AP* 9.175, 10.90–91), which eventually caused the destruction of the Serapeum in 392 CE by a Christian mob (Hahn 2008, 353). Undoubtedly, Palladas was a

pagan and he lamented the decline of the old religion, although with a vein of disenchanted pessimism rather than religious fanaticism. One of his most known epigrams on this subject is *AP* 10.90 = 83 Guichard:

Ὡ τῆς μεγίστης τοῦ φθόνου πονηρίας
 τὸν εὐτυχῇ μισεῖ τις, ὃν θεὸς φιλεῖ.
 οὕτως ἀνόητοι τῷ φθόνῳ πλανώμεθα,
 οὕτως ἐτοιμῶς μωρία δουλεύομεν.
 Ἕλληνες ἐσμεν ἄνδρες ἐσποδωμένοι 5
 νεκρῶν ἔχοντες ἐλπίδας τεθαμμέναις·
 ἀνεστράφη γὰρ πάντα νῦν τὰ πράγματα

Alas for the extreme malice of envy! A man hates the fortunate whom God loves. So senselessly are we led astray by envy; so ready are we to be the slaves of folly. We Greeks are men reduced to ashes, having the buried hopes of the dead; for today everything is turned upside down.

Yet, the traditional chronology has been recently questioned by Kevin Wilkinson, who published a fragmentary papyrus codex (*P.CtYBR* inv. 4000), dated on paleographical grounds to c. 280–320 CE (Wilkinson 2012; see further Maltomini in this volume). Considering the codex an anthology of Palladas' epigrams, Wilkinson suggested also an earlier date (c. 260–330 CE) and a different setting for the poet's life and activity. He would relate many of Palladas' epigrams to the age of Constantine and to Constantinople (see Wilkinson 2009, 2010, 2015). At the present state of research, the traditional chronology continues to seem preferable (Floridi 2016), while it would also be possible that the Yale codex preserved an anthology of the early production of the poet.

The other great fourth-century epigrammatist is undoubtedly Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 330–390), a talented and prolific poet who practiced several classic meters (hexameters, elegiacs, iambics, and ionics), and a great variety of genres, ranging from didactic poems, to theological, personal, and autobiographical (Agosti 2012, 366). More than 250 of his elegant classicizing epigrams were collected in what is now the eighth book of the *Greek Anthology*, not originally present in Cephalas' collection, but added slightly later (Cameron 1993, 145–46; Lauxtermann 2007, 199–200). Most of Gregory's epigrams are funerary, composed for members of his family, friends, and important people (often Cappadocian) (on Gregory, see further Simelidis in this volume).

In the fourth and fifth century verse inscriptions became fashionable, assuming functions previously reserved to prose. This is particularly evident in epigrams carved on the bases of statues, public buildings, and churches.

According to the conventions of the genre, they are usually anonymous (apart from a few exceptions; Agosti 2015, 14–17). Thanks to the efforts by the Byzantine epigraphist Gregory of Campsa, some of them later entered the *Greek Anthology*. Christian verse inscriptions are particularly interesting, since they show on a lesser level the effort of adapting the traditional *paideia* to Christian subjects and ideology.³ Among the 123 Christian epigrams collected by Cephalas as the first book of his anthology in order to prevent possible allegations of paganism,⁴ there are epigrams ascribed to Cyrus of Panopolis (*AP* 1.99) and a certain Claudian (to be distinguished from the renowned Latin poet). Of the latter is worth mentioning a remarkable hymnic epigram to Christ in Nonnian hexameters (*AP* 1.19), close in language and imagery to Proclus' *Hymn to the Sun*. Particularly regrettable is that only a few fragments of the renowned Cyrus of Panopolis, who had a brilliant, albeit short-lived, career up to the position of *Praefectus Urbi* of Constantinople (443 CE), are extant. Similarly, of Christodorus of Coptus, author of epic and panegyric poems in the age of Emperor Anastasius (491–518 CE), only two funerary epigrams are preserved (*AP* 7.697–98), although in his case the loss of the epigrammatic production is balanced by the survival of his ecphrasis of the statues in the Zeuxippus' bath in Constantinople (= *AP* 2). It is quite clear that our literary framework is necessarily incomplete, due to the shipwreck of many authors, for example, of many “wandering poets” (see Cameron 2016b).

The sixth century also claims the small collection of 19 epigrams describing the reliefs of a temple in Cyzicus, which represents now the third book of the *Palatine Anthology* (once again, a later addition to Cephalas's project), and the epigrams celebrating Porphyry the charioteer, preserved in the *Planudean Anthology* (splendidly studied by Cameron 1973).

In the age of Justinian (527–565 CE) classicizing literary epigram continued to be in vogue and we know well the activity of a group of learned high bureaucrats, officials, and *scholastikoi* (lawyers) of Constantinople. The literary output of these dignitaries was collected in the *συλλογή* compiled by one of them, Agathias of Myrina (c. 532–579/82), probably not the only anthology available on the market (see Agathias, *AP* 4.3.1–14 = 1.1–14 Valerio; Baldwin 1980, 337), but surely the most authoritative. After studying rhetoric in Alexandria and law in Constantinople, Agathias began a career as lawyer in the capital. A (lost) poem in nine books, the *Daphniaca*, dates back to his youth,⁵ as well as hundreds of epigrams; then he focused on composing his *Histories* in five books (Cameron 1970; McCail 1971). Following the example of Meleager and Philip, Agathias thematically assembled and arranged his anthology, the *Κύκλος*, including a selection of both his own

and of “new” poets’ epigrams, still unpublished or scarcely known. The *Cycle* was published probably at the beginning of Justin II’s reign, about 567–568 (Cameron 1993, 69–75).

Thanks to the painstaking prosopographical researches by Averil and Alan Cameron (1966) and Ronald McCail (1969), we can confidently make a list of the “new poets.” They are: Ablabius *illustris*, Arabius *scholasticus*, Cometas *chartularius*, Cyrus ex-consul, Damocharis of Cos, Eirenaeus *referendarius*, Eratosthenes *scholasticus*, Eutolmius *scholasticus illustris*, Gabriel the prefect, Isidorus of Bolbythia, John Barbutallus, Julian *Antecessor*, Julian the Egyptian, Leontius *scholasticus*, Macedonius consul, Marianus *scholasticus*, Paul the Silentiary, Theodoretus *grammaticus*, Theodorus ex-consul, Theaetus *scholasticus*, and Thomas *scholasticus*. While Agathias (99 epigrams), Paul the Silentiary (80), Julian the Egyptian (70), and Macedonius (41) are largely represented, other poets are known by little more than a handful of texts (e.g., Leontius, Marianus, Theaetetus) – in some cases only a few.

We know well how carefully Agathias arranged his materials, thanks to the two prefatory epigrams to the *Cycle* (*AP* 4.3 and 4=1 and 2 Valerio; see Mattsson 1942, 106–107; Valerio 2014, 9–15, with further bibliography). The first one is a very characteristic late antique poem: it begins with an iambic prologue (lines 1–46) introducing in “comic” style the collection, presented as a banquet of words. Then follows the hexameter part (lines 47–113), clearly divided into three sections: a panegyric of the emperor and his victories (lines 47–100), a dedication of the anthology to a certain Theodore (lines 101–12), and a description of the content (lines 113–33). The much shorter second prefatory epigram (just ten lines) was probably composed to mark the publication of the *Cycle*, as Enrico Magnelli perceptively suggested (Magnelli 2008):

Στήλαι καὶ γραφίδες καὶ κύρβιες εὐφροσύνης μὲν
αἴτια τοῖς ταῦτα κτησαμένοις μεγάλης,
ἀλλ’ ἐς ὅσον ζώουσι· τὰ γὰρ κενὰ κύδεα φωτῶν
ψυχαῖς οἰχομένων οὐ μάλα συμφέρεται.
ἢ δ’ ἀρετὴ σοφίης τε χάρις καὶ κεῖθι συνέρπει, 5
κάνθαδε μιμνάζει μνήστιν ἐφέλκομένη.
οὕτως οὕτε Πλάτων βρενθύεται οὕτε Ὅμηρος
χρώμασιν ἢ στήλαις, ἀλλὰ μόνη σοφίη.
ὄλβιοι, ὧν μνήμη πινυτῶν ἐνὶ τεύχεσι βίβλων,
ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐς κενεὰς εἰκόνας ἐνδιάει. 10

Monuments and tablets and pillars are a source of great delight to those who possess them – but only as long as they live; for the empty glory of mortals does not benefit the souls of the departed. But virtue and the grace of wisdom

both accompany them there, and remain here attracting remembrance. So neither Plato nor Homer takes pride in pictures or monuments, but in wisdom alone. Happy are those whose memory is enshrined in wise volumes, and not in empty images. (trans. Paton and Tueller)

Agathias disposed the epigrams into the following seven sections, with the “serious” four books preceding the “frivolous” last three: (1) anathematic epigrams (*AP* 4.3.113–16); (2) ecphrastic (lines 117–20); (3) funerary (lines 121–23); (4) epideictic and protreptic (lines 124–26); (5) scoptic (lines 127–29); (6) erotic (lines 129–31); (7) sympotic (lines 131–33).⁶

A great difference between Agathias’ *Cycle* and the ancient collections by Meleager and Philip was that (possibly in the wake of “Palladas’ anthology”) he aimed at gathering only the production of contemporary poets, as the lines introducing the anathematic section clearly state (lines 111–16):⁷

Πρῶτα δέ σοι λέξαιμι, παλαιγενέεσσιν ἐρίζων,
ὅσσα περ ἐγράψαντο νέης γενετῆρες αἰοιδῆς
ὥς προτέροις μακάρεσσιν ἀνειμένα· καὶ γὰρ ἐφκει
γράμματος ἀρχαίοιο σοφὸν μίμημα φυλάξαι.

I will first select for you, competing with past generations, all the parents of the new song wrote as if offered to the old gods; for it is fitting, too, to preserve the skill of imitating ancient writing.

The new poets imitate ancient models, *competing* with them (needless to say, μίμησις is a general aesthetic principle of Byzantine literature). Indeed, the epigrams of the *Cycle* often practice the “art of variation” of Hellenistic poems and themes, but adopting the “modern style” perfected by Nonnus of Panopolis in the mid-fifth century, which then became the standard style of classicizing poetry in late antiquity (cf. Miguélez Caverio 2008; Agosti 2012, 367; and the chapters in Accorinti 2016). Nonnus was a “new classic” for Agathias and his fellows. It is not coincidental that the second hemistich of Agathias’ line 113 clearly alludes to the proud declaration of poetics by Nonnus himself (“in competition with both new and old poets,” νέοισι καὶ ἀρχεγόνοις ἐρίζων, *Dion.* 25.26–27).

Line 114, ὥς προτέροις μακάρεσσιν ἀνειμένα, requires further explanation. According to Alan Cameron, classicizing poems with their mythological paraphernalia could have been open to charge of paganism, due to the climate of persecution of pagans (sometimes just political enemies) during Justinian’s reign. Hence, Agathias added the clarification “as if offered to the old gods,” in order to prevent any allegation of religious impiety (Cameron 1993, 156–57; cf. Baldwin 1980, 336). Although all the epigrams of the *Cycle* are

“pagan” – i.e., they display classicizing *paideia* – there is little room to doubt that their authors were Christians (McCail 1971; Madden 1995; Cameron 2016c, 277–81). Despite recent attempts to characterize Agathias and other sixth-century intellectuals as cryptopagans, it seems difficult to accept that classicistic language and themes were something more than literature and to take pagan themes at face value, as the case of Nonnus and other Egyptian poets dramatically shows.⁸ It should also be remembered that we have three Christian epigrams by Agathias (*AP* 1.34–36 = 4–6 Valerio).

The other major poet of the *Cycle*, and one of the best Greek epigrammatists, was Paul the Silentiary (*silentiarius*, a high court attendant), whose some 80 epigrams survive, half of them devoted to erotic subjects. Paul also composed the *Description of Haghia Sophia*, a long hexameter panegyric and ecphrastic epic poem in flamboyant Nonnian style, publicly performed in front on Justinian, the Patriarch, and the Court to celebrate the second dedication of the church (between Christmas and Epiphany of 562/3 CE; De Stefani 2011). Paul was probably a slightly older contemporary of Agathias, who characterizes him as “author of very many poems of considerable merit” (Agath. *Hist.* 5.9.7–8; cf. Cameron and Cameron 1966, 14–17; De Stefani 2011, xxi–xxiii). They exchanged epigrams (Agathias *AP* 5.292 = 81 Valerio, and Paul 5.293 = 79 Viansino) and it is a plausible assumption that Paul helped Agathias to establish connections with the network of high officers passionate for poetry.

Classicizing elegiac epigrams did not finish after Agathias’ and his friends, but progressively declined and got sporadic. Besides single interesting figures, like the patriarch Sophronius (see *AP* 1.123), it is revealing that George of Pisidia (active between ca. 610 and 640) preferred for his some 110 epigrams the dodecasyllable (the Byzantine evolution of the iambic trimeter), with only three exceptions in hexameter. Even more significantly, he abandoned classical themes in favor of scriptural subjects, descriptions of churches and holy images, panegyrics of the emperor Heraclius and his son and the Patriarch Sergius.⁹ George, who soon became a new classic in Byzantium, was an extraordinary poet, very learned and creative. He had also a great talent for improvising, a quality explicitly stated in the *lemma* of an epigram composed before performing a panegyric in the presence of Constantine, the son of Heraclius (48 Sternbach = 108 Tartaglia, εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου ἐπιζητήσαντα τὴν ἀκρόασιν, “improvised to the emperor Constantine, having requested the recitation”).

ἄλλοι μὲν ὑμῖν κογχυλουργῇ πορφύραν
ἢ μαργαρίτας ἢ χλοάζουσιν πλάκα
ἢ τοὺς πυραυγεῖς προσκομίζουσιν λίθους·

ἐγὼ δέ σοι νῦν μαργαρίτας προσφέρω,
 οὓς ὀστρακώδης οὐ προβάλλεται πόθος, 5
 ἀλλ' οὓς λόγοι τίκτουσι οὐρανοδρόμοι,
 οὓς ἐν δέοντι τῷ Θεῷ προσοιστεόν,
 ἐφ' οἷς συνεργήσας τε καὶ συνασπίσας
 τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, τῷ σφαγεῖ τοῦ Χοσρόου,
 ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν κοσμικὸν φονοκτόνον. 10

Others bring to you the shell-made purple, or pearls or a green slab as a gift, or even stones bright like the fire. As for me, I am offering to pearls not generated by the shell's desire, but born from words that ascend the sky, words that we shall present to God, and for which He, cooperating and fighting side by side with your father, the slayer of Chosroes, designated him as cosmic destroyer of murder.

The interest in epigrams displayed in some ninth-century authors, like Leo the Philosopher, Cometas the Grammarian, Constantine of Sicily, and Anastasios the Quaestor (all credited with some knowledge of late antique poetry), intertwines with the history of the rediscovery of the ancient collections and the formation of Cephalas' anthology (see Valerio 2014 with further bibliography and Maltomini in this volume).

34.2 Major Features and Literary Trends

One of the most characteristic formal features of the late antique epigram is its length. From the end of the second century onwards there was a clear tendency to compose longer epigrams (*epigrammata longa*) in stichic hexameters (or trimeters, to a lesser extent), and to favor narrative expansion. This trend affected both metrical inscriptions and literary epigrams: for example, many long poems composed in epic-like versification eventually entered the "Palladas sylloge." Examples of typical late antique epigrams are *AP* 9.363, 20 hexameters in "modern style" reworking, not without a certain originality, the topos of the coming of the spring; or the 20 elegant hexameters of *I.Achaïe* II 37 (= *SEG* 13.277, from Patras, end of the fourth century), a long inscription praising a local benefactor. Not to mention ecphrastic epigrams, like the 16-hexameter inscription that extols the building of a church by a Nabatean bishop, displaying Homeric allusions (*SGO* 22/35/02; Nabatea, Kanatha, fifth century); or the 21 hexameters of *AP* 9.656, describing the *Chalkè* (bronze vestibule) to the Great Palace in Constantinople, restored by Anastasius. Generally speaking, length was not

considered affecting the generic definition of the epigram in late antiquity, especially of the inscribed epigram. Poems like the 40-hexameter funerary inscription from Tanagra (*SEG* 39.449, fifth century), or the 76-hexameter epic-like highbrow inscription celebrating the magnificence of the church of Saint Polyeuktos and her patron, Anicia Juliana (*AP* 1.10), were still perceived as epigrams. Literary epigrams are usually much shorter, but there are also remarkable exceptions, like the nine distichs of *AP* 10.56 (Palladas = 60 Guichard), or the long ecphrastic epigrams of the Justinianic age.¹⁰

Rhetorical rules and themes taught at school had some influence on epigrams, according to the continuity between school and literary activity that is typical of late antiquity.¹¹ Indeed, many epigrams stem directly from school practice. For instance, the elegiac and hexameter poems painted on the wall of a fourth-century Egyptian classroom in the Dakleh Oasis for pedagogical purposes (Cribiore, Davoli, and Ratzan 2008); or the series of *ethopoiai* (impersonations) on Homeric heroes in the *Anthology* (9.449–80), recently attributed to George the Grammarian, a poet and schoolteacher active in the scholarly milieu of Gaza (Lauxtermann 2005). Impersonation was one of the *progymnasmata* (preliminary exercises), composed by students to acquire skillful eloquence during their school training, which also structured literary poetry. Among Palladas' epigrams, for example, we find a variation on "what Odysseus would say landing in Ithaca" (*AP* 9.458 = 36 Guichard). Moreover, many poets were grammarians and taught in schools. The popularity of abusing grammarians, already a traditional subject of the Hellenistic and imperial epigram, eloquently reflects the role of school in late Roman society and should not be taken only as a scopic topos. Palladas, who was himself a *grammatikos* (*AP* 9.168–69 = 20–21 Guichard), bewails the unhappiness of his job, complains about his poverty and disgraceful life, more or less sincerely. Poems like *AP* 9.173 = 25 Guichard, on grammar and its "beginning ... a curse in five lines" (a humorous variation of Lucilius, *AP* 11.279 = 111 Floridi, translated also in *Epigrammata Bobiensia* 47 Nocchi), or the series of bitter poems in *AP* 9.169–76 = 21–28 Guichard, about the grammarian's miserable and mortifying life (in 9.175 the poet sells his books to find some financial relief!), are expression of a personal mood and a statement of social condition at the same time.

Another clue of the social relevance of education is the great number of funerary and laudatory epigrams that praise the addressee's acquaintance with classical culture and literary skills, often with an exaggeration that is itself part of the encomium.¹²

Indeed, the encomiastic mode is ubiquitous in late antique epigrammatic poetry. Verse inscriptions in honor of emperors, governors, prominent citizens, and (especially from the second half of the fourth century) Christian

bishops, studded late Roman urban public space, often written in a very standard language (Robert 1948). An eloquent example is the following epigram, carved in a statue base from the city of Aphrodisias (Caria), celebrating the learned and outmost upright governor Oecumenius (fourth century):¹³

Τὸν σὲ νόμων πλήθοντα, τὸν Ἰταλιώτιδα Μοῦσαν
 Ἀτθίδος ἡδυεπεῖ κιρνάμενον μέλιτι
 τῇδ' Οἰκουμένιον τὸν αἰοίδιμον ἡγεμονῆα,
 στήσε φίλη βουλή τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων.
 Τῷ γὰρ δὴ καθαρῷ φρένα καὶ χέρα, τί πλέον εὐρεῖν 5
 μνημοσύνης ἀγαθῆς ἄλλο πάρεστι γέρας;

You who are full of (knowledge of) laws, who have blended the Italian Muse with the sweet-voiced honey of the Attic, Oecumenius, the famous governor, the friendly council of the Aphrodisians has set you up here; for what greater reward than that of being well remembered can the man find who is pure in mind and in hand?

Every term and image of this text is paralleled in other verse inscriptions and in encomiastic highbrow literature (Ševčenko 1968). Juridical and literary learning, the knowledge of both Latin and Greek, eloquence (ἡδυεπής at line 2 is a standard allusion to Homeric Nestor, *Il.* 1.248), and political honesty are often remarked in this kind of poem, whose originality depended on the poet's ability in varying the *topoi*. See for example the series of 14 epigrams penned by Gregory of Nazianzus in honor of the powerful Martinianus, prefect of Rome and correspondent of Basilus and Libanius (*AP* 8.104–117, between 378 and 389 CE). In the *Cycle* many epigrams for statues or portraits of governors and literates are present, for example *APL* 32–39. An elegant epigram by Agathias (*APL* 41 = 18 Valerio) shows how a talented poet could compose a variation on the theme (see also *APL* 88 by Julian the Egyptian).

Parallel to the encomium, and often combined with it, is the ecphrastic mode, connected to the visual aesthetics characteristic of late antique literature (Agosti 2011–2012, 2014). Descriptions of secular and religious buildings, works of art, aqueducts and baths, everyday life objects, and statues and portraits are probably the most frequent epigrammatic subject after epitaphs. Here again within a standard, highly rhetorical language and common traits (like admiration and astonishment, *thauma*), every poet aims at finding an original vein, also in very traditional themes like art that imitates nature (e.g., Julian the Egyptian on Myron's cow: *AP* 9.738–39, 793–98), or the emotional response of the beholder (Julian, *APL* 87–88, on a statue of

Prometheus; or Agathias, *APL*. 59 and 244 = 22–23 Valerio, on the statues of a Maenad and a Satyr). The curious reader will be not disappointed by unexpected poems of brilliant virtuosity, like Agathias' long description of a backgammon game (*APL*. 9.482 = 60 Valerio). His descriptions of buildings (*AP* 9.641 = 31 Valerio on the bridge on the Sangarios River, 9.665 = 29 on a garden, *AP* 9.662 = 26 Valerio, 9.631 = 27, 9.619 = 27, on baths) are also remarkable epigrams. To depict the beauty of a private house in Constantinople with a panoramic view of the sea the poet graciously starts from a well-known passage of Hesiod on virtue, quoted at line 1 (*AP* 9.653 = 64 Valerio):¹⁴

“Τῆς ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν,”
 ἔννεπεν Ἀσκραῖος δῶμα τόδε προλέγων.
 κλίμακα γὰρ ταναῆν περόων κεκαφηότι ταρσῶ
 ἰδρῶτι πλαδαρὴν ἀμφεδίηνα κόμην·
 ὑψόθι δ’ εἰσενόησα θαλασσαῖην περιωπὴν·
 ναὶ τάχα τῆς ἀρετῆς πιστότατον θάλαμος.

5

“The gods set toil before virtue,” said the poet of Ascrea, speaking prophetically of this house. For after mounting the long flight of steps with exhausted feet, my hair was all soaked with sweat; but from the summit I looked on the fine view of the sea. Yes! Perhaps the surer possession is the room of virtue.

A few words on style. Homer and the Hellenistic poets continued to be the preeminent literary models for late antique epigrammatists and their “art of variation.” Imperial poets were imitated and rewritten too, especially Lucillius and Nicarchus, the masters of the scoptic epigram. In the fourth century, learned authors like Palladas and Gregory of Nazianzus display a wide range of intertextuality, from subtle allusion, to quotation, parody, and contrastive imitation (this latter typical of Christian poetry). Literary epigrams in subsequent centuries pursued a sophisticated attitude towards ancient models, with two new features. First, from the mid-fifth century onward the “modern style” and metrics of Nonnus of Panopolis became the standard style of highbrow poetry. Nonnus obtained the status of “classic” and consequently the epic *langue* of his followers is no more Homeric, but Nonnian (Madden 1995, 284–98; Valerio 2014, 23–36; Giommoni 2018, 5–22, with further bibliography). The poets of the *Cycle* fully embraced the modern style. It also gradually entered verse inscriptions that display consistent or occasional presence of its features, depending on the culture of authors and patrons and geographical provenance. Second, Christianity had a twofold influence on literary language. Scriptural language and models entered the epigrams, even those of classicistic poets (a nice example is

Agathias, *AP* 10.68=76 Valerio, quoting 1 *Corinthians* 7.8; see McCail 1971, 214). Moreover, Christian poets very soon reached the status of new and authoritative models. Nonnus' Christian poem, the *Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel*, and Gregory of Nazianzus are imitated in the poets of the *Cycle* as well as in verse inscriptions.¹⁵

Indeed, the union of classical learning and Christian feelings and ideology is one of the most intriguing features of the late Greek epigram. This is particularly evident in funerary epigrams, where traditional patterns and themes coexist with new visions of life and death that involved also new literary models.¹⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus was able to create a literary Christian funerary epigram merging sophisticated rewriting of classical models with Christian funerary themes and images. A few of his epitymbic poems date back to his early years (before 360 CE), while most of them were composed after 380 CE (see Simelidis in this volume).

Almost all of the funerary epigrams collected in the *Cycle* are now in the sequence represented by *AP* 7.551–614. The classicizing language and the mention of Moira, Physis, Muses, Themis, and other traditional paraphernalia effectively show that *paideia* had lost any connection with polytheism, despite recent attempts to prove the contrary. Decidedly Christian sentiments reveal Paul the Silentiary (e.g., *AP* 7.606=8 Viansino), or Agathias (*AP* 7.551=42 Valerio). In the *Cycle* many epitaphs for real persons are preserved, like the two companion pieces of Julian the Egyptian for the usurper Hypatius involved in the Nika riot of 532 (*AP* 7.591, 7.592; see Cameron and Cameron 1966, 13, and Gullo 2015, 880–84).

Finally, of the *Cycle*'s "frivolous" sections the *erotic* is the best represented. It has been convincingly argued that it is preserved almost intact in *AP* 5.216–302 (Mattsson 1942, 5–12; McCail 1971, 208; Cameron 1993, 48). Most of the poets rewrite, in a more or less original manner, traditional themes and motifs, although this does not mean that they are all just literary *divertissements*. Real life often lurks behind what seems to be literary commonplaces and conventionality, for example in epigrams about actresses, singers, and other women.¹⁷ Explicit sexual allusions and even erotic actions are described (e.g., Agathias, *AP* 5.294=90 Valerio; Macedonius, *AP* 5.235=8 Madden), with a sensuality similar to that of many passages of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*. Paul the Silentiary, for example, describes the passionate sexual union of two lovers in a very baroque language (*AP* 5.255=58 Viansino), or is pleased to evoke a sexual assault on a girl, in a poem for which Latin models have been suggested (*AP* 5.275=62 Viansino).¹⁸ Some poets occasionally indulged in obscenity, which was a topic element of the subgenre, like Eratosthenes who composed an epigram based on the double meaning of "door and "key" (*AP* 5.242=I Giommoni).

Scoptic epigram diminished significantly after the second century (Agosti 2001, 234–37 with further bibliography). Palladas is the only author who devoted a great part of his tantalizing production to it. He is the true successor to Lucillius' satirical tradition, and his scoptic epigrams in *AP* 11 amount to 46. Palladas was particularly fond of personal invective ("to speak ill of the others is Attic honey," he says in *AP* 11.341): he wrote attacks against public individuals, governors, and Christians. He depicts himself as unable to give up (*AP* 11.340):

Ὡμοσα μυριάκις ἐπιγράμματα μηκέτι ποιεῖν,
 πολλῶν γὰρ μωρῶν ἔχθραν ἐπεσπασάμην·
 ἀλλ' ὅποτεν κατίδω τοῦ Παφλαγόνος τὸ πρόσωπον
 Πανταγάθου, στέξει τὴν νόσον οὐ δύναμαι.

I swore ten thousand times to make no more epigrams, for I had brought on my head the enmity of many fools, but when I set eyes in the face of the Paphlagonian Pantagathus I can't repress the malady. (trans. Paton)

Quite disappointingly, the fifth section of Agathias' *Cycle* dedicated to scoptic epigrams is almost entirely lost (only 16 epigrams).¹⁹ The scanty remains deal with traditional themes of the *Spottepigramm*: abuse on physical defects, satire on professions, and misogyny. In some cases, it is difficult to ascertain between a real attack, a literary variation on a traditional theme, or a joke.²⁰

NOTES

1. In this chapter, epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* are quoted according to Beckby (1967–68), or to recent new editions (for Agathias Valerio 2014, for Macedonius Madden 1995 etc., for Palladas the forthcoming edition by Luis Arturo Guichard); the translations are by Paton, modified, or my own.
2. Besides many important detailed contributions on authors and single epigrams, and new editions and commentaries, there is no recent comprehensive study; for example, we still lack a monograph devoted both to literary and inscriptional epigrams. See further the bibliographies in Agosti (2015 and 2016). For the chronological boundaries of late antique literature, see Agapitos (2012).
3. We still lack a modern collection and a thorough study of Christian epigrams. On language and literary models of Christian verse inscriptions see Agosti (2016).
4. Cameron (1993, 150–59); Lauxtermann (2003, 89–98; 2007, 194). On *AP* 1 see Baldwin (1996) and the brief remarks by Livingstone and Nisbet (2010, 137–39).
5. *AP* 6.80 = 3 Valerio is the surviving prologue. On the nature of the *Daphniaca* (a collection of mythological poems?) see Valerio (2014, 38–39).

6. See Keydell (1962, 549–54); McCail (1971, 239–40); Galli Calderini (1987). It might be useful to recall how these seven sections were re-arranged in Cephalas' anthology. After the prefaces to the *Garlands* of Meleager and Philip and the *Cycle* (= *AP* 4), Cephalas put: (1) erotic epigrams (= *Cycle* 6 = *AP* 5); (2) anathematic (= *Cycle* 1 = *AP* 6); (3) sepulchral (= *Cycle* 3 = *AP* 7); (4) epideictic (= *Cycle* 4 = *AP* 9a); (5) on works of art (= *Cycle* 2 = *AP* 9b); (6) protreptic (= *Cycle* 4 = *AP* 10); (7) bacchic (= *Cycle* 7 = *AP* 11a); (8) scoptic (= *Cycle* 6 = *AP* 11b); and (9) pederastic (= *AP* 12). A collection of epigrams in unusual meters (= *AP* 13) and another one of riddles, mathematical problems, and oracles (= *AP* 14) followed. Byzantine epigrams in *AP* 15.28–40 form an appendix to Cephalas added by someone else (Lauxtermann 2007, 200).
7. Trans. Paton and Tueller, slightly modified according to the interpretation of line 3 proposed by Cameron (1993, 157 and 2016c, 279).
8. Cf. Whitby (2007); Cameron (2016c). On Nonnus see Agosti (2012, 380–81, with further bibliography) and the chapters in Accorinti (2016).
9. On the overall change of epigram after 600 CE see Kominis (1966); Lauxtermann (2003, 131–34).
10. On late antique *epigrammata longa* cf. Agosti (2008); De Stefani (2008); Magnelli (2008).
11. Viljamaa (1968); Cribiore (2001, 239–44); Miguélez Caverio (2008); Agosti (2012, 373–75); Madden (1995, 54–56).
12. Among epitaphs see, e.g., Agathias, *AP* 7.574 = 38 Valerio (for a law student), 7.593 = 37 (for his sister); Julian the Egyptian, *AP* 7.561–62 (epitaphs for a rhetor), 7.594 and 595 (for a grammarian and librarian); Leontius, *AP* 7.579 = VII Giommoni (epitaph for Petrus, scholasticus and rhetor); Paulus Silentiarius, *AP* 7.588 = 2 Viansino (epitaph for Damocharis the poet); *GVI* 639 (Athens, fourth–fifth century CE, for a student); *GVI* 2000 = *SGO* 21/07/02 (Bir er-Seba', *Palaestina Tertia*, sixth century CE, for a student); *GVI* 1907 (Milan, fourth century CE, for a physician), *ala*2004.33 = *SGO* 02/09/11 (fourth century, for a rhetor).
13. *SGO* 02/09/17 = *ala*2004.31 = *LSA* 150. Translation by Ch. Roueché in *ala*2004.31.
14. See also Smith (2016), who suggests a subtle interplay of Hesiodic and Christian resonances. Translation by Paton, slightly modified in the last verse.
15. This means that they entered the school curriculum (Giommoni 2018, 17–19; Agosti 2016).
16. On funerary verse inscriptions see now the reference monograph by Garulli (2012) (devoted to classical and Hellenistic epigrams, but occasionally dealing also with later poems).
17. Cf. Cameron (1970, 20–29); Madden (1995, 32–34); Garland (2011, 152) (“real-life ladies of the Constantinopolitan demimonde”).
18. On the much discussed question of the influence of Latin elegy on Paul see De Stefani (2006); more cautious and substantially skeptic are Degani (1998); Magnelli (2016). For Macedonius see Madden (1995, 62–63).

19. Even worse, only seven epigrams from the seventh, the drinking-songs section, survive. Four of them are by Macedonius (*AP* 11.58–59, 61, 63 = 32–35 Madden). The loss was probably due to the hazards of the transmission, see Madden (1995, 295–99); Valerio (2014, 15).
20. See Mattsson (1942, 89–92); Galli Calderini (1987, 132–33); Madden (1995, 256–72); Giommoni (2018, 232–236); Garland (2011, 156). On the wider context of iambic themes in late antiquity see Agosti (2001).

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CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

Damasus and the Christian Epigram in the West

Dennis Trout

In the early decades of the fifth century, Achilleus of Spoleto constructed a basilica in a cemetery outside Spoleto's walls. Within the building freshly inscribed elegiac couplets announced his patronage – “Achilleus, bishop devoted to Christ the Lord, erected these lofty gables in honor of dutiful Peter” – and claimed for his see a share of the sanctity emanating from Peter's Vatican tomb (*ICI* 6.45–46). Why be surprised, Achilleus asked, when a basilica dedicated to Peter arises elsewhere than Rome; everywhere, he observed, the church rests on an invincible Petrine foundation (Carletti 2001). Indeed, had not God himself given Peter his name

dicens esto Petrus quoniam fundabo super te
quam mihi nunc toto molior orbe domum.
In te per cunctas consistit ecclesia gentes
vincit et inferni carceris imperium.
(*ICI* 6.46.7–10)

saying let you be Peter, since I will establish upon you the house that I am now building throughout the world. Among all nations the church takes its stand on you and conquers the power of the prison infernal.

Achilleus' verses testify to the remarkable vigor of epigraphic poetry in fifth-century Italy, but Spoleto's bishop was neither the first nor last champion of the *carmen epigraphicum* in late ancient Umbria. Several decades earlier, at

Carsulae, the anonymous husband of Aurelia Yguia commemorated his wife in five clumsy hexameters: “May your holy shade [*manes*] be present for us as we seek it / so that in gladness we may ever sing Psalms to you” (*ICI* 6.39). Yguia was 39 years old when she died in April 373 during the fourth consulship of Valentinian and Valens; she had lived with her husband for 24 of those years, sufficient to be described in traditional fashion as “dear, dutiful, and dedicated.” Although Achilleus’ elegiacs are smart and proper while Yguia’s hexameters are rough and inelegant, together these poems illustrate the ambition, creativity, and diverse social origins of inscribed verse in this age of religious and cultural transition. For such reasons the *carmina epigraphica* of late antiquity are provoking renewed interest.

Yet despite this poetry’s appeal, several obstacles impede its integration with the literary and social history of the later empire. The standard anthology of Latin verse inscriptions, non-Christian as well as Christian – Buecheler’s and Lommatzsch’s *Carmina Latin Epigraphica* – is now more than a century old. Though a marvel of industry and erudition, *CLE*’s editorial principles are outmoded (Bruun and Edmondson 2015b) while its organization by meter, rather than chronology or geography, makes it an unwieldy tool for many purposes. Moreover, while such standard collections of Christian inscriptions as *ILCV* and *ICUR* naturally tilt towards late antiquity, their organizational schemes leave metrical texts widely scattered. Finally, as brief and often anonymous poems straddling the line between documents and literature, verse inscriptions too easily appear foreign to epigraphers and literary scholars alike (Citroni 1991, 172; Schmidt 2015, 768–69). This seems especially true of the age’s building inscriptions, for although epitaphs, which are continuous to a degree with early imperial practices and represent more than 90 percent of late Latin metrical inscriptions, have more consistently drawn attention, church dedications and verses explicating wall paintings and mosaics, which are novel and often enmeshed in complex archaeological and art historical debates, remain underappreciated.

There are, however, reasons for optimism. The volumes of *CIL* 18, intended to replace *CLE* as a comprehensive corpus of Latin metrical inscriptions, will soon appear (Cugusi 2007; Schmidt 2015, 771). In the meantime, up-to-date regional inventories (Pikhaus 1994; Cugusi 2003; Cugusi and Sblendorio Cugusi 2008) are providing opportunities for more sure-footed literary and historical study. Simultaneously, better archaeology, more nuanced approaches to psychologies of place and memory, and greater sensitivity to the literary, visual, and spiritual dimensions of epigraphic poetry are facilitating sophisticated analysis (Pietri 1988; Meyers 2011; Liverani 2014). Furthermore, in respect to the late Latin *carmina* in particular, it is now evident that the proximity of private tombs, martyrial memorials, and

churches – which brought readers and writers together in contiguous spaces – facilitated the diffusion of language and ideas in ways that defy modern typological boundaries. It is hardly coincidental that the earliest dateable epigrams composed for inscription in Christian basilicas were installed in structures erected in Rome's extramural cemeteries or that the pivotal contributions of Pope Damasus (366 to 384) include epitaphs and dedicatory verse as well as martyrial *elogia*. The absolute number of specifically late Latin metrical inscriptions may remain difficult to determine, but the social significance of the medium is undeniable. Verse texts account for roughly 1 to 2 percent of the approximately 400,000 known ancient Latin inscriptions from all periods (Pikhaus 1986; Schmidt 2015; with Beltrán Lloris 2015), but it is evident that during and after the Constantinian period metrical inscriptions were both put to new uses and acquired an aristocratic cachet they had not known in early imperial Italy (Schetter 1993, 259–62).

Although the texts that are the subject of this chapter are epigrams by virtue of the acts that inscribed them on durable surfaces (Puelma 1997), the content and generic affiliations of many of these poems set them apart from the better known epigrammatic poetry of the age. The martyrial *elogia* of Damasus and building inscriptions like those of Achilles, for example, have little in common with the occasional verse of Naucellius (*Epigr. Bob.* 2–9) or the erotic epigrams of Ausonius, many of which flaunt their Greek influences (Green 1991, 65–96; Kay 2001; cf. Mondin in this volume). At the same time, metrical epitaphs like Aurelia Yguia's honor traditions of funerary commemoration that emerged in the late third- and second-century-BCE epitaphs of the Scipios and remained vital, though with relocation to lower social ranks, beyond the second century CE. Furthermore, for almost all this poetry Vergilian epic is the irresistible touchstone. That is not to say that the *carmina epigraphica* of late antiquity do not share the aesthetic sensibilities of the fourth-century poetic revival already on display in the oeuvre of Ausonius. Nor does it imply that this verse is not otherwise innovative. Indeed, its appearance on the scene in the Constantinian age hints at something revolutionary in the air.

35.1 Imperial Poets and Patrons

We can easily trace the lineage of Achilles' epigraphic program at Spoleto back to startling initiatives played out in mid-fourth-century Rome. In fact, when Achilles proclaimed of Peter (*ICI* 6.45.9–10):

Victor enim mundi superata morte triumphans
sp(iritu)s ad summum pergīt in astra d(eu)m

For as victor over the world, triumphing over vanquished death, his spirit
proceeded into the stars to God on high,

he manipulated words that had appeared a century earlier on the mosaicked
triumphal arch of that city's St. Peter's, where two hexameters proclaimed
(*ILCV* 1752; *ICUR* 2.4092; parallels italicized):

Quod duce te *mundus* surrexit *in astra triumphans*,
hanc Constantinus *victor* tibi condidit aulam.

Because under your leadership the world rose in triumph into the stars,
Constantine, victor, founded this great hall for you.

Achilleus, who had conducted the Easter celebration in Rome in 419, knew this Vatican text firsthand (Maccarrone 1978; Otranto 2009, 206–11). He (or his poet) adapted the praise offered there to Constantine, redirecting it to honor Spoleto's Peter. Yet, Achilleus also knew that in Rome, as in Milan and elsewhere by the 420s, church foundations incorporated relics. Consequently much of Achilleus' epigram aimed at bolstering confidence that Peter's *meritum* was truly available at the Spoletine church despite the fact that *magna Roma* possessed the apostle's tomb. Referencing the Vatican's dedicatory epigram by alluding to it was, therefore, a subtle way of drawing the two sites closer. Peter's relics may have been in Rome and his *spiritus* among the stars, but his favor, Achilleus emphasized, was available everywhere: "Let no one suppose this hall [*aula*, another word in the Vatican text] is void of his venerated [*venerandum*] name because it is not home to his body." Rome might possess Peter's grave (*ICI* 6.45.7–8),

sed non et meritum monumenta includere possunt
nec quae corpus habent saxa tenent animam.

but monuments are not capable of fencing in favor nor do the stones that hold
the body confine the soul.

Two generations earlier, in texts Achilleus also surely knew, Damasus had made similar claims. A marble plaque in the catacomb of S. Callisto (*ED* 16) assured Damasus' readers that the venerated tombs round about might contain the bodies of the saints, but the heavens had taken up their souls (*corpora sanctorum retinent veneranda sepulcra / sublimes animas rapuit sibi regia caeli*). Moreover, *meritum* itself was a word that Damasus also preferred to signal both the rewards received and benefactions offered by the Roman

martyrs. By gesturing to Damasus as well as the Vatican, then, Achilleus' epigram also connected his readers to the two initiatives – imperial and episcopal – that had revitalized the *carmen epigraphicum* in fourth-century Rome.

The Roman building projects of Constantine and his family are reasonably well documented; less familiar are the unprecedented metrical inscriptions that adorned several of them. The earliest securely dateable epigram is that which in the 340s Constantina, Constantine's eldest daughter, inscribed on a marble plaque in a basilica she erected in a graveyard along the Via Nomentana. The cemetery housed the tomb of the martyr Agnes; the poem was in fourteen hexameters (*ICUR* 8.20752). Constantina's epigram is joined by two others set into mosaics at Saint Peter's (one just considered), probably in the 330s or 340s, by a twenty-four hexameter poem carved into the base of the Egyptian obelisk that the emperor Constantius II erected in the Circus Maximus in the late 350s (*CIL* 6.1163; Liverani 2012), and probably by a text of at least three elegiac couplets inscribed at the Basilica Apostolorum on the Via Appia (*ICUR* 1.3900). Together these five epigrams, which hint at a more extensive enterprise, document a critical moment in the fortunes of the *carmen epigraphicum* at Rome. No previous imperial family had deployed inscribed verse to fashion itself before the people. On the Circus Maximus obelisk, for example, Constantius presented himself as the "master of the world" who had liberated Rome from yet one more tyrant, a worthy successor, that is, of his father – whose triumphal arch proclaimed (in prose) his avenging victory over an earlier tyrant and "all his faction" (*CIL* 6.1139: *tam de tyranno quam de omni eius factione*). On the Via Nomentana Constantina boasted of her unsparing generosity, her patronage of the *victrix virgo* Agnes, and her intimate alliance with a mighty God. On the Vatican, those hexameters on the basilica's apse and triumphal arch advertised further messages of imperial success and benefaction. Virtually without warning, the *carmen epigraphicum* had erupted as a medium of imperial image making.

Attentive reading of these Constantinian epigrams also reveals their *avant garde* pretensions. In the age of Optatianus Porfyrius' *carmina figurata*, Constantina's epigram, too, sports a fashionable acrostic (*Constantina deo*), while Constantius fired the imagination with exotic place names – Egyptian Thebes and the mountains of the Caucasus – and the lure of a marvel such as "no land produced nor age had seen" (*et quod nulla tulit tellus nec viderat aetas*). Their lines honored the rules of classical prosody (Carletti Colafrancesco 1976) while invoking the literary tradition. Constantius' obelisk had been heroically freighted across the sea "to the Hesperian shore as Father Tiber looked on" (*litus ad Hesperium [Tiberi] miranti carinam*), as

once a weary Aeneas had arrived *litus in Hesperium* (Verg. *Aen.* 6.6). A phrase employed by Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 15.100) to describe the starry reward earned by Virtus – *ad astra Triumphus* – may lurk behind the *in astra triumphans* of the Vatican’s triumphal arch. Constantina’s 14 hexameters flash so many allusions to Vergil and Ovid that the epigram foreshadows the mannered style of the cento, a poetic form whose stock was about to skyrocket. Moreover, some of Constantina’s allusions aimed at prodding readers to make meaning by summoning up classical texts and authors. A nod to Vergil (*Aen.* 3.321: *O felix ... virgo*) offered the classical heroine Polyxena as a lens for refocusing the Christian *felix virgo* Agnes, an equally unlikely victor-in-death over male *imperium*. Recall of Ovid’s *Tr.* 3.7 (addressed to the *doctissima* Perilla) underlined Constantina’s own claim to be a *poeta docta* (Trout 2015b). In short, Constantine’s heirs turned to the *carmen epigraphicum* not only to articulate publicly their political and religious proclivities but also to showcase their command of Rome’s literary heritage.

The message was not entirely lost on later dynasties. When the empress Galla Placidia, together with Pope Leo I (440–61), reconstructed the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura a century later, four hexameters set into the church’s triumphal arch (*ICUR* 2.4780 and 4784) advertised her name as well as those of her father and her brother, the church’s original donors (Krautheimer, Corbett, and Frazer 1977, 98–99; Carletti 2000, 448; Liverani 2009):

Theodosius coepit perfecit Honorius aulam
doctoris mundi sacratam corpore Pauli.

Theodosius began and Honorius completed this hall made holy through the
body of Paul, teacher of the world.

Placidiae pia mens operis decus omne paterni
gaudet pontificis studio splendere Leonis.

Placidia’s pious mind rejoices that all the glory of her father’s work shines forth
through the zeal of the pontiff Leo.

In these same years at Rome, Licinia Eudoxia, Placidia’s daughter-in-law and eventually Augusta in her own right, inscribed at the *titulus Eudoxiae* (S. Pietro in Vincoli) two hexameters that publicized the benefactions of her father and mother, the eastern emperor Theodosius II and his wife Aelia Eudocia (*ILCV* 1779). Yet, well before then, at Rome and elsewhere, the public *carmen epigraphicum* had become primarily a mechanism for promoting ecclesial and episcopal agenda.

35.2 Damasus

Damasus became bishop of Rome in tough times. His election in 366 was violently contested and his city riven by factions; charges of misconduct targeted him until the eve of his death. Oddly, perhaps, these difficulties help explain why Damasus undertook a program of epigraphic commemoration of the Roman martyrs, a project whose scale and vision influenced bishops and their poets for generations. Although complicit in the surging popularity of the cult of the martyrs, the verse *elogia* that Damasus installed in martyria throughout Rome's suburbs also articulated his own designs for church leadership and civic authority. We can still count at least 60 such interventions. Typically inscribed on grand marble tablets in elegant Philocalian script (see Figure 35.1), Damasus' *elogia* distinguished most of the major cemetery zones outside Rome's Aurelian walls. Within those walls his verses marked the basilica he erected near the theater of Pompey (S. Lorenzo in Damaso), S. Anastasia near the Circus Maximus, and perhaps several other sites as well. No comparable single-authored body of epigraphic verse survives from antiquity; and although opinion regarding the literary merit of Damasus' epigrams has differed, their innovative spirit and impact are undeniable. Contemporaries borrowed his words; pilgrims copied down his lines; damaged stones were replaced (e.g., *ED* 18 and 20). He would be invited to compose an epitaph for the noble young Proiecta. Prudentius and Paulinus of Nola honored him by imitation, as did an anonymous poet who ineptly plundered his auto-epitaph (*ED* 12; *ICUR* 10.26653). Damasus' assembly of epigrams, reduced now to slightly less than 300 reasonably well-preserved lines, captures a remarkable moment in the evolution of literary taste and episcopal self-confidence at Rome (Ferrua 1942; Reutter 2009; Löx 2013; Trout 2015a).



Figure 35.1 Damasus: *Elogium* of St. Agnes, Via Nomentana, Rome. Photograph: author.

Damasus' best-known verses include the ten hexameters composed to celebrate Agnes at her Via Nomentana tomb (*ED* 37). The *elogium* survives both in manuscripts of Prudentius and nearly complete on the original stone, whose brilliant surface is awash in an alluring flood of majestic letters (Figure 35.1). Notably, Constantina's earlier verses, on display in the adjacent basilica, had said surprisingly little about Agnes herself. Damasus, as was his wont, spotlighted her spirited defiance.

Fama refert sanctos dudum retulisse parentes
 Agnen cum lugubres cantus tuba concrepuisset
 nutricis gremium subito liquisse puellam.
 Sponte trucis calcasse minas rabiemq(ue) tyranni
 urere cum flammis voluisset nobile corpus. 5
 Virib(us) inmensum parvis superasse timorem
 nudaque profusum crinem per membra dedisse
 ne domini templum facies peritura videret.
 O veneranda mihi sanctum decus alma pudoris
 ut Damasi precib(us) faveas precor inclyta martyr. 10

Legend has it that a short time ago her holy parents reported that, when the trumpet had sounded its mournful music, Agnes, but a girl, suddenly abandoned her nurse's lap. Willingly she trod under foot the threats and madness of the savage tyrant when he wished to burn her noble body with flames. Despite her slight strength she vanquished the immense terror and set loose her hair to flow over her naked limbs – lest a mortal countenance, doomed to perish, see the temple of the Lord. O kindly saint, worthy of my veneration, holy glory of modesty, I pray, renowned martyr, that you favor the prayers of Damasus.

Damasus' epigram is the earliest narrative presentation of Agnes' story in a series that otherwise begins with her brief appearances in the early fourth-century *depositio martyrum* and Constantina's epigram and continues with her developed roles in Prudentius' *Peristephanon* 14 and in a rather tamer fifth-century *passio* (Jones 2007; Trout 2014). Damasus' ten lines illustrate well the nature of his poetic strategies. Hexameters dominate his oeuvre; only three epigrams use elegiac couplets. He himself regularly appears in his verses, often as a suppliant; and here as elsewhere reportage and indirect discourse create distance and atmosphere. The latter are enhanced in this case by his opening nod to Vergil (*Aen.* 3.121: *fama volat*) and Ovid – whose own *fama refert* at *Pont.* 3.2.51 introduces (take note) a tale about a temple of the maiden goddess Diana served by virgin priestesses. Both classical forerunners remain present. At *Aeneid* 9.503–4 a trumpet heralded warfare in similar terms (*at tuba*

In the final year of his life, Damasus composed an epigram for another young woman, this time not an *elogium* for a legendary martyr but an epitaph for the 17-year-old Proiecta. Proiecta's identity remains uncertain, but Damasus' epigram further testifies to both his prominence and literary aesthetics (*ED* 51).

What? Should I speak or be silent? Grief itself forestalls an answer. Recognize that this tomb holds the tears of the parents of Proiecta, who had been wed to a single / exceptional husband, beautiful in natural grace, satisfied with modesty alone, alas, so greatly cherished by a distraught mother's love. Understand – simply put – that at the outset of her marriage, snatched from the sight of her father Florus, she went away, longing to ascend to the aetherial light of heaven. This consolation for their weeping Damasus offers to all.

Once again the piece opens with spliced Vergilian and Ovidian allusions. Aeneas, hesitating over his account of Polydorus' death and burial, had asked

eloquar an sileam (*Aen.* 3.39), while grief had similarly checked the speech of Ovid's Alcyone, inconsolable over the loss of her husband Ceyx: *plura dolor prohibet* (*Met.* 11.708). The Damasan epigram's consolatory force, however, is concentrated in its assurance that Proiecta had not died but ascended to the same "aetherial light of heaven" that was home to many of Damasus' martyrs. Yet an attentive reader might also have been struck by the manner in which Proiecta's epitaph, highlighting (in my reading) her status as a once-married woman (*univira*), engaged a deeply distraught Dido's anxiety that she might lose that very same claim to glory (*Aen.* 4.9–30). The Vergilian passage was straightforwardly apposite and Damasus apparently encouraged its recall: in Vergil's 22 lines, *primus* appears twice, together with *amor*, *thalami*, *miseri*, *pudor*, *iunxit*, and *lacrimis*. The allusion's real power, however, lay in the contrast it suggested: Proiecta had preserved what Dido could not and, as many readers must have understood, while Proiecta had won the stars, Dido had been condemned to wander in a bleak underworld.

In sum, it is hard to overplay the significance of Damasus' epigrams for both our view of fourth-century society and our understanding of the renaissance of the Latin *carmen epigraphicum* in late antiquity. At the same time that his poetry reconfigured piety, martyr cult, and episcopal authority in Rome, it reinforced the aesthetics of allusion, miniaturization, and lexical play characteristic of so much Latin poetry composed in the later fourth and fifth centuries.

35.3 Beyond Damasus

The verse epitaph remained vital in Rome through and beyond the fifth century, but the most remarkable feature of Rome's epigraphic profile in later antiquity is the high incidence of non-funerary metrical inscriptions installed in the city's churches and *martyria*. Some of these are honorific; many are dedicatory, recording acts of clerical or private benefaction. Quite a few, moreover, served as verbal glosses for associated mosaic scenes, figural and symbolic. Their total reaches at least 180, including the imperial and Damasan texts already mentioned. The vagaries of survival make all historical generalizations conditional but some observations are in order. More than a quarter of these epigrams belong to the Vatican complex, the basilica of St. Peter and its associated structures, underlining the importance of that site in the policies of Rome's bishops and in the imagination of its pilgrims. Indeed, the majority of these *carmina*, roughly three quarters, are associated with extramural sites, reflecting both the bias evident in the Damasan material and the relentless gravitational pull of these suburban *memoriae*. Perhaps

unsurprisingly, Rome's bishops surpass others as sponsors of inscribed non-funerary verse. Presbyters and lay people are attested as the primary agents in fewer than two dozen cases. It is also true, however, that the record favors the activity of some post-Damasan bishops over others. Symmachus I (498–514) was very busy at St. Peter's, at least in part a response to the Laurentian schism that deprived him of the Lateran. Otherwise, small assemblies of *carmina*, a half-dozen or so each, typically installed in several locations, can be credited to Sixtus III (432–40), Leo I (440–61), Vigilius (537–55), Pelagius II (579–90), and Honorius I (625–38).

Leo I's previously noted collaboration with Galla Placidia at S. Paolo fuori le mura is not the only evidence of his intervention there. An extant marble tablet (*ICUR* 2.4783), originally located, it seems, inside the nave above the central doorway, boasted of the basilica's divine protection and the bishop's efforts, assisted by the presbyter Felix and the deacon Adeodatus, to restore the *culmina templi* to grandeur after the roof's partial collapse. The text is comprised of six elegiac couplets followed by four lines in iambic trimeter. Leo himself would become the first bishop of Rome to be buried at St. Peter's, but Felix and Adeodatus were interred at S. Paolo. Both were honored with metrical epitaphs (Carletti 2000, 453–54): that of Felix, who died in 471, arranged in five hexameters (*ILCV* 1762; *ICUR* 2.4958) and that of Adeodatus in three couplets added to the six hexameters with which he had commemorated his wife 23 years before (*ILCV* 1196; *ICUR* 2.4926). In conventional manner her virtues were private and domestic – *casta gravis sapiens simplex veneranda fidelis* (“chaste, serious, wise, humble, venerable, faithful”) – while public office (and word play) distinguished him: archdeacon of the apostolic see, Adeodatus had been “given by God” (*a deo sic datus*) to serve the altar.

One particular subset of Rome's non-funerary inscribed epigrams, comprised of verses installed in the city's baptisteries, can illustrate further tendencies of this Roman verse and its poets. The best known of these texts may be the eight couplets that adorned Sixtus III's remodeling of the Lateran baptistery (*ILCV* 1513). The following lines, however, accompanied the addition of a baptistery to S. Lorenzo in Damaso, probably in the early fifth century (de Rossi 2.1, 135.6).

Iste salutare fons continet inclitus undas
et solet humanam purificare luem.

Munia sacrati quae sint vis scire liquoris:
dant regnatricem flumina sancta fidem.

Ablue fonte sacro veteris contagia vitae;
o nimium felix vive renatus aqua.

Hunc fontem quicumque petit, terrena relinquit,
subicit et pedibus caeca ministeria.

5

This renowned font contains health-giving waters and is accustomed to cleanse mankind of pestilence. You wish to know what the actions of this sacred water are: the holy streams bestow a royal faith. Wash off the contagion of old life in the sacred font; O too happy one, live, born again from the water! Whoever seeks out this font, leaves behind earthly things and treads under foot service to uncertain affairs.

Like many such texts these couplets are exegetical, explaining the significance of the baptismal rite. They are also legible in any order, suggesting their inscription around the font. As elsewhere, most verses emphasized the regenerative powers of the font's waters, though seeking lexical variety in metaphors of cleansing, purifying, and rebirth. The term *fons*, for example, appears here three times (though in three different cases), but its waters are denoted by four different terms: *undae*, *liquor*, *flumina*, and *aqua*. The memorable clausulae *purificare luem*, *contagia vitae*, and *caeca ministeria*, appear in Roman baptismal verse inscriptions only here. Even the expression *renatus aqua* is limited to this text, although the Lateran inscription employs the variants *hoc fonti renati* and *hoc natus flumine*. Finally, S. Lorenzo's stately second pentameter is a vivid sign of this epigram's ambition. Its first half is drawn out through five successive long syllables; seven resonating nasals stretch across its full length. The line's second word – the rare *regnatricem* – clinches the case. In its only previous appearance in Latin literature, it was employed by Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.4) to denote the “royal house” (*in domo regnatrice*) in which the future emperor Tiberius was raised. Careful reading, that is, arrests any temptation to dismiss these texts as simplistic or trite simply because their themes seem overly familiar.

Elsewhere in Italy and the western provinces bishops and clerics, sensitive, it seems, to developments in Rome, also decorated old and new churches and shrines with inscribed verse while family members continued to commemorate the deceased in metrical epitaphs. In the mid- or later fifth century, two more epigrams were added to those that Achilleus had installed in his Spoletine basilica (*ICI* 6.47–48). While these poems praised Achilleus for his accomplishment (*omnia magnanimus pastor construxit Achilles*) and highlighted the church's prominence on a hill overlooking the Via Flaminia (*qui Romam Romaque venis hunc aspice montem*), their primary aim was celebration of the acquisition of relics from the chains (*catenae* and *vincla*) of St. Peter. Both epigrams, two and three couplets respectively, further close the gap between the Vatican and Spoleto's own hilltop S. Pietro, both by universalizing access to Peter's power (*ops*) through scriptural references

(*Acts* 12.17 as well as *Matt.* 16.19) and by simultaneously localizing it in the relics of his chains. Moreover, like Achilles, the poet(s) of these verses echoed lines inscribed in Peter's Vatican basilica. At the same time, Umbrian tombs continued the tradition of Christian epitaphic verse documented as early as 373 CE on Aurelia Yguia's marble tablet from Carsulae. One recent corpus counts at least another 20 metrical epitaphs, many now quite fragmentary (*ICI* 6).

The case of Umbria and Spoleto also illustrates one of the distinctive features of our dossier of late Latin *carmina epigraphica*, that is, the discrepant pathways of their preservation. Many epitaphs have survived solely because the stones on which they were inscribed either are still extant or were when humanist and early modern scholars transcribed them. Such is the case, for example, not only for Aurelia Yguia's crude tombstone but also for Proiecta's deluxe tablet. Many non-funerary texts, however, are only known through manuscript copies, typically originating in late antiquity. The two texts just considered from Spoleto's basilica of S. Pietro, like the epigram inscribed there earlier by Achilles, are examples of this avenue of transmission (de Rossi 2.1, 113–14; Binazzi 1989, 81). Such building epigrams were public texts on display in public places (Pietri 1988, 137–40) and often attracted interest because they included the names of well-known saints and bishops. Yet, Achilles' S. Pietro was only one of several Spoletine basilicas. It appears, for example, that not a single text (in prose or verse), survives from the city's late Roman intra-mural cathedral (today underlying the Romanesque S. Maria Assunta), which functioned into the Carolingian period (Toscano 1974; Pani Ermini 2001, 404–9). On the other hand, at least 14 verse epitaphs are known from the area of Spoleto, most surviving only as stone fragments (*ICI* 6.54–118, *passim*). In other cities similar fortuities shape the record.

At a cemetery outside Campanian Nola, for example, Paulinus, formerly of Bordeaux, inscribed epigrams throughout the cluster of buildings that he renovated or built anew in the opening years of the fifth century. Although the mosaic *aedicula* that still surrounds the tomb of Felix in the *basilica vetus* preserves the traces of six elegiac couplets, these verses postdate Paulinus by perhaps a century. Paulinus' own *carmina epigraphica* have survived largely because he included them in a letter (*Ep.* 32), though some were also copied into a late antique sylloge (Lehmann 2004, 148–239). At Milan two epigrams inscribed in the Basilica Apostolorum (S. Nazaro), each containing the name of Ambrose, are preserved in copy (*ICI* 14.1–2; Cugusi 2009–10, 380–81). In the same city verse inscriptions written by Ennodius to commemorate restoration projects of the bishop Lorenzo I at S. Lorenzo

Maggiore (*ICI* 12.25) and S. Calimero (*ICI* 12.84) are known through the manuscript tradition of their author. The same is true for the extensive series of epigrams Ennodius composed for Milan's *episcopium* (Cugusi 2009–10, 396–99). At Ravenna the interests of Agnellus, ninth-century author of the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, are responsible for the preservation of a selection of that city's verse inscriptions. Agnellus' *Liber* quotes inscriptions, typically dedicatory or accompanying mosaics, from 18 different religious structures, including 15 metrical texts through the early seventh century (Deliyannis 2004 and 2006). Without Agnellus' industry the two epigrams that Galla Placidia set out in mosaic in her new Church of the Holy Cross would have been lost (*CIL* 11.274–75; Deliyannis 2010, 70–74), as would the remarkable 24-hexameter and 20-hexameter poems (on Creation and St. Peter respectively) that Bishop Neon (450–73) inscribed at the *episcopium* on the walls of a dining hall (*CIL* 11.258–59; Deliyannis 2010, 100–1). Indeed, the same is true for most of the texts recorded by Agnellus, including the epigram of Peter II visible today in the narthex of the *capella arcivescovile*, which is a modern restoration indebted to Agnellus (*CIL* 11.260; Deliyannis 2010, 192; David 2013, fig. 86). Across the Alps, at Tours, the story is the same. The elaborate epigraphic program that once decorated the walls of Perpetuus' fifth-century Basilica of St. Martin, which included epigrams composed by Sidonius and Paulinus of Périgueux, is preserved thanks to a late antique dossier (Pietri 1983, 798–822; Trout 2009, 182–83).

The survival of such texts, together with the numerous verse epitaphs of the age, provides access to a poetic medium whose true dimensions are now hard to measure but whose appeal is indisputable. Consequently, appreciation of late antiquity's cultural contours can ill-afford to eschew consideration of the metrical inscriptions that are one of the age's signature features. Initiatives rooted in Constantinian and Damascan Rome, but lively for generations thereafter, indelibly marked townscapes and cemeteries, social practices and religious life, throughout Italy and the West. The fact that this story is still imperfectly understood should encourage further research.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

Gregory of Nazianzus and the Christian Epigram in the East

Christos Simelidis

The following chapter examines various literary, religious, and linguistic features of the epigrams written by the fourth-century Cappadocian father of the church, Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329–390 CE). Among the issues discussed are Gregory's central role in the adaptation of the Greek epigram for Christian purposes; his familiarity with the conventions of literary and inscriptional epigrams; his frequent repetition of a number of signature themes; and the reception and dissemination of his epigrams in late antiquity and Byzantium. The chapter studies 13 of Gregory's epigrams and offers close readings of selected passages.

When Julian tried to revive or restore the temple of Apollo at Delphi, he is reported by the *Artemii Passio* (35.31–33, ed. Kotter 1988) and Georgius Cedrenus (I 532.8–10, ed. Bekker 1838) to have received the following oracle, delivered to his physician and *quaestor* Oribasius:

εἶπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ· χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά.
οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δάφναν,
οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσιν. ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ.

Tell the emperor that the wondrous hall has fallen to the ground. No longer does Phoebus have a chamber, nor prophetic laurel, nor babbling spring. And the babbling water has been silenced.

Fatouros (1996, 373–74) thinks that this was probably an epigram composed by Oribasius himself, who wanted to inform Julian concerning the situation at Delphi. The *Artemii Passio* copies this text from Philostorgius, who, Fatouros suspects, was responsible for turning the epigram into an oracle. However, Bowra (1959, 432) has a stronger case in hearing in these words a Christian’s “mocking triumph over an emperor who has been deserted by his own gods,” and thus concluding that the “oracle” is in fact “a Christian fabrication.” In addition to these readings, it has been suggested that the author of this “oracle” was Gregory of Nazianzus and, although this is difficult to prove, there should be no doubt that whoever wrote it also drew on a similar passage in an oration of Gregory against Julian (Bowra 1959, 431–33).

Julian’s edict on education was one of the reasons Gregory composed classicizing Christian poetry (about 17,000 verses), in which he transforms classical poetic forms and language into Christian autobiographic and didactic verse. Indeed, Gregory is a transitional figure between the dying pagan world and the emerging Christian Middle Ages. By composing Christian literary texts within the classical tradition, Gregory appropriates the classical literary tradition for Christians, whose literary ambitions (according to him) should not be lower than those of the pagans. In addition, with his poetic output Gregory wanted to sugar the bitter pill of the Christian commandments for Christian youth, who had no Christian texts in their school curriculum. To be sure, Gregory’s poetic corpus was not meant to replace the classical texts of the school curriculum, but only to supplement them. As a result of Gregory’s immersion in the celebrated authors of antiquity, only those well read in a wide range of ancient Greek literature were able to understand fully and appreciate Gregory’s verses. Gregory emphasizes that, despite his deep roots in the classical tradition, his poetic personality is distinguished by his Christian spirituality, whose superiority over paganism is hinted at through clever literary allusions (Simelidis 2009, 26–45).

Gregory’s poetic corpus includes 253 epigrams, which form the eighth book of the *Palatine Anthology* and make him by far the most extensively represented author in it. The eighth book appears to have 254 epigrams, but the first one is an epitaph for John Chrysostom (d. 407) and Theodosius I (d. 395), and thus certainly not by Gregory. Gregory’s epigrams in the *Palatine Anthology* could all be considered “funerary” in a broader sense. This is why they were placed after Book 7, which contains the sepulchral epigrams. They were written to commemorate his relatives and friends, or in some cases to “enemies.” The latter fall into two groups: grave robbers and organizers of profane festivities inside the churches of the martyrs. The eighth book was not part of the *Anthology* compiled by Constantine Cephalas

at the end of the ninth century (see Maltomini in this volume), but is rather an addition by the early tenth-century compilers of the *Anthology* (Cameron 1993, 145–46). No epigrams by Gregory are found in the *Planudean Anthology*. Maximus Planudes is likely to have consciously decided not to include epigrams by Gregory, because he appears to have compiled his collection as a handbook for use in his teaching and because his earlier collection of hexameter poetry (*Codex Laurentianus* 32.16, dated 1280) already included a selection of Gregory's poems and epigrams.

Gregory's epigrams have a personal tone and present an unusual feature: an excessive repetition of the same topics. This is a curious fact that has been pointed out with disdain (Pontani 1979, 376–77) or has created the impression that the material is simply chaotic, or that the poems are nothing more than a rhetorical and literary exercise (Degani 1993, 232). Repetition of language and thought is not uncommon in Gregory's poems, but in the epigrams it takes the form of similar poems on the same subjects, such as the more than 50 funerary epigrams on his mother and more than 80 against grave robbers. Gregory's deep affection for his mother was certainly a reason for his numerous epigrams about her, as he himself explains (*AP* 8.30):

Γρηγόριον βοόωσα παρ' ἀνθοκόμοισιν ἄλωαῖς
ἦντεο, μήτηρ ἐμή, ξείνης ἄπο νισσομένοισι,
χεῖρας δ' ἀμπετάσασα φίλας τεκέεσσι φιλοισι,
Γρηγόριον βοόωσα· τὸ δ' ἔξεν αἷμα τεκούσης
ἀμφοτέροις ἐπὶ παισὶ, μάλιστα δὲ θρέμματι θηλῆς·
τοῦνεκα καὶ σὲ τόσοις ἐπιγράμμασι, μήτηρ, ἔτισα.

Calling on Gregory, mother, you did meet us by the flowery fields on our return from a strange country, and did reach out your dear arms to your dear children, calling ever on Gregory. The blood of the mother boiled for both her sons, but mostly for him whom she had suckled. Therefore, have I honored you, mother, in so many epigrams.¹

The phrase χεῖρας δ' ἀμπετάσασα is modeled on Bion's πάχεας ἀμπετάσασα (Reed 1997, 220–21), and is one of Gregory's countless debts to earlier Greek literature (Vertoudakis 2011, 141–97). At the same time, the popularity of the dactylic hexameter in late antique inscriptions has suggested the form of this and another 17 of his epigrams. But if his affection for his mother explains the excessive number of epigrams about her, why did he write so many epigrams against grave robbers? It would seem that an epigraphic habit of his era, as well as his deep sensitivity and strong emotions, made this a particularly compelling topic for him. Perhaps he also generally

took pleasure in composing variations of his own verses, a “Spiel der Selbstvariation,” in the words of Keydell (1953, 135). Moreover, repetition is the mother of learning, and by repeatedly emphasizing the virtues of his relatives and friends, along with the evil passions of grave robbers and gluttonous people, Gregory’s purpose may indeed have been didactic (Vertoudakis 2011, 80–81). Furthermore, Vertoudakis adds an intriguing suggestion: writing time and again on these subjects might have been a form of *ascesis* for Gregory in the same way ascetics had continually to repeat short prayers. “In his epigrams, Nazianzenus seems to combine the poetic-rhetorical exercise (γύμνασμα) with the anchoritic asceticism” (ibid.).

Gregory’s epigrams closely follow a well-established, traditional genre. For this reason, they can be distinguished from the rest of his poetic production, which is mostly autobiographical, theological, and moral, and has a special and sometimes unique character within the tradition of Greek poetry. It follows, as Vertoudakis (2011, 134–97) demonstrates very well, that Gregory is more classicizing from every point of view in his epigrams than in the rest of his poetry. As will be shown below, there are many epigrams in Gregory’s collection which cannot be identified as Christian based on their contents. Demoen (1996, 128 and 136) has also noticed that Gregory’s epigrams have many more pagan *exempla* than the rest of his poetry and, interestingly, Gregory adopts pagan *exempla* for individuals with secular education (such as his brother Caesarius), but biblical ones for pious female figures such as his mother Nonna (cf. Consolino 1987). However, even in the rest of his poetry we find, “for example, a hexameter panegyric in the high style following all the rules of the genre – but on virginity” (Cameron 2004, 349). In a similar fashion, Gregory adapted the Greek funerary epigram for Christian purposes. For example, the dead Maxentius, an imperial magistrate unknown from other sources, speaks of his conversion and austere Christian lifestyle (AP 8.159):

Αἵματος εὐγενέος γενόμην, βασιλῆος ἐν αὐλαῖς
 ἔστην, ὄφρ’ ἂν αἰρα κενόφρονα. πάντα κεδάσας,
 Χριστὸς ἐπεὶ με κάλεσσε, βίου πολλὰ ἰσιν ἀταρποῖς
 ἵχνος ἔρεισα πόθοιο τινάγμασιν, ἄχρ’ ἀνεῦρον
 τὴν σταθερὴν Χριστῷ τήξας δέμας ἄλγεσι πολλοῖς. 5
 καὶ νῦν κοῦφος ἄνω Μαξέντιος ἔνθεν ἀνέπτην.

I, Maxentius, was born of noble blood; I stood in the emperor’s court, I was puffed up by vainglory. But when Christ called me, throwing all to the winds, I walked, stimulated by love for him, in many ways of life, until I found the steadfast one. I wasted my body for Christ by many hardships, and now flew up lightly from here.

Antithetical style is a common feature of Greek lament in general (Alexiou 2002, 150–60) and it is not surprising to find it in Gregory’s funerary epigrams. Antithesis was also a characteristic feature of his poetic prose (Spira 1985, 70–73). Nonetheless contrasting a deceased person’s life before and after Christ is an inspired Christian epigrammatist’s treatment of a traditional device. The way Gregory refers to Maxentius’ adventures in his search for his preferred Christian way of life reminds one of Gregory’s own indecisiveness, as he describes it in his long autobiographical poem (*De vita sua* 277–311, ed. Jungck 1974). The word κοῦφος, “relieved of burden,” in the last line may suggest that Maxentius was an ascetic of some kind (cf. Gregory’s *De vita sua* 377 and Evagrius, *De octo spiritibus malitiae* 7 [Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 79, col. 1152.36–42]).

Naturally, in his funerary epigrams on relatives and friends, Gregory emphasizes their *Christian* virtues. He praises his sister Gorgonia for being “initiate of the heavenly life” (ζωῆς μύστις ἐπουρανίης, *AP* 8.101.2) and calls his tutor Carterius “lightning of glorious Christ” (ἀστεροπή Χριστοῖο μεγακλέος, *AP* 8.143.1). His mother’s piety was confirmed by her dying while she was praying in a church (*AP* 8.47):

Ἐνθα ποτ’ εὐχομένη Νόννη Θεὸς εἶπεν ἄνωθεν·
 “Ἐρχεο.” ἢ δ’ ἐλύθη σώματος ἀσπασίως,
 χειρῶν ἀμφοτέρων τῇ μὲν κατέχουσα τράπεζαν,
 τῇ δ’ ἔτι λισσομένη· “Ἰλαθι, Χριστὲ ἄναξ.”

Here God once said from on high to Nonna as she was praying: “Come,” and gladly she was released from her body, holding the table with one hand and with the other praying: “Lord Christ, have mercy upon us.”

The phrase Ἰλαθι, Χριστὲ ἄναξ is a characteristic example of Gregory’s learned use of classical linguistic material to express a Christian thought, in this case a prayer. Ἰλαθι is Hellenistic, while ἄναξ is often used with pagan Gods, especially Apollo (Simelidis 2009, 30–31 and Vertoudakis 2011, 184). Among the numerous epigrams highlighting his mother’s blessed way of dying,² *AP* 8.58 is also worth citing, offering as it does an example of Gregory’s variation of the same theme. The metrical form, a distich and a half, follows again epigraphic parallels (cf. Smith 1901, 184–85):

Νόννα Φιλτατίου. — “Καὶ ποῦ θάνει;” — Τῷ δ’ ἐνὶ νηῶ. —
 “Καὶ πῶς;” — Εὐχομένη. — “Πηνίκα;” — Γηραλή. —
 “Ὡ καλοῦ βιότοιο καὶ εὐαγέος θανάτοιο.”

Nonna, the daughter of Philtatius. — “And where did she die?” — “In this church.” — “And how?” — “Praying.” — “When?” — “In old age.” — “O excellent life and pious death!”

However, Gregory’s deep sensitivities and painful disappointments on occasion allow him to express his feelings in terms which at first do not sound perfectly Christian. For example, his sorrow and disappointment at events in Constantinople cause him negative and exaggerated thoughts in letter 80, which paints a very gloomy picture of him (Daley 2006, 181). Similarly, *AP* 8.98, which refers to the premature death of his brother Caesarius, begins as follows:

Χεῖρ τάδε Γρηγορίοιο· κάσιν ποθέων τὸν ἄριστον
κηρύσσω θνητοῖς τόνδε βίον στυγέειν.

This is the hand of Gregory. Regretting my best of brothers, I exhort mortals to hate this life.

Gregory’s “hate of this life” is not to be taken literally, but rather in the way expressed seven centuries later by Symeon the New Theologian, who is often inspired by Gregory. I cite the second part of a poem giving Symeon’s reaction to the death of his spiritual father (*Hymn.* 10.9–14; for the text of Symeon’s poems see Kambylis 1976):

μηδεῖς μ’ ἐκ τοῦ νῦν ἀπατᾶν νομιζέτω·
φεῦ τῷ βλέποντι τὰ φεύγοντα τοῦ βίου 10
ὥς κρατούμενα καὶ τερπομένῳ τούτοις·
ταῦτ’ αἰσέεται ἄπερ κἀγὼ ὁ τάλας·
νύξ μ’ ἐχώρισεν ἀδελφοῦ γλυκυτάτου,
τὸ ἄτμητον φῶς τῆς ἀγάπης τεμοῦσα.

Henceforth no one should think he could deceive me.
Woe to him who considers the fleeting things
as being stable and takes pleasure in them.
He will suffer the same as wretched me.
Night has separated me from my most sweet brother,
cutting love’s uncut light.

Although this short dodecasyllabic poem is not an epigram, its end – which Paul Maas (1927, 341) considered as the most beautiful verses of Byzantine poetry – recalls the pointed ending of some Hellenistic and Roman epigrams.

Such a pointed ending is found at the end of an epigram on Naucratus (*AP* 8.156), brother of Basil of Caesarea, who was drowned in a fishing accident. The strange death of a fisherman is the theme of several Hellenistic epigrams and their imitations (*FGE* 185). It is thus especially interesting to see in this case how Gregory has given a Christian version of a traditional topic:

Ἰχθυόβολον ποτ' ἔλυε λίνον βυθίης ἀπὸ πέτρης
 Ναυκράτιος δίναις ἐν ποταμοῦ βρυχίαις·
 καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀνέλυσεν, ὁ δ' ἔσχετο. πῶς ἀλιῆα
 εἵρυσεν ἀνθ' ἀλῆς δίκτυον; εἰπέ, Λόγε,
 Ναυκράτιον, καθαροῖο βίου νόμον, ὥσπερ εἴσκω, 5
 καὶ χάριν ἐλθέμεναι καὶ μόρον ἐξ ὑδάτων.

Naucratus was once freeing his fishing-net from a sunken rock in the roaring whirlpools of the river. He did not free the net, but was caught himself. Tell me, O Word, how did the net land the fisherman instead of the fish? Naucratus was an example of pure life, and I trust that both grace and death came to him from the water.

Scholars have taken the last line as a reference to Naucratus' baptism (cf. Silvas 2007, 81 n. 30). However, what Gregory says here may in fact be very different and unexpected. He may be implying that the young man (about 27 years old) was not baptized at the time of his death. If so, Gregory's surprising suggestion in the end leaves his reader with a sense of hope: the murderous waters might have also acted as the cleansing waters of baptism. For five years prior to his death, Naucratus had led an ascetic life, and, Gregory hopes, this may make up for the fact that he had not been baptized when he died. He was already "a model of pure life," we read in the previous line, a phrase that seems to intend to justify what follows in the next line. Moreover, ὥσπερ εἴσκω could be better understood here as meaning "as I suppose" or "as I want to believe" (cf. *DGE*, s.v. s.v. εἴσκω I 3 and its translation as "come io immagino" by Criscuolo 2007, 31). Naucratus' death had a great impact on his family and it appears to have acted as a catalyst for members of his family, including Basil, to embark on a monastic lifestyle (Elm 1994, 90). Gregory's epigram may imply that the tragic event was more than an untimely death. If my understanding of the last line is correct, Gregory wanted to console Basil and the rest of his family. He certainly realized the boldness of his wish and he expressed his hope in a subtle way, perhaps using more his poetic license than his priestly or theological authority. Gregory himself, when he describes his near-shipwreck on his way to Athens, reveals that he was petrified at the thought of dying unbaptized (at the age of 21 or 22):

πάντων δὲ τὸν κοινὸν θάνατον δεδοικότων
 ὁ κρυπτὸς ἦν ἔμοιγε φρικωδέστερος.
 καθαρσίων γάρ, οἷς θεοῦμεθ', ὕδατων
 ἡλλοτριούμην ὕδασι ξενοκτόνοις.

Although we all feared a common death,
 more terrifying to me was the death concealed:
 for by those murderous waters I was being kept away
 from the purifying waters by which we are made divine.
 (*De Vita Sua* 162–65, ed. Jungck 1974,
 trans. White 1996)

It is unknown whether Gregory received his baptism in Athens or upon his return to Cappadocia. It was common at that time for catechumens to defer their baptism until later in life or when they faced a life-threatening situation. For example, Gregory's sister Gorgonia was baptized at the time of her final illness, while his brother Caesarius was only baptized on his deathbed (McGuckin 2001, 30 and 55).

Five of Gregory's epigrams are critical of those who participated in festivities inside the churches of the martyrs. These parties were ostensibly held in honor of the martyrs, but they seem to have been noisy, boisterous affairs, with too much food and drink consumed. The idea of these banquets originated in pagan funerary practices, namely Roman meals in honor of the deceased, which Ambrose and Augustine forbade in their cities (MacMullen 2009, 57–62). In one of these epigrams (*AP* 8.166), Gregory wonders:

Εἰ φίλον ὀρχησταῖς ἀθλήματα, καὶ φίλον ἔστω
 θρύψις ἀεθλοφόροις· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀντίθετα.
 εἰ δ' οὐκ ὀρχησταῖς ἀθλήματα οὐδὲ ἀθληταῖς
 ἡ θρύψις, πῶς σὺ Μάρτυσι δῶρα φέρεις
 ἄργυρον, οἶνον, βρώσιν, ἐρεύγματα; ἢ ῥα δίκαιος, 5
 ὃς πληροῖ θυλάκους, καὶ ἀδικώτατος ἦ;

If the struggles (of martyrdom) are dear to dancers, then let pirouettes be dear to the martyrs. But these things are opposite. If again neither these struggles are dear to dancers, nor pirouettes to the martyrs, how is it that you bring silver, wine, food, and belching as gifts to the martyrs? Is he who fills food bags just, even if he is most unjust?

A large and more interesting group is Gregory's almost 100 epigrams against tomb desecrators: the wayfarer is asked to abstain from violating the tomb. The motif is otherwise unattested in the *Palatine Anthology*, since the theme

of tomb desecration is not one of the traditional epigrammatic literary *topoi*. However, maledictions against tomb violators are found in numerous epitaphs, mostly in Asia Minor (Strubbe 1997). Thus Gregory's epigrams appear to offer literary versions of an epigraphic *topos* in late antiquity (Rebillard 2009, 73–79). Unsurprisingly, Gregory again knows very well the broader Greek literary tradition, as well as epigraphic motifs and language, which he reuses and cleverly transforms (Floridi 2013). In Gregory's variations we find an innovation suggested by his Christian spirituality: the curse is not always directed against the desecrators of tombs, but rather against those building rich tombs. See, for example, *AP* 8.186:

Νεκρῶν νεκρὰ πέλοι καὶ μνήματα· ὅς δ' ἀνεγείρει
 τύμβον ἀριπρεπέα τῇ κόνι, τοῖα πάθοι·
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὗτος ἀνὴρ τὸν ἐμὸν τάφον ἐξαλάπαξεν,
 εἰ μὴ χρυσὸν ἔχειν ἤλπετο ἐκ νεκρῶν.

Let the monuments of the dead be dead too, and let him who erects a magnificent tomb to the dust meet with this fate. For that man would never have pilaged my tomb if he had not expected to get gold from the dead.

This variation targets the vainglory of the families who wanted to build rich tombs for their dead. The contrast between the deceased (“dust”) and the luxurious tomb is a common epitymbic convention (Floridi 2013, 78).

Again, Gregory's anger sometimes makes him sound hardly like a Christian (*AP* 8.179):

Τὸν τύμβοιο τόσου ληίστορα, δν πέρι πάντη
 λάων τετραπέδων ἀμφιθέει στέφανος,
 ἄξιον αὐτίκ' ἔην αὐτῷ ἐνὶ σήματι θέντας
 αὐθις ἐπικλείσαι χάσματα δυσσεβεί.

For the spoiler of so fine a tomb, with cornice of squared stones all round it, it were a fitting fate to put him in the tomb, and close on the impious wretch the gaps he made.

Gregory even forgets that it was prohibited to bury in a tomb someone who is not a member of the family (Floridi 2013, 77). But anger may not be the only reason why Gregory expresses such non-Christian statements,³ like the “hatred of this life,” which we saw earlier, or the exhortation to bury a desecrator alive. Perhaps he felt that the classical tradition of the epigram and the conventions of each theme allowed him to express himself in terms that

would be normal for this genre. Indeed, some of Gregory's epigrams have absolutely no Christian color at all. To the contrary, they are heavily and exclusively inspired by classical, and especially Hellenistic, models. In the following epigram (*AP* 8.129) we come across a *locus amoenus*, an *ecphrasis* of a delightful place, which has been inspired by Theocritus:

Κρήναι καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἄλσέα καὶ **λαλαγεῦντες**
ὄρنيθες λιγυροὶ καλὸν ἐπ' ἀκρεμόνων
 αὔραί τε μαλακὸν συρίγμασι κῶμα φέρουσαι
 καὶ κῆποι Χαρίτων εἰς ἓν ἀγειρομένων,
 κλαύσατε· ὦ χαρίεσσ' Εὐφημιάς, ὥς σε θανῶν περ 5
 Εὐφήμιος κλεινὴν θήκατ' ἐπωνυμίη.

Springs, rivers and groves, and singing birds that twitter sweetly on the branches, and breezes whose whistling brings soft sleep, and gardens of the linked Graces, weep. O charming Euphemias, how Euphemius though dead has made your name famous.

Gregory borrows specific phrases from Theocritus, such as Theoc. *Id.* 8.33, ἄγχεα καὶ ποταμοί; *Id.* 8.37, κρᾶναι καὶ βοτάναι; Theoc. 5.48, ὄρنيχες λαλαγεῦντι; 7.139, τέττιγες λαλαγεῦντες (see more in Vertoudakis 2011, 169–70; cf. Salvatore 1960, 32–40). Similar passages inspired Gregory elsewhere as well (*Carm.* 1.2.14.5–9; see Domiter 1999, 60–70) and by keeping the Doric form λαλαγεῦντες Gregory intends to reveal his Theocritean model.

In six other epigrams, the figure of Phthonos, too, appears in its classical capacity, as a personification of envy. At *AP* 8.126 Phthonos cuts off Ephemius, who was young, successful, gifted, and happy:

Τίς τίνος; —“Ἀμφιλόχου Εὐφήμιος ἐνθάδε κεῖται,
 οὗτος ὁ Καππαδόκαις πᾶσι διὰ στόματος,
 οὗτος, ὃν αἱ Χάριτες Μούσαις δόσαν· οἱ δ' ὑμέναιοι
 ἀμφὶ θύρας· ἤλθεν δ' ὁ Φθόνος ὠκύτερος.”

Who, and whose son? Euphemius the son of Amphilochous lies here; he who was the talk of all Cappadocia, he whom the Graces gave to the Muses. The chanters of the bridal song were at his gate, but Envy came quicker than they.

Perfectly classicizing is also the following epigram to his brother, which begins with a distich alluding to myths of metamorphosis (*AP* 8.97):

Εἴ τινα δένδρον ἔθηκε γόος καὶ εἴ τινα πέτρην,
 εἴ τις καὶ πηγὴ ρεῦσεν ὀδυρομένη,

πέτραι καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ δένδρεα λυπρὰ πέλοισθε,
 πάντες Καισαρίῳ γείτονες ἡδὲ φίλοι·
 Καισάριος πάντεσσι τετιμένος, εὖχος ἀνάκτων, 5
 αἰαὶ τῶν ἀχέων, ἤλυθεν εἰς Αἶδην.

If mourning made anyone into a tree or a stone, if any spring ever flowed as the result of lament, all Caesarius' friends and neighbors should be stones, rivers, and mournful trees. Caesarius, honored by all, the vaunt of princes (alas for our grief!) is gone to Hades.

In their grief for Phaethon, his sisters, the Heliades, were transformed into poplar trees. Also, Niobe wept for the loss of her children until she turned to stone. But for the second line there are various other possibilities. One is Byblis, who killed herself because of an incestuous passion of (or for) her twin brother, and a spring flowed from her tears. Scholars have also thought of Callirhoë (Paus. 7.21.1–5) or Egeria (Ov. *Met.* 15.487–51), but Adrian Hollis (see Lightfoot 1999, 95) noticed an intriguing gloss in Hesychius' lexicon (ε 1203 Latte), which allows for another possibility: εἴ τις καὶ πηγὴ ἐπὶ τῆς Κλείτης (“and if any spring: it refers to Cleite”). So, half of Gregory's pentameter at *AP* 8.97.2 is a lemma in Hesychius and its interpretation suggests Cleite, wife of Cyzicus, whom Jason killed by mistake. Grief-stricken Cleite committed suicide and the many tears shed by the nymphs for her were turned into a spring (Ap. Rhod. 1.1063–69).

That a full hemiepes from *AP* 8.97.2 is a lemma in Hesychius is itself striking, but the nature of the interpretation is fascinating. What we get for εἴ τις καὶ πηγὴ (ε 1203 Latte) is ἐπὶ τῆς Κλείτης, that is, a scholion. This is not a case of a common gloss and deserves special attention. I have noticed one more similar example in Hesychius: ε 954 Latte εἰ μὴ †καὶ λαγόνεσι μὴ τι δ' ἂν κατ' ἀκριβολογίαν (“if not in the womb: not literally”). In this case we have a phrase from Gregory's *Carm.* 2.1.19.11: Gregory wonders why Christ allowed him to be born and “did not bind him in his mother's dark womb” (εἰ μὴ καὶ λαγόνεσσιν ἐνὶ σκοτίῃσι πέδησας), if he was to go through so much suffering in his life. Hesychius' interpretation says that this phrase should not be taken literally: indeed, it would not be possible for Gregory to have been bound in his mother's womb forever (for the full context and discussion see Simelidis 2009, 178–79). Both cases seem to originate from a commentary on Gregory's poems, including epigrams. This is a significant indication of the attention Gregory's poems and epigrams received from learned scholars and teachers. There is an abundance of additional evidence demonstrating that Gregory's poems were read at schools (Simelidis 2009, 75–79).

Gregory's epigrams were certainly read throughout the late antique and Byzantine periods. His epigrams seem to have been particularly popular in the middle Byzantine period, when they were imitated by Ignatius the Deacon and John Geometres, among others (see Lauxtermann 2003, 111–12, 251–52 and Van Opstall 2008). From late antiquity there is a fascinating case of epigraphic use of *AP* 8.108, which is worth discussing in detail. Gregory's epigram is one of the 14 poems (*AP* 8.104–17) commemorating Martinianus, who served as prefect of Rome (Van Dam 2002, 58–59).

Μουσπόλον, ῥητήρα, δικασπόλον, ἄκρον ἅπαντα,
 τύμβος ὃδ' εὐγενέτην Μαρτινιανὸν ἔχω,
 ναυμάχον ἐν πελάγεσσιν, ἀρήιον ἐν πεδίοισιν·
 ἄλλ' ἀποτῆλε τάφου πρὶν τι κακὸν παθεῖν.

I, this tomb, hold noble Martinianus, a servant of the Muses, an orator, a judge, excelling in everything, a brave warrior at sea, valiant on land. But keep far from his tomb, lest you suffer some evil.

This epigram was found verbatim in an epitaph from Egypt: *I.Métr.* 61 = *GVI* 593 (fourth century?). The stone perhaps was found in Hermopolis Parva (Damanhur), although this attribution is only based on the prose part of the inscription (see below), which mentions the provenance of the deceased's father (Fraser 1956, 105). In the second verse, the adjective εὐγενής has been made to refer to the tomb instead of the deceased:

Μουσπόλον, ῥητήρα, | δικασπόλον, ἄκρον ἅπαν|τα
 τύμβος (ὃ)δ' εὐγενής Ἰωαν|νιαν ἔχω,
 ναυμάχον ἐν πελ|[ά]γεσσιν, ἀρήιον ἐν πεδίοισιν. |
 [Ἄλλ]ὰ 'ποτῆλε τάφου, πρὶν τ[ι] κα|[κὸ]ν παθεῖν.

A prose text follows the epigram in the inscription:

Ἐκοιμήθη ἡ μα|[κα]ρία Ἰωαννία, θυγάτηρ | [Ἀμ]μωνίου ἀπὸ Ἀρμουπόλεος |
 [Μ]εχὶρ πέμτη ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) τέσσαρες | [δε]κάτης. [Κ(ύρι)ε,] ἀνάπαυ|[σον
 τήν ψυ]λὴν αὐτῆς.

Blessed Ioannia, daughter of Ammonius from Hermopolis, fell asleep on Mecheir 5, fourteenth indiction. Lord, give rest to her soul.

There is no doubt that Gregory's epigram on Martinianus, describing several qualities that could only describe a man (and of course not every man), was used as a woman's epitaph (Wilhelm 1937, 278–81). This is absurd and it obviously reveals an inadequate level of literacy in Christians who nevertheless

wanted to inscribe verse on their tombstones (cf. Agosti 2008, 198–202). In line two of the epitaph, the stone has *ΤΥΜΒΟΧΗ* (= τύμβος ἥδ'), a failed attempt to adapt the text to the feminine Ioannia. The *mise en page*, the arrangement of the epigram on the stone, appears to acknowledge the main caesura in the first verse only, and in this inscription one would be inclined to take this as a coincidence (for the division of inscribed verses at the main caesura and its significance, see Agosti 2010). Also, verse and prose are not neatly separated. Possibly the builder of the monument was to be blamed for the wrong choice of a model inscription for the tomb of Ioannia (Vertoudakis 2011, 122). Whatever the case, it appears that a verse inscription was thought to add *gravitas* to Christian burial stones, apparently even for Christians who were not able to read advanced Greek. It is tempting to think that the obscurity of the inscribed text might not detract from its value, but rather bring awe to friends and passers-by, especially to anyone aware of its association with the work of Gregory of Nazianzus. It would not be wise to read too much into this unique and terribly failed example, but perhaps it allows for a further explanation of Gregory's many variations on similar subjects. Gregory was certainly aware that his Christian poetry might serve as a model to later Christian aspiring authors. In the case of his epigrams, he might have thought that they could be adapted by Christians to suit their own conditions. The more variations he would present the more possibilities he would offer to Christians to exploit his epigrams for compiling their own versions.

In conclusion, Gregory appears well informed about the literary and epigraphic conventions practiced by earlier and contemporary epigrammatists. On these traditional forms he offers original Christian variations and deserves credit for adapting a major literary genre for Christian use. Although his epigrams are literary, their "funerary" themes associate them with inscriptional practice. In particular, his epigrams on tomb desecrators present the first literary treatment of an exclusively epigraphic theme, especially common in Gregory's era. His frequent repetition of the same topics is perhaps not agreeable to modern tastes, but can certainly be understood on the basis of Gregory's personal sensitivities, and perhaps even appreciated as having didactic purposes as well as offering a variety of models for Christian epitaphs.⁴

NOTES

1. Translations of Gregory's epigrams are mostly adapted from Paton (1940).
2. On these epigrams see Conca (2000, 50–60).
3. In the seventh century, Maximos the Confessor had to defend Gregory against similar "un-Christian" language. See Conostas (2014, 94–97) (*Ambiguum* 39).
4. I would like to thank Fr. Maximos Conostas, Andrew Faulkner, and Christer Henriksén for their helpful comments and suggestions.

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FURTHER READING

The most comprehensive treatment of Gregory's epigrams is Vertoudakis (2011). The introduction of Waltz (1944) may also be consulted with profit. For the life and works of Gregory of Nazianzus see Daley (2006). For a brief introduction to his poetry see Simelidis (2009).

CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN

Inter Romulidas et Tyrias *Manus: Luxorius and Epigram* in Vandal Africa

Anna Maria Wasyl

37.1 *Anthologia Salmasiana*

At the time of the fall of the Vandal kingdom (533–34), or shortly thereafter, a quite large anthology of texts was compiled. This anthology, a varied medley of Latin short poetry, both classical and late antique, survives in a single eighth-century manuscript, the *Codex Salmasianus*.¹

The miscellany includes mainly poems composed in Africa during the reign of the Vandal kings: Huneric (477–84), Thrasamund (496–523), Hilderic (523–30), and Gelimer (530–34). Three epigrammatic collections – Luxorius' *Liber epigrammaton*,² *Unius poetae sylloge*, and *Anonymi versus serpentini* – and several single pieces by single authors are quite safely datable to the Vandal period. The fourth collection within the *Anthologia*, a book of riddles known as the *Aenigmata Symposii*, is of uncertain dating (yet most probably late antique).³ Since the anthology also conveys some classical material, one may get the impression that the intention of the compiler was precisely to show that his contemporary poetry, penned by the literati active in Vandal Africa, is indeed a continuation of the Roman tradition of writing a variety of short poems and, therefore, should be presented in a similar wider context.

One more detail is worth mentioning at the outset of this discussion. In the initial part of the *Anthologia* there are a few Vergilian centos. Besides,

there are some *themata Vergiliana* in the miscellany and several epigrams attributed to Vergil. In fact, the entire anthology is imbued with a true cult of the author of the *Aeneid*, a school poet *par excellence*, i.e., a poet dear not only (and maybe not particularly) to the students but also to the professors themselves, the *grammatici* and *rhetoires*. This is a clue for understanding the milieu in which the *Anthologia* was compiled.

There is another interesting feature concerning the structure of the anthology. Each of its two larger sections, the one containing the centos and the other more regularly “epigrammatic,” ends with a work by Luxorius, the *Epithalamium Fridi* and the *Liber epigrammaton*, respectively. A close reading of the *praefatio* to the compilation has revealed that its addressee is Fridus (Cristante 2005–6; Mondin and Cristante 2010, 326–41), a Vandal aristocrat whom we get to know also as the groom celebrated in the abovementioned epithalamium. Hence, it has been conjectured (Mondin and Cristante 2010, yet first Riese 1894, XXV) that the author of the *praefatio*, and consequently the very compiler of the anthology (including a number of his texts), was Luxorius himself, the most important epigrammatist of Vandal Carthage (fl. during the reign of Hilderic), indeed often named the “Carthaginian Martial,” and a representative of the Romano-Carthaginian grammarians and literati born and raised in the post-Roman reality of their city.

Luxorius’ *Liber epigrammaton* (287–375R⁴) will be the natural focal point of this chapter. Yet some attention must also be given to his contemporaries and fellow-epigrammatists, *Unus poeta* (90–197R), the author of *Versus serpentini* (38–80R), and a few other poets of Vandal Africa.

37.2 Luxorius, the “Carthaginian Martial”

37.2.1 *The Self-Conscious Epigrammatist*

As can be inferred from his own poetry and from the, indeed very flattering, dedicatory letter addressed to him by one of his fellows, Coronatus, a *vir clarissimus*,⁵ Luxorius was a renowned grammarian, even a *sophista* (see Coronatus’ *De ultimis syllabis*, in Zurli 2005). In fact, his erudition in Latin letters is noticeable throughout his poetry (Happ 1986, 105–14).⁶ If, which is probable, he was the compiler of the entire anthology, he can be justly considered a leader of the literary life in late Vandal Carthage. Yet, as shall be argued below, he is above all the most self-conscious, if not self-oriented, poet of his generation. This is his major common point with Martial and the main reason why the label of the “Carthaginian Martial”

is indeed applicable in his case, even though, as we shall see, he is not – and must not be dismissed as – a mere epigone.

Martial himself, in comparison with other early imperial literati writing various kinds of short poems in the tradition of Catullus and the neoterics (Pliny the Younger in the first place), was impressively precise in defining the genre he exploited, namely the *epigramma* (Citroni 2003; Wasyl 2011, 165–70). The very term had for him the quality of a true generic label (see his preface to Book I and many other instances throughout his 12 *Libri*). Similarly strict was Martial's approach to the question of themes, or even the aesthetics, appropriate for the epigrammatic genre. Well-known is his differentiation between the *lepos Cecropius*, the charm as innate in the Greeks and the Greek epigram, and the *sal Romanae Minervae*, the freedom, or even somewhat brutal realism of speech, typical of its Roman counterpart (4.23). Yet the main difference concerns the treatment of metrics. For Pliny, for instance (see his *Ep.* 7.48), Latin short poetry did not really have any definite metrical profile at all; simply, all meters used by the neoterics seemed acceptable. Martial, on the contrary, proposed a disciplined metrical variety. He chose as his main meter the elegiac distich (the meter of the Greek epigram). His second preference was the phalaecean (the meter of Catullus' dedication to Nepos), which he used less frequently but with striking deliberation in his programmatic pieces (starting from 1.1). Finally, his third choice was the scazon. In sum, Martial used eight different meters throughout his oeuvre.

If the generic consciousness, as expressed throughout his poetry, is one of the things that make Martial unique, not only when compared to his (almost) contemporary Pliny but even to much later poets, like Ausonius, Claudian, or Sidonius, one must admit that Luxorius does bear the comparison. Proportionally, he even outdoes him in some respects. In *Liber epigrammaton*, comprising just 89 texts, as many as the first four are autothematic (Wasyl 2011, 170–87). The very arrangement of these poems is noteworthy: at the beginning, there is a text addressed to the “first critic,” Faustus, describing the epigrams included in the book; next, a piece directed to the reader *sensu largo*; subsequently, an address to the poet's book; and finally, a poem advertising *brevitas* as a quality of the epigrammatic genre. Not less precise is the choice of meters: the lengthy *Ad Faustum* in the phalaecean (like Martial's programmatic texts), *Ad lectorem* in the senarius, *Ad librum* in the lesser asclepiad, and the piece on *brevitas* in elegiac couplets. That is not all: the whole book is a true manifestation of technical mastery. In his less than 100 poems, Luxorius employs 13 different meters, some of which quite complicated and rarely practiced, whereas Martial used only eight in 1561 epigrams. It would be well-founded to speak here not just of an inspiration, but indeed of a deliberate emulation, in particular if we take into account the

fact that throughout his *Liber* Luxorius aims not just at polymetrics *per se* but also – very much like his predecessor – at some “disciplined variety” in this field. Interestingly, what he proposes is almost an evocation of the canonical Martalian-Catullan triad. His own scheme is as follows: the elegiac couplets, the phalaecean, and the dactylic hexameter (instead of Martial’s scazon).

The four introductory pieces give quite a lot of information on the themes and aesthetic quality of the genre chosen by Luxorius as well as on his view of his ideal literary audience. A reader new to his book must be warned, though. The dominant feature of Luxorius the theorist of his own poetry is some kind of contrariness, self-irony, sometimes changing into self-depreciation. Speaking more seriously, readers, especially new ones, must also be aware that his language is (at times extremely) difficult. Hence the desperation of some editors who often found the only way out in making (too) bold conjectures. Hence also the (unenviable) problems of his translators. In this chapter, I cannot of course discuss these details with the attention they deserve, but those interested are strongly encouraged to refer to more specific textual studies.

At the outset of his book, Luxorius subtly – and with the abovementioned self-irony – reverses the topos of emulation. Through a typical figure of *recusatio*, he suggests that the very idea of publishing his old poems seems to him now a rash act and he shall do this only on urgent demand of his addressee, whom he even calls corresponsable for this “guilt” (287.1–17). Similarly, in the subsequent piece he, somewhat provocatively, asks his readers why, having at their disposal poetry by the masters of old, they choose to turn the pages of his book (288.1–3). Given such a pose of modesty, or indeed self-depreciation, it is hardly surprising that the poet who does not really acknowledge any emulative pretensions whatsoever does not mention any specific models either that he could be compared with (if not the undefined *veteres*). This does not mean, of course, that he does not have such models (or even such pretensions; see the above observations concerning his metrical profile). Rather, it only means that Luxorius requires from his audience the ability to discover them by themselves. In fact, it should be quite clear for a well-read reader that in the *Ad librum* the poet’s main point of reference is Martial’s 1.3 and Horace’s *Epist.* 1.20. Yet the Carthaginian epigrammatist once again reverses a literary scheme, declaring ostentatiously that his own book does not absorb him too much. His *Liber* is apparently free from the author’s constant erasures (unlike Martial’s). It is not neatly polished (like Horace’s); rather, it lies in a tiny nook covered with dust and almost completely devoured by bookworms. Luxorius, playing with a traditional motif, seems to reject the attitude of a poet-admirer of his own work. He even sounds surprisingly serious when, on dispatching his book, he expresses his

fears that it may be simply disdained or at least disregarded “among the crowd of Romans and Carthaginians” (289.7–8).

Apropos, the very phrase *turba legentium / inter Romulidas et Tyrias manus* is worth noting as, indeed, the strongest declaration of Luxorius’ cultural identity that we have from his pen. The term *Romulidae* refers to the Romans of Carthage, i.e., the ethnicity to which Luxorius himself would subscribe. Yet quite interesting is also this emphasis placed on the Tyrians, the “compatriots” of the legendary Dido, the descendants of mythohistorical Carthage as pictured in the *Aeneid*, the natives of Carthage as the eternal rival of Rome, defeated and destroyed, and yet resurrected to become the center of (Roman) learning. In fact, it is here that Luxorius defines himself as the poet of Carthage with all her cultural heritage.

Luxorius does specify the addressee of his *Liber*. As we already know, the dedicatee not just of epigram 1 (287) but, to some extent, of the whole book is Faustus, introduced precisely as a distinguished specialist in grammar and literature, yet at the same time a trustworthy friend (lines 3–4). Faustus, cast in the role of the first reader and critic, is supposed to select a certain number of other readers among whom individual poems should be circulated. Those readers are to be recruited only among *nostri similes sodales*, as those who “speak learnedly” and the eminent might deride the publication of such “trifles” (lines 13–17).

The caveat against the audience of too refined a palate is quite concordant with Martial’s view that the epigram, as a genre that “smacks of humanity” (10.4.10), is not written to please some “stern Cato” (1 *praef.*). Yet one must notice that the whole scheme of reception of his work as outlined by Luxorius – first, a (well-)chosen friend, and *grammaticus* himself, Faustus, next, a selected circle of readers, and only finally, the (anonymous) general public – does not have much in common with Martial’s self-advertisement: *toto notus in orbe Martialis* (1.1). Rather, it seems very close to the approach of Catullus dedicating his *nugae* to Nepos.

Luxorius, so precise in describing his desired readership, is similarly self-conscious when it comes to defining the aesthetic quality of his poetry. What he emphasizes – as does Martial – is the “light morality” (287.23), the presence of “trifles and frivolities” (288.3–4), simplicity, and lack of (exaggerated) poetic embellishment and ostentation (288.7–8). However self-critical in judging his wit – to the extent that, with his usual contrariness, he does not hesitate to classify himself as “witless” (*poetam / insulsum*, 287.7–8) – Luxorius, too, places the stress on wit, *sal*, exactly like Martial. Besides, despite all his affected modesty, our poet is quite aware that his pieces do attract the readers, precisely for their “lightness” and similarity to “funny” theatrical spectacles (288.9–10). This comparison – in

which a student of late antique North Africa will suspect an allusion to Luxorius' contemporary culture, especially mimic and pantomimic performances still popular in Vandal Carthage – is interesting for one particular reason. In point of fact, juxtaposing epigrams and some kinds of (comic) theatrical spectacles is a literary topos itself and furthermore, one already exploited by Martial (see 1 *praef.*).

Yet before concluding this section, one more detail must be emphasized. Luxorius does use the “official” denotation of the genre proposed by his predecessor. In fact, he not only introduces the word *epigramma* into his poetic vocabulary but also applies it, besides in the title of his book (*Liber epigrammaton*), in his first programmatic poem, *Ad Faustum*, and in a phrase that evokes Martial's 1.1, *verbis epigrammaton facietis* (287.22; cf. Mart. 1.1.3 *argutis epigrammaton libellis*). Hence, even if we agree that, throughout Roman antiquity, the epigram remained an open, scarcely canonized form, and in later periods became inclusive to the extent that it could comprise “l'intera fenomenologia della Talia Latina” (Mondin and Cristante 2010, 314), at least within Luxorius' *Liber* the term appears with a precision that Martial would be pleased with.

37.2.2 *Liber Epigrammaton: Overview*

In the whole *Liber epigrammaton*, one can easily detect the same artistic self-consciousness that is typical of Luxorius' programmatic pieces and makes him a poet in the tradition of Martial. A few examples should suffice. As noted above, the disciplined variety in metrics is an important feature of Luxorius the epigrammatist. A good indication of this is the first quarter of the *Liber* where all the 13 meters used by the poet occur. At the same time, also throughout this unit, it is still Luxorius' two main meters, the elegiac distich and the phalaecean, that prevail. Interestingly, the hexameter, the third of our poet's meters, is more frequently used in the later part of the book, which is made up of more epideictic and ecphrastic epigrams and fewer scopic texts.

Luxorius does write a few pairs of texts on the same topic, but he is less interested in similar constructions than some other late Latin epigrammatists. In particular, he does not make any sequences longer than a pair, contrary to his contemporary *Unus poeta*, who several times strings together poems on the same topic.

Last but not least, a general characteristic of Luxorius' *Liber epigrammaton* is a considerable presence of the so-called *epigrammata longa*. In point of fact, in later Latin antiquity this kind of epigram became more and more popular. In Luxorius the case is quite interesting because, verbally, the poet

goes so far as to extol the epigrammatic *brevitas* as a positive quality *per se* (as he puts it, “no pleasure is given beyond measure,” 290.6). At the same time, as many as 12 of his poems are 14 or more verses long. An *epigramma longum par excellence* is the very opening text, *Ad Faustum*. It is worth remembering here that Martial himself not only did write long epigrams but, above all, on occasion felt obliged to defend both long epigrams and epigrams in hexameters (see 6.65). This may explain why as many as four of Luxorius’ *epigrammata longa* are, indeed, composed in hexameters. This might even be an argument why it is actually the hexameter, advertised by his predecessor, that Luxorius chooses as his third measure. For a competent reader such a choice could be interpretable as a sign of both a change and a continuation: a change, because Martial’s third meter was the scazon (which Luxorius completely ignores), and a continuation, because it was the poet from Bilbilis who argued for hexametric epigrams.

Thematically, Luxorius’ epigrams are, first of all, not as homogeneous as it might (and did) seem to some critics. Undoubtedly, the Carthaginian subscribes to Martial’s label of the Roman epigram as “flavored by the *sal Romanae Minervae*.” Scoptic pieces account for almost an exact half of his *Liber*. Yet it is equally important that the second half is not scoptic but composed of ecphrases, *laudationes*, epitaphs, and autothematic poems. Notable are texts dedicated to the circus, sports, and sportsmen. This was a significant element of the Roman culture in North Africa and remained so also under the Vandals.

It is true, however, that for many readers the satirical pieces would be Luxorius’ trademark, in particular, since the world that he depicts quite often seems extremely strange and turned upside down. His personae are surprisingly incompetent in what they do, whether at their job or even at leisure: a teacher (294) who turns out to be furious like Orestes; a pantomimist Macedonia (310) who loves acting tall beauties, even though she is a dwarf; a dice player (333) who flies into fury both when he loses and when he wins.

Not rarely such portraits are “embellished” with details concerning the protagonists’ private, even intimate lives. A doctor Marinus (302), by all appearances dedicated to his vocation, in fact hides a dark secret. He is a procurer in a brothel and a voyeur who gains satisfaction from watching sexually aroused men. Undoubtedly, this seems much more a case study, a description of an individual than merely a type. At the same time, Marinus is a personality much too complicated to be (considered) real. Rather, he looks like an embodiment of extraordinary features that are supposed to shock us and not just to make us laugh. Apparently, Luxorius cannot be content with what would be average, even with regard to its faults. He chooses or creates (probably both) personages almost out of this world but also to whom nothing human is alien.

Nonetheless, a reader insightful enough – and that kind of reading is what Luxorius requires – should notice one more characteristic of his poetry that is paradoxical in this context. The African epigrammatist loves shocking, his humor may be coarse, but he knows also how to be subtle and (in a sense) decorous, even in poems treating of sex and sexual preferences. This should be stressed to balance some much too simplifying judgments of his writings.

Let us focus on two texts – in fact juxtaposed by the author himself: 364, *In mulierem pulcram castitati studentem* (“To a beautiful woman devoted to chastity”) and 365, *De eo qui cum Burdo diceretur filiae suae Pasiphae nomen inposuit* (“About a man who gave the name Pasiphae to his daughter, even though his own name was [a] Mule”). The latter appears to concern the so-called *amor bestialis*. Yet only when read in full, i.e., the title included, does it reveal that its actual theme, rather than the bestiality *sensu stricto*, is incest, although both deviations have been nicely concealed in metaphors alluding to mythology and the animal world (“A double monstrosity has arisen in our time – a mule is a father and Pasiphae has returned to earth,” line 6).

Epigram 364 is even more difficult to comprehend. A reader clearly perceives its deeply sensual atmosphere, culminating in the intriguing point (“Can’t you really be the woman of one equal to yourself?” line 8⁷), but finds it quite hard to guess exactly what abnormality is represented by the beautiful lady. Asceticism, asexuality, and lesbianism (like in Martial’s 6.64.5) have been advocated. But this time the sense may be, indeed, zoophilic (Zurli 1993, 30–36). This interpretation, though, requires the reader to realize that the word *mares*, used in line 6, especially when referred to sexual intercourse, may refer *both* to humans and to animals (the lady’s preference not to see the *mares* does not necessarily imply not having sex with them, as hinted by the case of Pasiphae, mentioned right below in the subsequent piece: apparently the two texts are not juxtaposed without a reason). An additional hint can be found in another piece placed in the *Anthologia Salmasiana*. An anonymous poem (224), with its incipit *Moribus et vultu ...*, subtly evokes Luxorius’ *moribus ut Pallas* (364.4). Its protagonist is not a beautiful woman but rather the opposite, yet she seems to have something in common with the beauty in Luxorius: she, too, *cogetur fervens clunem submittere asello* (“is forced, in her ardour, to offer her bottom to a donkey,” 224.6). The literalness of the poetic language of the author of 224 shows better than anything else how elegant and creative the “Carthaginian Martial” can be in developing such controversial themes. At the same time, the whole piece 264, with all its ambiguity and hidden sense(s), provokes one more observation: Luxorius (at least at his best) is not merely capable of

making points worthy of Martial (Petschening 1877, 491). He can prove supremely witty in his own right, on condition that his readership is willing to participate in decoding the meaning(s) of his texts.

If it is not only obscenity and straightforwardness but also quite a sophisticated sense of humor and subtlety of rendition that we can find in Luxorius' scoptic epigrams, his serious pieces reveal much more of this finesse. It is hard not to be moved by the tenderness with which the poet describes a lovely three-year-old girl, Damira, the dead daughter of Oageis (345). Similarly sweet is the picture of Luxorius' tiny puppy (359). The sensual depiction of a she-bear's parturition (331) is justly considered a masterpiece. Yet also in his ecphrases our poet's distinctive characteristic is the topos of the world turned upside down. A colocasia flower (372) apparently reverses the laws of nature, growing better under the poet's roof than in the garden. A boar, the animal of Mars, fed in the palace *triclinium* (292), seems more suitably dedicated to the rites of Venus than to those of the god of war. Finally, an unbelievably fit young acrobat (373) leaps above the balcony of the amphitheater, surpassing Daedalus as he uses only his human muscles – and not false wings – to rise into the air: indeed, he is a new *heros* of a new myth. Doubtlessly, such phenomena represent the beauty and uniqueness of the place and time, of the *Felix Carthago*, once again conquered and destroyed and once again resurrected.

Exceptional among Luxorius' ecphrases is the 22-verse epigram 304 describing a mosaic in which Fridamal is depicted in the scene of slaying a wild boar. However mysterious as a historical personage, the youngster surely represents the new Vandal aristocracy. What attracts the reader's attention is in particular the extraordinary courage and strength of the young hunter who acts – an expert reader will easily notice this – as a typical Roman *iuvenis*. A nice complement of Fridamal's braveness is his elegance and excellent taste, epitomized by the mosaic he commissioned for his place of relaxation in the garden. A true Roman Barbarian ... and another embodiment of the Roman Carthage resurrected under the Vandals.

As tiny a book as it is, Luxorius' *Liber* does display a variety of tones. Therefore, what it certainly deserves is close reading rather than a short shrift with some easy-to-use but misleading labels. The least misleading one might be, in truth, that of the "Carthaginian Martial," indeed applicable to our poet on condition that one does not expect him to be a mere copy of his predecessor. Luxorius is the Martial of his time firstly and mainly in terms of literary, in particular generic, self-consciousness and a focus on autothematism. In fact, if we agree with the hypothesis that he was the compiler of the anthology, we may see in him a person who considers it his responsibility to preserve not just his own literary output, but also that of his fellow literati. Martial

apparently never was a similar *primus inter pares*; rather, Pliny the Younger is more likely to have played such a role, at least among the poets of his circle.

Yet Luxorius' poetic world is extraordinary, abounding in abnormal personages and unbelievable phenomena, and as such somewhat different from Martial's. Whereas Martial throughout his *Epigrammaton libri* may give the impression of describing the whole Rome of the Flavian era, common citizens as well as some celebrities, his Carthaginian counterpart definitely placed more emphasis on the extremes. Hence, Luxorius' poems do not, indeed, reflect the everyday doings of his contemporaries (Rosenblum 1961, 52), but instead focus on a few examples that are memorable (either for their splendiddness or ugliness, traits that in both cases indisputably are much exaggerated). We do learn something from them about sixth-century Carthage: her schools, buildings, spectacles, new aristocracy, but we are not offered a panorama, rather, a handful of mosaic tiles. It is our task to compose a picture of them or even to decide whether it is possible to arrive at *one* picture if what these tiles form is much more a concatenation of paradoxes than a coherent image. But, is Luxorius' Carthage not a concatenation of paradoxes, too? Luxorius' Carthage is a city that, a few generations before, had been invaded and conquered by the Barbarians. Yet it is also a city that again offers its citizens, like Luxorius and his fellows, the Roman intellectual elite born after the "end of the world" in 439 CE, a period of certain stabilization. It is finally a city where – thanks to those "V/vandal" rulers – both popular and high culture, the eternal pride of the African metropolis, started to regain some of its former splendor. Luxorius, apparently, chooses the paradox as the best figure of speech to describe that truly unusual moment in history.

37.3 *Unius Poetae Sylloge*

The author of the other most important epigrammatic collection included in the Salmasian anthology (90–197R), now usually cited as the *Unius poetae sylloge* (Zurli 2007), is anonymous to us. Nonetheless, the general character of these poems and, especially, a look at some specific passages show that whoever wrote them was conversant not only with the tradition of the genre as such but also with Luxorius, whom he reads quite closely and sometimes even imitates (Wasyl 2011, 224, 227–30). Most probably, he belonged to the circle of *sodales* mentioned in *Ad Faustum*, in particular if one takes into consideration that poem 90, the four-verse *Praefatio* to the *Sylloge*, exactly like Luxorius' *Ad Faustum*, defines the subsequent pieces as juvenilia, now revised and assembled into a coherent unity. In fact, a reader of Luxorius

should easily recognize a few allusions to themes explored throughout the introductory part of the *Liber epigrammaton*. There is a hint at playfulness and pleasure, an address to an expert reader, and, last but not least, a mention of the “saltiness” of the poems included in the book.

Yet poem 90 by *Unus poeta*, however closely related with Luxorius’ introductory pieces, especially *Ad Faustum*, is also noticeably or even ostentatiously shorter. Besides, it is composed in the elegiac couplet, and not in the phalaecean (which was *the* meter of the programmatic texts both in Luxorius and, earlier, in Martial). The elegiac distich prevails among the poems by *Unus poeta*, whereas pieces in other measures (hexameter, phalaecean, lesser asclepiad) are only very few. This is not the same disciplined metrical variety that makes Luxorius a poet comparable to Martial as far as the specific role attributed to single meters (above all the phalaecean) is concerned and even more ambitious if the very number of the meters applied is taken into account.

Generally, the epigrams by *Unus poeta* are also shorter than Luxorius’, as the former much more often writes two-verse pieces. Besides, there is a clear difference concerning epigrams on the same subject. Whereas in Luxorius we find only a few pairs, his fellow poet’s book offers many pairs and cycles. There is even one cycle made up of five texts. In point of fact, one may have the impression that the anonymous poet likes juxtaposing not just pairs and cycles *sensu stricto* but simply pieces on the same subject: there is a group of texts on Christian motifs, another one on arts and artists, and still another on mythological themes.

In the *Sylloge*, we find fewer satirical epigrams than in Luxorius, but the *sal*, announced in the *Praefatio*, is not at all alien to the anonymous poet. What are his scoptic pieces like? At times, we find there precisely what is lacking in Luxorius: the average personae, such as a stubborn peasant (103), a husband beaten with his wife’s slipper (156), a man with a hernia (137–38). Nonetheless, there are also poems in which *Unus poeta* appears to emulate Luxorius if the accumulation of faults is taken into account. A dwarf Bumbulus (190–91) loves the company of a troupe of spear-carrying entertainers and, to make a living, procures lecherous old women. A poor lawyer Filager (148–49) embodies a unique human paradox: he is morally good and hardworking and yet it is he who is suddenly struck by a terrible deviation: a lust for his mare. Even Luxorius would not have invented such a surprising combination of virtues and vices.

What *Unus poeta* concentrates on are ecphrastic and epideictic epigrams. In them, he particularly often exploits mythological themes or similes (quite rare in Luxorius). A good example is *De Sphinga* (180), where the whole Theban theme is summarized within one tetrastich. Worth noting is a pair of

poems on Europa (143–44), especially for the saucy point of the second piece, an appeal for an excuse for humans since Jupiter himself enjoys pleasurable adulteries. Among typical ecphrases a cycle of texts treating Galatea on a salver (152–54) attracts the reader's attention for a deeply sensual and aestheticizing description of the scene.

Among Martial's poems, some parallels for such mythological epigrams can be found in the *Apophoreta*, especially those describing *sigilla* (statuettes given at the *Saturnalia*), sculptures, or paintings. In fact, another common trait of the poet from Bilbilis and *Unus poeta* is an interest in details of everyday life (by Luxorius, again, almost ignored): fruits, dishes, tableware.

There are, besides, quite a few texts on baths, possibly composed as, at least potential, inscriptions. Just like those on arts and artists, these epigrams seem to imply that the poet's epoch was a time of peace and welfare, a time spent in places that, thanks to human invention, guarantee relaxation for body and mind. Maybe the most beautiful version of this topos can be found in two charming epigrams praising the resourcefulness of an ordinary man (178–79) who has created for himself a true paradise on earth: baths together with a little garden. His singular attention to details has allowed *Unus poeta* to save this lovely piece of everyday life in sixth-century Carthage from sinking into oblivion.

37.4 *Anonymi Versus Serpentine*

Another anonymous poet active in Vandal Africa (on the dating, see Zurli, Scivoletto, and Paolucci 2008, 33–36) penned the *Versus serpentine* (38–80R), a collection of 42 epanaleptic distichs the leitmotif of which is Fortune as exemplified by selected mythological stories. The collection as such can be safely labeled as a “school reader.” Indeed, the very topic, resembling school exercises, the short form facilitating memorization (in particular thanks to the figure of epanalepsis), and finally, the titles attached to single pieces, suggest such a classification. Yet another aspect may be even more relevant. In Carthaginian schools, also those that revived under the Vandals after the momentary crisis, a true emphasis was placed on teaching classical mythology. Myth was perceived as an element of cultural identity; therefore, it was willingly quoted and reinterpreted. It is quite possible then that the *Versus serpentine*, concise yet not necessarily shallow, were not only used as a school reader *sensu stricto*, i.e., as passages that were to be read in schools with students, but also circulated among the poet's *sodales* (just like selected pieces from Luxorius' *Liber epigrammaton* or the *Unius poetae sylloge*), possibly other grammarians and littérateurs, bright enough to discover and appreciate the sophisticated phrase or subtle allusion.

37.5 Other Epigrammatists of Vandal Africa

A few other poets whose works are included in the anthology should be named here. These are: the *virī clarissimi* Flavius Felix and Coronatus, a *grammaticus* Calbulus, and a *referendarius* Petrus. In Coronatus' case, as we already know, the association with Luxorius is clear and openly declared in the preface to his *De ultimis syllabis*. As a poet, Coronatus penned a *locus Vergilianus* (223) and two three-verse epigrams on a stuffed hen (226, 228). Flavius Felix authored a cycle of poems praising the baths in Alanae (210–14), commissioned by King Thrasamund, and a longish *Postulatio* (254). The grammarian Calbulus wrote the *Versus fonti* (378), and Petrus the *Versus in basilica palatii sanctae Mariae* (380). The last two examples are interesting because both represent poems on Christian themes. Indisputably, Christian motifs are all but absent from the anthology (Miles and Merrills 2010, 225), and specifically they cannot be found in Luxorius' *Liber*. Nonetheless, there are a few exceptions; even in the *Unius poetae sylloge* there is a group of texts with Christian overtones.

Much more typical of the anthology are, indeed, panegyric pieces, like the abovementioned praises of the Alanae baths by Felix or several poems by Luxorius and *Unus poeta*. Earlier, a Cato had composed a *laudatio* of King Huneric (387). Finally, there is Florentinus, the author of a 39-verse praise of Thrasamund (376) with the well-known anaphoric address to *Carthago* (lines 28–36), a true homage to the city of arts and learning.

37.6 Conclusion

It is such poems in particular, written for the Vandal kings or Luxorius' texts celebrating his *amici potentes* (like Fridus or Fridamal), that show that the culture of Vandal Africa developed, or rather adopted, a model of literary patronage similar to that of classical Rome. Many scholars in recent years have emphasized that some Vandal kings (Huneric, Hilderic, and above all the “learned king” Thrasamund) did turn their courts into flourishing centers of letters, learning, and at times even ideological debate (Hen 2007, 59–93). It is the classical literature and culture that turned out to be a common ground promoting a relationship between the Roman elite, the *Romulidae*, educated in – traditionally excellent – grammar schools of Carthage, and the new rulers of Vandal origin, which is indeed paradoxical, considering the stereotypic view of the Vandals as “savage” barbarians (Merrills and Miles 2010, 225–27). What was particularly

attractive for both sides, so dramatically different if their religious outlook is taken into account, was the “secular space” with a culture based on traditional learning, a good (however mannerist) Latin, erudition in classical texts, genres, and topoi, and the subtle sense of identity, of being a Carthaginian (as Luxorius would put it, *Romulida Tyriusque*). That sense of identity – poets like Luxorius seem to argue – was accessible *also* to Barbarians, provided that they knew, just like his young friend Fridamal, how to become ideal Romans.

Undoubtedly, the literary culture of the poets of “Luxorius’ circle” was also elitist *par excellence*, modeled on the postneoteric ideal of community of the “initiated” and “befriended.” Luxorius’ circle was a group of literati and grammarians, conversant with the classical tradition, who felt obliged to cherish it and to transmit it to well-selected (and trustworthy) audiences. Of course, it is hard to ignore the fact that a similar postneoteric model of the relationship between a poet and his public was idiosyncratic of the (learned and sophisticated) culture of late antiquity as such. Apparently, it survived unchanged in the new Romano-Vandal reality.

NOTES

1. Par. Lat. 10318, named after its owner, a French humanist, Claude Saumaise; the *Anthologia* occupies the initial position in the codex.
2. The hypothesis of Happ (1986, 142–58) to apply, as the poet’s name, the form of “Luxorius” has gained some support, yet other editors, as well as a majority of scholars who have studied the poetry of the African epigrammatist, myself included, have decided to simply keep the version transmitted in manuscripts, i.e., “Luxorius.”
3. See Leary (2014, 4–6).
4. R stands for Riese’s (1894) edition; the numeration proposed by Riese is referential in studies on the *Latin Anthology*; hence, also throughout this chapter all references to *Anthologia Latina* are to Riese’s edition.
5. Throughout the existence of the Vandal kingdom, these Roman honorary titles were still granted to people holding a public office or, more precisely, to teachers; Luxorius himself is labeled a *vir clarissimus et spectabilis* in the title attached to the *Epithalamium Fridi*.
6. Yet Luxorius’ knowledge of Greek is rather doubtful. His *Liber* does not show any specific reference to Greek authors, and in particular none to Greek epigrammatists.
7. *Numquid non mulier conparis esse potes?*; on the lection *conparis*, transmitted in the *Codex Salmasianus* and accepted by all modern editors, except for Happ (1986, 65 and 412), see Zurli (1993, 33–35).

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FURTHER READING

For the Latin text of Luxorius, Happ's (1986) edition, however hyper-conservative at times, is the standard one. Dal Corobbo (2006) follows Happ for the most part, but with some small, and usually attractive, corrections. Shackleton Bailey's (1982)

version of some Luxorius' poems is too conjectural and hence should be always colated with the one in Happ.

For the Latin text of *Unius poetae sylloge* and *Anonymi versus serpentini*, the new editions by Zurli (2007) and Zurli, Scivoletto, and Paolucci (2008) are highly recommendable.

The most thorough commentary to Luxorius is by Happ (1986). Yet Rosenblum's (1961) and Dal Corobbo's (2006) commentaries are also valuable. Kay's (2006) commentary to the epigrams by *Unus poeta* is very helpful. Similarly, Paolucci's commentary to *Versus serpentini* in Zurli, Scivoletto, and Paolucci (2008). Zurli's introductions to the editions of *Unius poetae sylloge* (Zurli 2007) and *Anonymi versus serpentini* (Zurli, Scivoletto, and Paolucci 2008) are magisterial.

A comprehensive study of the Latin epigram of the Romano-Barbaric age is given by Wasyl (2011).

PART VI

THE *FORTLEBEN*
OF ANCIENT EPIGRAM

CHAPTER THIRTY-EIGHT

Epigram in the Later Western Literary Tradition

Peter Howell

Epigrams continued to be written from late antiquity up until the Middle Ages (Berndt 1968). It is hardly surprising that Martial was the principal model. His epigrams were more fortunate than many other writings of antiquity in that they survived the “Dark Ages.” They were known to Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636; Hausmann 1976). In his catalogue of his own works Bede (672/3–735) includes a *Liber epigrammatum heroico metro sive elegiaco*, but they are lost (Maaz 1992, 19). Our earliest surviving manuscript of Martial dates from the eighth or ninth century, and was probably written in France. Three other French manuscripts of the ninth century exist, and there were copies of poems by Martial at Lorsch, in Germany, at Bobbio, in Italy, and in the library of Charlemagne (Reeve 1983, 239–40). Hrabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mainz in the same century, knew poems of both Martial and the *Anthologia Latina*. Martial’s epigrams were imitated in England as early as the eleventh century, when Godfrey, prior of Winchester (born at Cambrai before 1055, died 1107) wrote epigrams whose style is borrowed from Martial, though the content consists of moralizing and epitaphs. There are (surprisingly) three “obscene” poems. The length of some runs to 16 lines (Gerhard 1974). Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon (ca. 1088–ca. 1157), wrote eight books of epigrams, including six *Jocunda*, which are lost, and two *Seria*, which survive. Despite this title, they include love poems (Maaz 1992, 103–74). Although most of the epigrams are in elegiac couplets, Henry unusually uses a number of other meters, including lyric ones (Rigg 1991). John of Salisbury (ca. 1115–80) often quotes Martial. Giraldus

Cambrensis, archdeacon of Brecon (1146–1223), wrote a number of epigrams. It is remarkable that the earliest known commentator on Martial was English, namely John Marre, prior of the Carmelite Priory of Doncaster (died 1408). Unfortunately the work is lost.¹

In the thirteenth century Vincent of Beauvais (died 1264) knew Martial, as did some of the early humanists of north Italy, but it is with Petrarch that we find him influencing the mainstream of Italian humanism. However, neither Petrarch nor Boccaccio, who owned an annotated manuscript of Martial (possibly stolen from Monte Cassino), wrote epigrams as such. A poet who did do so was Antonio Beccadelli, a Sicilian known as “Il Panormita,” whose work *Hermaphroditus*, published in 1425, became notorious (Parker 2010). It was only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that imitation of Martial became common.

The *Greek Anthology* was probably unknown in Italy before 1460 (Hutton 1935; Haynes 2007). Boccaccio knew a couple of the epigrams, and others were acquainted with those quoted by Diogenes Laertius and other authors. Politian claimed to have been the first to write epigrams in Greek in modern times. Cardinal Bessarion brought to Italy the manuscript of the *Anthologia Planudea*, and an edition of this was published in 1494 by Janus Lascaris. (The *Anthologia Palatina* was only widely known after Claude de Salmaise found it at Heidelberg in 1606, and was not published in full until 1813–17.)

In the fifteenth century the collection of Roman antiquities, both inscriptions and sculptures, became fashionable at Rome (Christian 2010). The example of ancient epigrams on works of art, especially in the *Greek Anthology*, led to modern imitations. The famous group of the Three Graces belonging to Cardinal Prospero Colonna (now in the Library of Siena Cathedral) inspired numerous poems. When in 1446 Ludovico Trevisan, patriarch of Aquileia, sent to Alfonso V of Naples a statue of a reclining woman identified as Parthenope, poets including Beccadelli and Valla wrote epigrams about it. Another celebrated statue was the sleeping nymph at a fountain in the garden of Cardinal Ammannati Piccolomini, and that inspired a particularly famous epigram, written ca. 1460, by Bishop Giannantonio Campano:

Huius nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis,
dormio dum blandae sentio murmur aquae.
Parce meum, quisquis tangis cava marmora, somnum
rumpere, sive bibas, sive lavere, tace.

I, the nymph of this place, guardian of the sacred spring, sleep as I perceive the murmur of the gentle water. You, whoever touch the hollow marble, take care not to disturb my sleep, whether you drink or wash yourself, be silent.

Others wrote on the same theme. Sometimes the statue would be represented as “speaking,” a device borrowed from the *Greek Anthology*. Many of these poems were by members of the “Academy” set up ca. 1465 by Pomponio Leto, who collected ancient inscriptions, and epigrams were also written to honor deceased members. One of these poets was Giovanni Pontano, whose chapel in Naples housed ancient inscriptions, modern elegiac poems, and prose epitaphs. Johann Goritz, of Luxemburg, known as “Corycius,” held a contest on the feast of Saint Anne for poems celebrating the statue by Sansovino he had erected in the church of S. Agostino. In 1524 hundreds of these “Coryciana” were published. Most take the form of epigrams. Michelangelo wrote numerous epigrams on the death of the young Cecchino Bracci, whose tomb he designed, in some of which the tomb speaks, and he also wrote epigrams in which his Night and Day commemorate Giuliano de’ Medici.

Until the middle of the next century (after which Greek studies declined) the Greek epigrams had a considerable influence on neo-Latin poems. Lascaris met Erasmus and Thomas More in Venice, and the epigrams of all three are among these. More’s epigrams, published in Basel in 1518, through the influence of Erasmus, were known throughout Europe and were highly influential. There are 253 in the 1518 collection. More’s chief model was the *Anthologia Planudea*. Most of his epigrams are witty and satirical, and the great majority are in elegiac couplets, though he uses eight other meters (Bradner and Lynch 1953). More’s epigrams were much translated, the earliest verse translations appearing in Timothe Kendall’s *Flowers of Epigrammes* (London 1577). The two first collections of epigrams in English were both published in 1550 – the Protestant Robert Crowley’s *One and thirtye epigrammes, wherein are bryefly touched so manye abuses, that maye and ought to be put away* (short satires of medieval type), and the Catholic John Heywood’s *An hundred epigrammes*. Heywood, who was married to More’s niece, increased his total to 600 in his *Woorkes*, published in 1562. Three hundred of them were based on proverbs.

Of the British poets writing epigram in Latin in the sixteenth century, one of the most notable was John Parkhurst, whose *Ludicra sive Epigrammata Iuvenilia*, collected when he was in exile in Zurich in 1558, were published in London in 1573, by which time he was bishop of Norwich. Many of his epigrams address or attack real people. Another successful author was Thomas Campion, best known as a composer of masques and lute songs, whose book of 228 epigrams was published in 1595. In 1619 this was republished as his Book Two, with a Book One of 225 poems. He also published some epigrams in English (Bullen 1889). There were a number of other British authors writing epigram in Latin in this century and the next (Bradner 1940).

From the time of Leo X, in Italy at least Martial was regarded as an inferior model to the Greeks. A notable example of his decline in reputation is the story that the neo-Latin poet Andrea Navagero (1483–1529) used to curse his works on a fixed day each year, and “devote them to Vulcan.” As well as imitating Greek epigrams in his Latin verse, Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530) used material from both Latin and Greek epigrams in his vernacular poetry. Although he was by no means the first to write epigrams in Italian, it is claimed that the real creator of the Italian epigram was Luigi Alamanni (1495–1556). His epigrams were not printed until 1587, but were well known in manuscript form. Of his 129 poems, 38 were based on Greek models, almost all from the *Anthology*.²

In France, the first to write epigrams in Latin was Guillaume de la Mare (*Sylvae*, 1513; Hutton 1946). However, the first author to write epigrams which really deserved the name in any modern language was Clément Marot, whose *Deux Livres d'Épigrammes* (probably all translations) were published in 1538. He was not the first to give this name to his verses: Michel d'Amboise anticipated him by five years (*Cent Épigrammes*, Paris, 1533). However, he was the first to imitate Martial in French (Hutton 1946, 89). Although the poets of the group known as La Pléiade (the best known being Joachim Du Bellay, Pierre de Ronsard, and Jean-Antoine de Baïf) were reacting against Marot, their short poems often have a clear affinity with the epigram. They chiefly take the form of the sonnet, which in that century was regularly claimed to replace the epigram. Du Bellay claimed that it was Baïf who introduced the word “épigramme” into French (Mehnert 1970, 87). Du Bellay himself did not use it for any of his own poems, though his *Regrets* include satirical sonnets.³

Martial was also an important influence on the English vernacular epigram at this time (Whipple 1925; Sullivan 1990; Hopkins and Martindale 2012). The popularity of satirical epigram led the ecclesiastical authorities to decree “that no satires or epigrams be printed hereafter,” but this had little effect (Coiro 1988, 82). Subsequent authors included Sir John Harington, Ben Jonson, and Robert Herrick. Harington produced four books in 1605–6. Their editor Gerard Kilroy describes them as “a moral, political and theological critique of the state of the nation.”⁴ He argues that other influences on Harington include the Latin translators of the *Greek Anthology*, Alciati, More, Erasmus, and John Heywood. Alastair Fowler claims that in the seventeenth century “no recovered genre was more significant historically than epigram ... Indeed, the most important literary change of the century could be seen as the pervasive tendency whereby epigram merged with and transformed almost every other kind” (Fowler 1991;

see also Clark 2002). This was not just a British phenomenon: throughout Europe the genre was immensely popular.

Jonson's collection of 133 *Epigrams* was first published in 1616. In his dedication to the Earl of Pembroke he describes them as "the ripest of my studies." Whipple calls Jonson "the founder of the English epigram," and notes that he learned from Martial to treat epigrams as more than passing trifles, to prefer irony to satire, and to develop a style and form compatible with true literary merit (Whipple 1925, 406; Herford, Simpson, and Simpson 1947; Trimpi 1962). His definition of the form is loose enough to encompass poems ranging in length between 2 and 196 lines. He claimed to have restored "the old way and the true" of epigram, and Martial's attacks on sticklers for brevity clearly appealed to him. In *Epigrammes* no. xxxvi he addresses "the Ghost of Martiall":

Martial, thou gav'st farre nobler Epigrammes
To thy Domitian, than I can my James:
But in my royall subject I passe thee,
Thou flatterd'st thine, mine cannot flatter'd bee.

Robert Herrick's *Hesperides, or The Works both Humane and Divine of Robert Herrick, Esq.*, published in 1648, was planned as a book, in imitation of Martial. Containing 1130 poems, it is described by Ann Baynes Coiro as the most accomplished epigram book of the English Renaissance (Coiro 1988). Like Jonson, Herrick felt unconstrained about length: several poems have over 100 lines, and one has 170. Heywood's grandson John Donne's earliest poems were a collection of 19 epigrams. Jonson praised him highly (*Epigrams* XCVI; Grierson 1912; Herter 2011). Another accomplished epigrammatist was Sir John Davies, praised by his fellow epigrammatist Everard Guilpin as "our English Martiall" (Grosart 1876).

The Spanish showed a natural tendency to favor a genre whose most celebrated exponent was a compatriot. The sixteenth-century poets Juan de Mal Lara and Juan de Guzmán show his influence, and the treatise *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (1648) by the Jesuit Baltasar Gracián deals with the concept of "point" (Nowicki 1974; and see also Giulian 1930).

A number of German poets in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wrote epigrams. Heinrich Rantzau, Statthalter of Holstein, was an author who wrote only in Latin, and collected around him a circle of learned men. One of these was Peter Lindeberg. Born in Rostock in 1562, he traveled to Rome and in Scandinavia, visiting 34 universities and their libraries. He wrote many Latin epigrams, and published them in various collections. His *Hypotyposis Arcium, Palatiorum, Librorum, Pyramidum, Obeliscorum*,

Cipporum, Molarum, Fontium, Monumentorum, & Epitaphiorum, ab illustri & strenuo uiro Henrico Rantzovio, Prorege & Equite Holsato, conditorum cum nonnullis eorum Ectypis ligneis, & in fine additis Epigrammatibus, conscripta & denuo edita a Petro Lindebergio (Hamburg, 1590 and 1591; Frankfurt 1592) contains Rantzau's descriptions of his own estates, with numerous epigrams, of very varying length, by himself, Rantzau, and other authors. Most are in elegiac couplets, but some are in other meters.

Other authors of Latin epigram include Georg Richard Weckherlin and Martin Opitz, both of whom wrote mainly in German. Some poets specialized in epigram, such as Friedrich von Logau, Johann Grob, and Christian Wernicke. There was a particular type of "geistliches Epigramm," whose exponents included Daniel Czepko and Johannes Scheffler (Hess 1989; see also Levy 1903). These relate to the bizarre Christianized versions of Martial published by Johannes Burmeister in 1612 as *Martialis Renati Parodiae Sacrae*.

In the seventeenth century it was the Jesuits who promoted the writing of epigrams in Latin, by making it a regular exercise in their schools. A treatise, entitled *De Conficiendo Epigrammate liber unus*, was published at Bologna in 1632. The author, Joannes Cottunius, a Greek (like Lascaris), published two books of Greek epigrams himself. They show little influence from the *Anthology*, though the treatise takes many of its examples from it. In 1649 an anthology for school use entitled *Epigrammatum Delectus* was published in Paris, the editor being Claude Lancelot, professor of theology at Port Royal. Half the contents were by Martial, but it included poems by more recent authors. It was used as a textbook at Eton College throughout most of the eighteenth century. The bestselling poet of the seventeenth century is said to have been the Welshman John Owen (c. 1564–1628), known as Johannes Audoenus, Cambro-Britannus (Laurens 1989, 503–43). His Latin poems, which were translated into English, German, French, Spanish, and Danish, show the influence of Welsh poetical techniques in rhyming and musical effects.

An interesting author of Latin epigram was Alessandro Marcello, a Venetian nobleman better known as a composer. In 1709 he published *Inter Seria Aetherii Stimphalici Studia Juveniles Joci*, with a second edition the next year bringing the total to 1045. Some editions omit Book V, which contains "obscene" poems. His epigrams cover a wide range of subject matter: most are in elegiacs, some are in hendecasyllables, and one is in sapphics.

For eighteenth-century literary tastes, the search for point had less appeal, and Martial's influence was less than previously. Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son: "I hope ... that you are got out of the worst company in the world,

the Greek epigrams. Martial has wit, and is worth your looking into sometimes; but I recommend the Greek epigrams to your supreme contempt.”⁵ Wit was certainly much appreciated, and Martial is often quoted, for example, by Joseph Addison in *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*, though he claimed to disapprove of “our general Taste in England ... for Epigrams,” describing it as a “Gothick Taste” (Coiro 1988, 48).

The German poet Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was responsible for a celebrated, though partial, discussion of the nature of epigram, claiming that it separated into two parts: “in the first of these our attention is directed to some particular object, our curiosity is aroused concerning some specific subject, whereas in the second our attention reaches its mark and our curiosity receives an explanation.” He called the first part “Erwartung” and the second “Aufschluss” (Lachmann 1895, 220; Schönert 1973, 427). Lessing himself wrote epigrams throughout his life. His younger contemporary Johann Gottfried Herder’s epigrams are based on the *Greek Anthology*. In 1796 the *Musenalmenach* published by Schiller contained the 104 epigrams by Goethe known as the *Venetianische Epigramme*, whose subjects include love, travel, and personal experiences. The next year the same publication included the *Xenien*, 414 poems by Goethe and Schiller. The title obviously comes from Martial (see Leary in this volume). *Tabulae Votivae* contained a further 103 epigrams, and more appeared in other works of Goethe.

In France Jean de La Fontaine, Jean Racine, Voltaire, and Rousseau all made use of the genre, but two poets who made a particular success of it were Alexis Piron (1689–1773), also a dramatist, and Ponce Denis Échouchard Lebrun (1729–1827), known as Lebrun-Pindare, who used it to attack his many enemies: one of his epigrams on Jean-François de La Harpe, the writer and critic, was called by Sainte-Beuve “la reine des épigrammes.”⁶

Sur La Harpe, qui venait de parler du grand Corneille avec irrévérence.	
Ce petit homme, à son petit compas,	
Veut sans pudeur asservir la genie;	
Au bas de Pinde il trotte à petits pas,	
Et croit franchir les sommets d'Aonie.	5
Au grand Corneille il a fait avanée;	
Mais, à vrai dire, on riait aux éclats	
De voir ce nain mesurer un Atlas,	
Et redoublant ses efforts de Pygmée	
Burlesquement roider ses petits bras	10
Pour étouffer si haute renommée.	

On La Harpe, who had just spoken irreverently of the great Corneille.
This little man, with his small compass, wants without shame to enslave

genius; at the bottom of Pindus he trots with little steps, and believes he is crossing the summits of Aonia. He has snubbed the great Corneille, but, to tell the truth, one laughed to burst to see this dwarf measure an Atlas, and, redoubling his Pygmy efforts, ludicrously brace his little arms to smother such high fame.

The romantic poet André Chénier published 34 epigrams, some of them based on the Greek bucolic poets (Chénier 1950, 78–89; see also Hutton 1946, 579–88).

Nineteenth-century authors were less inclined to take epigram seriously. Although Byron translated an imitated Martial, his ironic words in *Don Juan* explain the distaste felt for him in that century:

And then what proper person can be partial
To all those nauseous epigrams of Martial?

Coleridge also dabbled with the form. It was he who produced the famous definition (Coleridge 1912, vol. 2, 963):

What is an epigram? A dwarfish whole;
Its body brevity and wit its soul.

A charmingly undogmatic definition was produced by the romantic poet Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (Vetterlein 1830, 1):

Bald ist das Epigramm ein Pfeil,
Trifft mit der Spitze;
Ist bald ein Schwert,
Trifft mit der Schärfe;
Ist manchmal auch (die Griechen liebten's so)
Ein klein Gemäld', ein Strahl, gesandt
Zum Brennen nicht, nur zum Erleuchten.

Sometimes an epigram is an arrow; it strikes with its point. Sometimes it is a sword; it strikes with its sharpness. It is often also (the Greeks liked it so) a small picture, a ray sent not to burn, but only to illuminate.

The Italian tragic poet Vittorio Alfieri wrote many epigrams between 1783 and 1798 (De-Mauri 1918, 213–28, prints 44 epigrams). Filippo Pananti, whose works were published in Florence in 1824, wrote mild versions. Eighty epigrams by Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin are published in the anthologies of Russian epigram.⁷ An English poet who wrote a large amount

of Latin poetry, some of which counts as epigram, was Walter Savage Landor. He used a variety of meters (Sutton 1999).

In the late nineteenth century attention was focused on the *Greek Anthology*, and more particularly on the pederastic poems, by John Addington Symonds. His *Studies of the Greek Poets* was published as two “Series” in 1873 and 1876, and was republished until 1920 (Nisbet 2013; see also Livingstone and Nisbet 2010).

It is not surprising that in the twentieth century the epigram has appealed as a vehicle for political satire, a celebrated example being the “Stalin epigram” written in 1933 by Osip Mandelstam: his attack on the “Kremlin highlander” helped to get him arrested six months later. In 1938 the Hamburg writer Wilhelm Hammond-Norden wrote an essay with the title “Warum werden keine Epigramme mehr geschrieben?” (Hammond-Norden 1939). Bertold Brecht, however, favored the genre. His *Finnische Epigramme*, written in exile in 1940, are not strictly a collection of epigrams, but the title refers to his lack of material. His *Kriegsfibel* of 1955 consists of 69 epigrams. An unpolitical author was Stefan George, who did not use epigram to criticize society. His *Tafeln* are based on the origin of the form in Greek inscriptions. The Austrian playwright Arthur Schnitzler produced a great number of aphorisms.

The revival of interest in Martial over the last 40 years has led a number of poets to translate or adapt his poems in English. In 1973 the poet James Michie, who had already translated Catullus and Horace, published a substantial selection. Two poets who published smaller collections were Peter Porter (*After Martial*, 1972) and Tony Harrison (*US Martial*, 1981 – written in New York). In 1987 J. P. Sullivan and Peter Whigham edited *Epigrams of Martial Englished by Divers Hands*, a bulky compilation of versions dating from between the sixteenth century and contemporary times, the largest number being by Whigham himself. In 1996 another collection, under the title *Martial in English*, appeared in the Penguin Classics series. Again J. P. Sullivan was the editor, but after his death in 1993 the task was completed by A. J. Boyle. In this case the contents were arranged chronologically. Despite the title, they include poems more or less in the manner of Martial, as well as translations.

NOTES

1. The work is known from the bibliographical writings of his successor at Doncaster, John Bale (1495–1563).
2. For a considerable number of earlier authors, going back to the thirteenth century, see De-Mauri (1918). This was a pseudonym for Ernesto Sarasino.

3. Mayer (1970); Mehnert (1970) (described by F.-R. Hausmann as the best and most learned work on the reception of Martial (Hausmann 1979, 477)).
4. Kilroy (2009, vii). His edition is the first complete edition of the 406 epigrams in their original order.
5. Dobréé (1932, vol. 3, 725) (letter of 25 January 1746).
6. Sainte-Beuve (1941, 164, and see 129). A selection from the six books of Lebrun's epigrams is printed in Poitevin (1841, vol. 1, 547–76). He also includes epigrams by Piron, Imbert, and M.-J. Chénier.
7. Vasil'ev, Gillel'son, and Zacharenko (1975, nos. 945–1024): this anthology contains 2030 epigrams written between the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Andreev, Gillel'son, and Kumpan (1988) contains 1901 epigrams written between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-NINE

The Epigram in Byzantium and Beyond

Andreas Rhoby

39.1 Introduction

“Epigram: all texts that are inscribed on some object, even if they are not in verse, are called epigrams.” This definition of the term ἐπίγραμμα is to be found in the Suda, a voluminous Byzantine encyclopedic dictionary of the tenth century. The inclusion of prose in the term ἐπίγραμμα draws on the original meaning of the word (ἐπί+γράμμα “something written upon”). However, the parenthesis “even if they are not in verse” in the Suda dictionary clearly indicates that in Byzantium epigrams are normally written in verses in order to serve as inscriptions (Hörandner 2003, 156).

In Byzantium ἐπίγραμμα is not attested very often: in some cases the term refers to the ancient Greek epigram. Very often epigrams in manuscripts have no specific titles at all but are merely labeled as, e.g., Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ/τῆς ... (“On the icon of ...”) (Lauxtermann 2003a, 28–29, 152; Rhoby 2009, 40–41).

Sometimes ἐπίγραμμα also bears the meaning “preface” or “introduction”: this is true for the genre of so-called “book epigrams.” This term coined by Marc Lauxtermann describes poems which accompany literary texts, either as an introduction to other works (in prose or verse) or as a dedication to the patron, the addressee, or the scribe of a manuscript (Lauxtermann 2003a, 29–30, 197–212).

Thus, epigrams in Byzantium – as defined by Byzantine sources – act as metrical inscriptions on monuments and objects or as verses written next to

a piece of literature in a manuscript (“book epigrams”). The term also subsumes verses which are not preserved *in situ* but were created for inscriptional use; this is true for verses in epigrammatic collections, such as the famous *Anthologia Palatina*.

In comparison with former periods there is a difference of quantity: especially in late antiquity the production of verse inscriptions was relatively high (Robert 1948). Cities were blooming, and many events were celebrated by epigrams. From the seventh century CE onwards epigraphic production decreased dramatically due to several reasons (Zakythinos 1966), such as the decline of cities, the loss of epigraphically productive regions in the East, and the “invention” of new communication methods.

However, from the ninth century onwards, after the end of the so-called Dark Ages and in a period with a relative stability of state and church, it again became very popular to create epigrams, either as inscriptions on monuments and objects or as book epigrams. A first rich collection of epigrams was created by Theodore Studites (759–826); most of his verses primarily composed for the monks of the Studiou monastery in Constantinople were certainly inscribed in order to serve as admonition and advice for the monastic community (Speck 1968).

39.2 The Question of the Right “Metron”

The favorite meter of epigrams in antiquity and late antiquity was the elegiac distich, consisting of one hexameter followed by a pentameter. The pure hexameter was also widespread, e.g., on the famous cup of Nestor (see the chapters by Morgan and Day in this volume). The preference for the distich is demonstrated by a two-verse epigram of a certain Cyril (first century BCE?) in the *Anthologia Palatina* (9.369): “An epigram of two lines (τὸ δίστιχον) has every merit, and if you exceed three lines it is rhapsody, not epigram” (trans. Paton 1917, 203). However, as the evidence in the *Anthologia Palatina* itself proves, a considerable number of epigrams, even of those dating to the Hellenistic period, cover more than two or three verses (Lauxtermann 2003a, 23).

In late antiquity, a substantial number of epigrams are also composed in iambic trimeters, a popular meter of classical Greek tragedy. It has been observed that inscriptional trimeters of the third to the fifth centuries anticipate later Byzantine developments: resolutions are considerably avoided, *dichrona* (α, ι, υ) are measured both long and short, and there is a strong tendency to regulate the stress at the end of the verse (Rhoby 2011a). By the seventh century the iambic trimeter has become a meter with a stable number

of 12 syllables, a stress on the penultimate syllable of the verse, and an internal pause either after the fifth or (more rarely) the seventh syllable (Maas 1903). George of Pisidia, a poet at the court of the emperor Heraclius I in the first half of the seventh century, is the first considerable author using this “new” meter, the Byzantine dodecasyllable (Lauxtermann 2003b). After the seventh century there are hardly any Byzantine verses – both epigrams and ordinary poems – which are composed in trimeters of antique or late antique character (with resolutions, anapests, and with accurate differentiation of long and short syllables) (Rhoby 2011a, 123–27). The avoidance of resolutions and anapests in Byzantium goes hand in hand with the development of the reading and reciting of Byzantine poetry according to accents because the feeling for the difference between long and short syllables was gradually lost in early Byzantium.

This is not only true for dodecasyllables but also for hexameters: the versification of Nonnus of Panopolis, author of the fifth century, and his followers reflects the importance of the accent since there is a strong tendency to mark off the end of the verse with a stress on the penultimate syllable (Wifstrand 1933; West 1982, 177–80; Agosti and Gonnelli 1995–96). For epigrams composed to serve as inscriptions on monuments and objects, the hexameter was hardly used in the middle and late Byzantine period. The few examples testify to an author’s ambition to compose an extraordinary piece of literature – and not all attempts were successful – or to a patron’s wish to be celebrated extraordinarily. As most of the inscriptional epigrams were most likely performed orally (Papalexandrou 2007), the hexameter with an unstable number of syllables, not at all akin to spoken language, was difficult to understand, even for (semi-)literate. The situation is different in the “book epigram” genre: ca. 370 types of epigrams, collected in the *Database of the Byzantine Book Epigrams* (DBBE, accessed May 2018), are composed in dactylic hexameters, more than 160 in elegiacs. This may be explained by the fact that book epigrams were not texts performed in public; moreover, book epigrams were never addressed to ordinary people but to a learned elite.

Amongst the large number of preserved book epigrams there are also almost 200 types of epigrams which make use of 15-syllable verse also known as political verse. The origin of this verse seems to lie in early hymnography (and not in the classical trochaic tetrameter as argued earlier), as hymns with hemistichs of eight and seven syllables of the sixth-century author Romanus the Melode demonstrate (Jeffreys 1974; Koder 1983; Lauxtermann 1999). It is a purely accentual verse with πολιτικός as synonym for “unprosodic” as suggested by Marc Lauxtermann (Lauxtermann 1999, 41). The number of inscriptional 15-syllable epigrams, however, is very small, even smaller than the corpus of

hexameters (Rhoby 2009, 63–65; 2010a, 40–41; 2014, 89–90), despite the fact, that from the year 900 onwards the political verse was a very accepted meter used by and for members of the imperial court (Jeffreys 1974; Lauxtermann 1999, 35–37, 43).

Although not explicitly stated in the sources, it was a Byzantine *communis opinio* to compose inscriptional verses in dodecasyllable meter. The mystery of this meter’s “success” might be explained by its long tradition: there was a natural development from the iambic trimeter of antiquity and late antiquity to the Byzantine dodecasyllable with a stable pattern of rhythm also observed in prose.

39.3 Epigrams *in situ*

For many years, the number of surviving Byzantine verse inscriptions had been considered as rather small (Lauxtermann 2003a, 31–33). However, as has been proven recently by detailed research, there is a considerable number of Byzantine epigrams dating from between the seventh (“invention” of the dodecasyllable) and the fifteenth centuries still preserved *in situ* (or documented as *in situ* inscriptions in post-1500 documents such as reports of Western travelers and early collections). The numbers are as follows: ca. 320 epigrams are preserved on frescoes (Rhoby 2009; 2010a, 391–413; 2014, 771–811), ca. 20 on mosaics (Rhoby 2009; 2010a, 402–3; 2014, 813–18), ca. 300 on stone (Rhoby 2014), ca. 75 on icons (Rhoby 2010a; 2014, 843–51), and ca. 75 on other artworks (Rhoby 2010a; 2014, 819–41). They range from *monosticha* to formations of dozens of verses: one of the longest Byzantine epigrams, unfortunately no longer preserved but still visible in the eighteenth century, consisted of 87 verses which were attached to the north wall of the Panagia church of Parori near Mystras (Rhoby 2014, no. GR99). In this context we should also recall one famous sixth-century stone epigram which is fully transmitted in Book 1 (no. 10) of the *Anthologia Palatina*. It refers with some ecphrastic details to the church of St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople but is *grosso modo* an encomium of the patron Juliana Anicia, an aristocratic woman and descendant of Theodosius I, who was in rivalry with the emperor Justinian I. Due to its length (76 hexameters), modern editors thought it impossible for the verses to be inscribed, but some decades ago remains of the hexameter epigram inscription were indeed found *in situ* during excavations (Harrison 1989).

Stone epigrams have a very long tradition in Greek epigraphy which continued throughout the Byzantine millennium. They were mainly composed as dedicatory and founders’ inscriptions in churches but also on

secular monuments such as town walls and as tomb inscriptions (Rhoby 2014, 55–69).

Epigrams on frescoes on the other hand develop with the emergence of the rich decoration in Byzantine churches after iconoclasm (mid-ninth century). The majority of epigrams on frescoes, however, date to the late Byzantine period; they are not only found in churches on Byzantine territory but also in churches on territories which were under foreign control but where Byzantine traditions continued (Macedonia, Serbia, Cyprus). One can easily imagine that painted decorations with inscriptions also existed on private (aristocratic) houses – some hints in the sources testify to this assumption – but there are no examples preserved (Cupane 2009). There are mainly three types of painted epigrams: (1) dedicatory epigrams in churches, some of them accompanying depictions of the founder and his family such as in the famous church of the Panagia Asinou at Cyprus. The scenery consists of the epigram and an image of the founder (and his little daughter) who hands over the model of the church to Christ with the help of the intercessory Mother of God (Rhoby 2009, no. 236; Patterson Ševčenko 2012, 79); (2) verses accompanying liturgical scenes or depictions of saints. Such epigrams are for example preserved in the famous monastery church of Treskavac near Prilep in Macedonia. The church's narthex bears a variety of distichs which accompany depictions of calendar saints (Rhoby 2009, no. 34–60); and (3) epigrams on scrolls – part of the decoration program in Byzantine churches from the twelfth century onwards – held by the Mother of God and other saints: most of these epigrams belong to a standard repertoire which is attested in the painter's guide of Dionysios of Phourna (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909). Although this guide dates to the seventeenth century, it is based on Byzantine models which give clear instructions about the depiction of saints with advice for inscriptional decorations of their scrolls (Rhoby 2009, 52–53).

There is no explicit evidence for this practice but one can easily imagine that many of the epigrams mentioned were read out aloud at certain occasions: founder's epigrams – either painted or on stone – on the day of the celebration of the inauguration of the church, tomb epigrams on the commemoration day of the deceased, and epigrams on scrolls on the saint's feast day (Rhoby 2012, 738).

Mosaic epigrams, still very popular in late antiquity, traditionally in the East of the empire (Jordan, Palestina, Syria), hardly exist after the seventh century and, if they do, due to the high costs of production they were created in an imperial or highly aristocratic milieu: there are some eighth- and ninth-century mosaic epigrams in the Hagia Sophia church of Constantinople (Rhoby 2009, no. M9–M14); two of these epigrams are

composed in hexameters (Rhoby 2009, no. M10, M12), one consists of two elegiac distichs (Rhoby 2009, no. M14). Despite the fact that all three epigrams are of rather mediocre quality, they testify to a kind of deliberate antiquarianism in this period.

Epigram on icons can appear on the frame, the main painted surface, or the back of the panel (Pentcheva 2007); they can also be executed on the metal revetment of the icon as is the case with the famous late Byzantine icon of the Mother of God kept in the treasury of Freising cathedral (Rhoby 2010a, no. Ik12): the long text of the epigram (14 verses) is preserved on ten small enamel plates which serve as a frame of the icon's central field. Apart from general thoughts about the nature of fading matter, the verses represent a donor's epigram in which – very traditionally – the donor asks for a good fate after this death as a reward for his donation (Rhoby 2010a, 66–67; Drpić 2014, 915–19). Many of the icon epigrams also follow a standardized model: the famous epigram of the Theotokos Paraklesis, a dialogue in which the intercessory Virgin turns in prayer towards Christ to ask for the salvation of mankind, is often attested on Byzantine and post-Byzantine icons of the Mother of God (Lauxtermann 2003a, 166–70; Rhoby 2009, 329–41; 2010a, 114–16).

It was also a specific trend in Byzantium to attach verses to portable objects: verses were incised or carved on metal works such as reliquaries, ivories, wood, and steatite. In addition, there is a small group of epigrams which are sewn in textiles: such examples are the twelfth-century verses on two Byzantine embroideries – a *poterokalymna* (cover for the chalice during liturgy) and a *diskokalymna* (cover for the bread bowl during liturgy) – which are woven into the so-called “banners” of Halberstadt (named after their current location) (Rhoby 2010a, nos. Te4–Te5).

Rather neglected are the thousands of verses which are preserved on Byzantine lead seals. One of the earliest preserved examples is the seal of the famous Byzantine hymnographer Andrew of Crete, dated to the early eighth century (Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, no. 1142). The majority of Byzantine lead seals with metrical legends, however, belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 33–34). Most of the verses on seals are standardized or follow established patterns which do not allow too many sophisticated variations. Due to lack of space, metrical legends on seals consist only of one or two verses. However, there are some seals where both sides are covered with text and thus consist of four or even five verses (Marcovich 1974; Rhoby 2009, 42–43 n. 55).

Byzantine coins, on the other hand, rarely bear verses. However, there is one interesting example of a short epigram which is attested both on a coin and a small silver cross which was worn as encolpion: the verse, a hexameter,

first composed for a coin of the emperor Romanus III (1028–34), was later reused on the cross. The content of the verse (“He who places his hope in you, much-praised Virgin, is accomplishing successfully”) fits to the layout of both objects because the Mother of God is depicted on one side of each of them (Rhoby 2011b, 75–76; 2014, no. AddII2).

39.4 Epigrams in Collections

The popularity of attaching Byzantine epigrams to monuments and objects is proven by the surviving evidence. However, it is an accepted fact that only a small part of the original material is still preserved today. Many monuments and objects with epigrams have been destroyed – for instance during the sacks of Constantinople in 1204 and 1453 – or have vanished in the course of the centuries, which is especially true for painted inscriptions and verses on easily perishable material such as textile and wood.

The wide dissemination of epigrams on monuments and objects is also attested by collections of epigrams in manuscripts. The most important collection, which is also of great interest for classicists, is the already mentioned *Anthologia Palatina* with about 3700 epigrams (see Maltomini in this volume). Many of the late antique and Byzantine epigrams in the anthology were indeed used as inscriptions and copied from the monument to the manuscript, as was the case with the above-mentioned epigram in the church of Saint Polyeuktos in Constantinople. Book 1 of the anthology comprises a large variety of Christian epigrams, largely copied from inscriptions in churches.

A further important collection is the *Anthologia Marciana*, named after its source, the Venetian codex Marc. gr. 524 (Lampros 1911). Compiled in the late thirteenth century it is a miscellaneous manuscript important mainly for its eleventh- and twelfth-century poetry, above all to be dated to the reigns of the emperors Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55) and Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80). As recently discovered by Foteini Spingou, the poetry in the codex is divided between single-author collections and longer poems, as well as anonymous compilations (*syllogae*) (A–C) (Spingou 2012; 2014, 140–41). Sylloge B, containing 173 poems mainly dating after the year 1140, is the largest collection. As demonstrated by Spingou, the material of the *syllogae* A–C has been randomly collected from other manuscripts; the epigrams in the codex were meant either to be inscribed or performed (Spingou 2012, 1–7). The inscriptional epigrams refer to monuments as well as to objects, mainly icons but also different kinds of liturgical metalwork, textiles, et cetera. Epigram no. 61 testifies to the practice of attaching verses

to private (aristocratic) houses which – as stated above (Section 39.3) – is not documented by still surviving inscriptional evidence (Lampros 1911, 29–30; Rhoby 2010b, 176).

Further epigrammatic material is scattered in smaller anthologies which were produced in the middle and late Byzantine period (Lauxtermann 2003a, 123–28; Maltomini 2008). Many epigrams meant to be inscribed are also preserved in collections of known authors, such as the epigrams of Theodore Studites mentioned above. Another author worth mentioning in this respect is Manuel Philes, famous poet of the imperial house and the aristocracy in the first half of the fourteenth century (Stickler 1992; Kubina 2013). Unfortunately, only a few epigrams are still preserved *in situ*, among them, however, the famous verses on the outer cornice of the chapel of the church of Saint Mary Pammakaristos in Constantinople (Rhoby 2014, no. TR76).

An extraordinary epigram was penned by twelfth-century author Theodore Balsamon. Among his poetic output, mainly transmitted in the *Anthologia Marciana*, there are 50 verses which refer to the inscribed edict of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (Horna 1903, 194–95; Mercati 1970, vol. 2, 320–26). The edict, issued in the course of the Council of 1166 which dealt with a passage in the New Testament (John 14:28 “my Father is greater than I”), was copied on marble slabs which were on display in Saint Sophia of Constantinople (Mango 1963); the verses of Balsamon written under Isaac II Angelos, who was about to remove the inscription, were either inscribed next to the slabs or functioned as performative epigram.

39.5 Book Epigrams

While the modern label “book epigram” was coined by Marc Lauxtermann for verses which serve as metrical paratexts in Byzantine manuscripts, the term itself is already attested in Byzantium. In his so-called *Bibliothēke*, a collection of summaries and reviews of pagan and Christian authors, Photios quotes an epigram consisting of two elegiac distichs which he found in a codex of Lucian of Samosata; he labels the verses as τὸ τῆς βιβλίου ἐπίγραμμα (“book epigram”) (Henry 1960, 103 [128,96b]).

Lauxtermann divided book epigrams into four categories: colophons, dedicatory epigrams, laudatory epigrams, and structuring epigrams (Lauxtermann 2003a, 29–30, 197–212; *DBBE*; Bernard and Demoen, in print). Colophon epigrams are usually placed at the end of a manuscript or at the end of a specific work in a manuscript; in these the scribe states that he has completed his work. Most of these verses are very formulized: one such popular standardized

colophon epigram is Ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἢ γράψασα σήπεται τάφῳ / γραφή δὲ μένει εἰς χρόνους πληρεστάτους (“The hand that wrote rots in the grave, but the writing remains until the end of time”) (Lauxtermann 2003a, 200).

Dedicatory book epigrams inform about the patronage of a work or a manuscript; most of them follow a stable structure which can also be observed in dedicatory epigrams on monuments and objects (Rhoby 2010c): mention of the dedication, presentation of the donor, as reward forgiveness of the sins and good fate at the Last Judgment.

Laudatory epigrams normally praise the author of the text and the text itself. In most cases the addressee of the laud is an evangelist or a church father.

So-called “structuring” epigrams are very common too: they function as titles, tables of contents, or short summaries et cetera. They are attested as verses accompanying illuminations, and therefore recall verses in fresco decorations, or as verses forming margins of illuminations as is the case with verses which are placed on the margins of portable icons.

While epigrams of the last category are normally very short – many of them are monosticha or disticha – other book epigrams can be of considerable length. The dedicatory epigram in the ninth-century manuscript Basel B II 15, celebrating the wisdom of its owner, consists of 102 verses (Lauxtermann 2003a, 31, 356 [no. 17]).

A subgroup of book epigrams is formed by so-called figure poems; the texts of verses of this genre create images which sometimes cover the whole page of a manuscript. Figure poems originate in late antiquity and are quite widespread especially in medieval Latin poetry (Ulrich 1991). In the Greek hemisphere they occur both in Byzantium (Hörandner 1990, 2009; Rhoby 2018) and beyond (Diamantopoulou 2016).

39.6 Greek Epigrams After 1453

The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the inclusion of the last remaining territories (Athens, Peloponnesos, Trebizond) in the Ottoman Empire did not of course put a final end to Byzantine traditions.

As for inscriptional epigrams, Byzantine traditions also continued. Post-Byzantine church decoration does not differ much from its Byzantine counterparts; epigrams are attached to scrolls of saints, as many examples from the Mount Athos monasteries demonstrate. Popular epigrams such as the one on the scroll of the Theotokos Paraklesis (cf. above) are produced by the hundreds during all post-Byzantine centuries. The same is true for inscriptional dedicatory epigrams: in terms of structure they also

follow Byzantine traditions. An interesting case for the *Fortleben* of a Byzantine epigram in post-Byzantine centuries is attested in the Mount Athos monastery of Vatopedi: an eleventh/twelfth-century dedicatory mosaic epigram situated above the entrance from the outer to the inner narthex of the monastery church (Rhoby 2009, no. M1) must also have impressed later generations of monks. There are some epigrams of the post-Byzantine period dating up to the middle of the nineteenth century in and near the monastery complex which clearly imitate the Byzantine model (Rhoby 2008).

The Byzantine tradition of book epigrams also continued in post-Byzantium and modern Greece as evidence up to the second half of the nineteenth century demonstrates (Nikolopoulos 2012). It is interesting to see that a colophon epigram of the type "Ἐπᾶνσε Χριστὸς δημιουργεῖν σαββάτῳ" ("On the Sabbath Christ completed his creation and rested") (Lauxtermann 2003a, 201) was even employed in a codex (Athen. EBE 811) of the year 1861 (Nikolopoulos 2012, 241 [no. 59]).

Apart from the imitative continuation of the Byzantine epigrammatic tradition a new impulse to the genre of the epigram was given at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is connected with the first publication of the *Planudean Anthology* in Florence in 1494 by the Greek scholar Janus Lascaris (Lauxtermann 2009). This edition created new interest in epigrams, as is testified by paraphrases and translations into Latin (Hutton 1935). In general there was a strong trend among humanists to compose epigrams in two versions (Greek and Latin) in order to exhibit their language skills (Karamanolis 2003, 29).

The reception of the *Anthology* is documented in different modern cultures (Mayer 2015); interestingly enough, in late nineteenth-century Victorian England, Greek epigrams had an impact even on the new literate mass culture of Great Britain, especially through the intensive discussions of John Addington Symonds' liberal reading of the *Anthology* (Nisbet 2013).

Corresponding to the general trend in humanism and the Renaissance, recourse to old traditions was also employed with epigrams. The composition of epigrams again became very popular (Hutton 1935). They were written in hexameters and elegiac distichs, some, however, with serious prosodic and metric flaws (Kallerges 1998): this is true, e.g., for the epigrams of Janus Lascaris (Meschini 1976). His tomb epigram exhibits all the features of the ancient epigram: consisting of two elegiac distichs it is brief and compact and does not offer more details than necessary (Lauxtermann 2009, 41–42). The same sort of tomb epigram had already been composed by the famous scholar Bessarion in the fifteenth century, and survives in the church of Santi Dodici Apostoli in Rome (Rhoby 2014, no. IT19).

Both the epigrams of Lascaris, as well as of authors of the same period, deal with a very wide range of motifs, as was especially the case in the Hellenistic and imperial periods: epigrams on Homer, Sophocles, and on Τύχη and Ἀρετή are presented alongside epigrams on Lascaris' contemporaries, amongst which mention can be made of the Habsburg emperor Charles V (Meschini 1976, no. 53). Charles V is also eternalized in an epigram of bad dodecasyllables on a tomb of a certain Andreas Kontostaulos in the church in the *vico dei Greci* in Naples (Lampros 1926, 7). The dedication of epigrams to Western rulers with the aim of exhorting them to liberate the Greeks from the Turks is not an uncommon phenomenon. In 1653 John Kottunios, one of major figures of post-Byzantine intellectual life, published a collection of Greek epigrams (with Latin translation), which he offered to the French king Louis XIV. In addition, Kottunios is also the author of a manual on the composition of epigrams with the title *De conficiendo epigrammate liber unus* published in 1632 (Syros 2010, 499–501).

Of interest from a transcultural perspective are the laudatory texts produced by Greek intellectuals of Crete on the arrival or departure of Venetian dignitaries. Among these texts there is a considerable number of laudatory epigrams, such as those of 20 priests praising the *duca di Candia* Giovanni Battista Grimani upon his departure from the island in 1636 (Mastodemetres 1979, 102–29). One of these priests is the famous epigrammatist and hymnographer Meletios Blastos who is the author of nine more epigrams in elegiac distichs on the praise of the Venetian *provveditor generale* of Crete, Alvise Priuli (Mastodemetres 1979, 86–93). Since an oration also composed by Blastos on the occasion of the arrival of Priuli on Crete in 1602/3 was performed orally, one can also suppose that some of the verses were presented in public in front of the Venetian official, which connects to the question of public performance of epigrams.

Laudatory epigrams were occasionally also composed in honor of orthodox dignitaries. The mention of two examples may suffice: the famous diplomat, politician, and author Alexander Maurokordatos is honored with some verses praising his diplomatic fame in a book published in 1706 by a certain Franciscus Prossalentes (Legrand 1918, 49). Several epigrams are found in the geographical book *Γεωγραφία παλαιὰ καὶ νέα* of Meletios (1661–1714), metropolitan of Athens, which was published in Venice posthumously in 1728. The first pages contain not only a long biographical note on Meletios but also laudatory epigrams on the author as well as an epigram on the book itself and epigrams to the readers (Legrand 1918, 211–17). Interestingly enough, one of the epigrams directed to the readers consists of 15 dodecasyllables, while the other epigrams are elegiac distichs according to the trend of the time.

Epigrams were also a means of internal orthodox ecclesio-political controversies: Nikephoros Melissenos (1577–1633) is the author of several invective epigrams against Kyrillos Lukaris (1570–1638), famous patriarch of Alexandria and Constantinople, and his devotion to Calvinism (Legrand 1903, 488–98; Podskalsky 1988, 206–7).

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Index

- Achilleus of Spoleto, 615–619
acrostic poems, 500, 570, 619
Aedituus (Valerius Aedituus), 114,
196, 401, 432–434
Aeschylus, 60, 151, 153, 158, 255,
326–327, 374–375
Agathias of Myrina, 211, 219–220,
224, 389–390, 597, 599–602,
605–608
Aiken, Conrad, 553
Albinovanus Pedo, 34, 169, 198,
460–461, 468–470
Alcaeus of Messene, 65–66, 128, 130,
371–385, 416, 428
Alexandrian school, 279–280
Alfius Avitus, 578
Ambrakia cenotaph (polyandreion),
237–238, 241–242
Anacreon, 44, 180, 185, 311, 316,
324, 361, 374, 397
anathematica (“on dedications”), 216,
219, 357–358, 363, 399, 601
andriantopoiika (“on statues”), 357
Anicius Probinus, 585
animals, epitaphs of, 81, 86, 287,
294–297, 377
Annianus, 578
Anonymi versus serpentine,
649–650, 660
Anthologia Graeca (*Greek Anthology*),
5, 87, 122, 274, 276, 597,
668, 675
Anthologia Latina, 5, 72, 518, 667
Anthologia Marciana, 685–686
Anthologia Palatina (*Palatine*
Anthology), 29, 205, 211, 216,
218–222, 225, 250, 253, 255,
304, 353, 363, 389–390, 393,
441, 485–486, 634, 640, 668,
680, 685
Anthologia Planudea (*Planudean*
Anthology), 29, 113, 211, 216,
221–225, 253, 304, 353, 393,
635, 668–669, 688
Anthologia Salmasiana, 557, 561, 590,
649–650
Antimachus of Colophon, 340, 347,
349, 391, 394, 481

- Antipater of Sidon, 44, 128–129,
184–185, 198, 279, 303–304,
371, 397–398, 407–409, 411,
413–417, 431, 481
- Antipater of Thessalonica, 77, 408,
411–413, 417, 478
- antithesis, 37, 39, 68, 196, 198,
204–205, 451, 637
- Anyte of Tegea, 44, 77, 79, 81–82,
86–87, 279, 286–298, 314,
361, 371, 382, 392–393,
395, 417
- Apollonius Rhodius, 379–381
- Apuleius, 196, 512, 577–578
- Aratus, 80, 311, 316, 332, 399
- Archias of Antiocheia, 408–413
- Archilochus, 83, 86, 130, 140, 171,
180, 373, 434, 444, 529
- Argentarius, M. 82, 486
- argutia* (cf. point), 37–38, 467
- Aristodemus of Alexandria (author of
Theban epigrams), 212, 271
- Aristophanes, 327, 374
- Arrius Antonius, 319, 578
- Arsinoe II, 67, 355, 358, 363
- Arsinoe III, 379–380
- art of variation, 278, 397–398, 408,
601, 606
- Asclepiades of Samos, 84, 131–132,
179, 213–214, 218, 279,
306, 315, 322, 337–349,
352–354, 356, 360, 362–363,
365, 371, 375, 377, 379, 385,
481–482, 582
- Atia (Domitius Marsus' poems on),
464–466
- Augustus (cf. Octavian), 66, 69, 465,
479, 482, 496
- Ausonius (D. Magnus Ausonius), 48,
55, 124, 141, 207, 218, 579,
581–585, 590–592
- baths, 72, 585, 605, 660–661
- Berenice, 62–63
- Berenice I, 338, 359
- Berenice II, 62, 352, 359, 380, 448
- books of epigrams, 82, 84, 87, 211–225,
250–252, 272–273, 277, 340,
351–366, 441–450, 468–470,
505–518, 521–534, 544–547,
557–572, 579, 580, 589–591,
654–660, 679–681, 686–688
- brevity (*brevitas*, ὀλιγοστιχίη, *oligosti-*
chia, συντομία), 22–24, 27,
29–30, 36, 39, 94, 127,
181–183, 188, 195, 197–199,
203–204, 217, 225, 273, 277,
280–281, 412, 467, 549,
591–592, 651, 655, 674
- bucolic poetry *see* pastoral
- Caesar (C. Iulius Caesar), 49, 67–68,
105, 447, 449, 543
- Calculus, 661
- Callimachus of Cyrene, 30, 33, 36, 44,
82, 84, 131–132, 138, 180–
183, 188, 273, 279, 305, 310,
319–332, 347, 349, 352, 357,
359–360, 363, 371–372, 377,
379–382, 385, 448, 480–482
- Calvus (C. Licinius Calvus), 31,
67–68, 137, 330, 434, 450
- Carmina XII sapientum*, 580–581
- Catalepton*, 13, 34, 137, 452, 469,
572
- catalogue poems (“Kataloggedichte”),
95–96, 204–205, 395, 515–
518, 579
- Catullus (C. Valerius Catullus), 31–34,
36–37, 46, 49, 67–68, 94, 97,
101–102, 105, 114–119,
133–139, 169, 180, 182, 204,
323, 330–331, 401, 434–435,
441–453, 459–461, 467–470,
501–502, 530, 544–545,
548–549, 578, 653, 675
- Catulus (Q. Lutatius Catulus), 114,
327–328, 401, 409, 431–433

- Cephalas (Constantine Cephalas), 128, 211, 216–225, 304, 357, 363, 389–390, 485, 547, 599, 603, 634
- Christodorus of Coptus, 599
- Cicero (M. Tullius Cicero), 37, 195–197, 199–203, 304, 408–411, 427, 429, 432–433, 498, 500, 580
- Cinna (C. Helvius Cinna), 31, 137, 434
- Claudian (Claudius Claudianus), 123, 586, 591–592, 651
- Codex Salmasianus*, 557, 560, 591, 649
- Codex Vossianus Latinus* Q. 86, 452, 560–561
- comedy, 112, 341, 344, 349, 435
 New c., 48, 166
 Old c., 164–166, 172, 434
 Roman c., 33, 35, 328, 433, 435, 554
- Constantina, 619–120, 622–623
- Constantine I, 618–620
- Constantius II, 619
- Coronatus, 661
- Crinagoras of Mytilene, 44–45, 64, 66, 164, 417, 475–477, 479–485, 487
- Cycle of Agathias* *see* Agathias
- Cynics, Cynicism, 312–313
- Cyrus of Panopolis, 599
- Damagetus, 371–385
- Damasus, 617–619, 621–624
- deixis, deictic expressions, 62, 235–238, 466
- dialects, Greek, 78, 86, 130, 345
- Diogenian, 218, 363
- Dioscorides, 113, 303, 371–385
- Dipylon, 28, 282
- Domitian, 45–46, 69–71, 99, 101, 119–120, 139, 507–510, 513, 516, 522–524, 528, 530–532
- Domitius Marsus, 34, 135–136, 169, 198–200, 460–470, 584
- Doolittle, Hilda, 553
- ecphrasis* (*enargeia*, epigrams on works of art) 79, 84, 204–205, 236, 258–261, 305, 316, 347–348, 359, 361, 400, 605, 668
- effeminacy, 54, 94, 101, 104–106
- elegy, 22, 25, 28–29, 40, 132, 136, 242, 341, 401, 452, 492, 541, 545
- Ennius (Q. Ennius), 33–34, 133–134, 164, 427–429, 500
- Ennodius (Magnus Felix Ennodius), 124, 580, 588–589, 592, 627–628
- epic, 136, 140, 145–151, 155, 158, 163, 172, 179–180, 187, 189, 233, 287–288, 290–292, 294–295, 305, 307, 321, 323, 344–345, 372–374, 376, 385, 410, 412–413, 461, 463, 468–469, 478, 480–482, 492, 515, 521–522, 531, 534, 541, 544, 549, 566, 570, 602–604, 606, 617
- Epicurus, Epicurism, 47, 49, 411–412, 479, 564, 567, 585
- epideictica*, 357, 391–392, 397, 485
- epigram
 anonymous authorship of, 241, 251, 267, 270, 288, 491, 599
 arithmetical problems, 220, 276, 609
 arrangement (structure, organization) of epigram books, 212, 217, 219–220, 223–224, 251, 253, 359–363, 390–393, 395, 397, 446, 452, 485, 507, 512, 518, 522–527, 531–532, 545, 568–569, 590–591, 650–651

epigram (*cont'd*)

- classicizing, 599, 601–602, 607, 634, 636, 642
- cycles, 52, 358–359, 395, 522–523, 528, 531, 568, 579–581, 586, 588, 590, 659–661
- dedicatory (*cf.* votive, *anathematica*), 61, 63, 80–81, 87, 150, 152–153, 232, 250, 269, 287, 304, 307, 319, 340, 357, 362–363, 377, 408, 414, 442, 469, 515, 523, 528, 549, 554, 617, 624, 628, 683, 686–687
- designations for
 - ᾠδαί, 180
 - eclogae*, 30, 34, 137, 180
 - μελίσματα, 180
 - epistulae*, 34
 - hendecasyllabi*, 30, 31, 137, 180, 530
 - ὄμαι, 180
 - iambi*, 31, 180, 530
 - idyllia*, 30, 137, 180
 - μελίσματα, 27, 180
 - nugae*, 33, 180, 571, 581, 586–587, 591
 - ὄμαι, 180
 - poematia*, 30, 137, 180
- dialogue, 21, 24–25, 153, 237–238, 269, 275, 426, 451, 549
- epideictic (*cf.* *epideictica*), 22, 205, 216, 219–220, 223, 269, 310, 357, 390, 408, 442, 580–581, 601, 654, 659
- epigrammata longa*, 173, 182, 198, 225, 587, 603, 654–655
- epigraphic (verse inscriptions, *carmina epigraphica*), 21, 24, 26, 28, 148, 154, 212, 231–243, 252, 268, 271–272, 278, 382, 425–431, 593, 597–599, 604–607, 615–628, 645, 680, 682

epistolary, 592

- erotic, 22, 25–29, 33–34, 43, 82, 213, 216, 218–220, 222, 274, 279–280, 315–316, 319, 322–323, 325, 327, 341, 351–353, 362–363, 375–376, 399–401, 409, 431–434, 442, 449, 491, 550, 566–567, 581, 583, 591, 601–602, 607
- funerary (epitaphs, sepulchral epigrams; *cf.* *epitymbia*), 22, 24–25, 28, 33–34, 43–44, 48, 59–62, 65, 68, 78–83, 85–87, 100, 127, 146–150, 153–158, 183–185, 216, 219, 221, 231–238, 240–241, 254–255, 269, 275, 289–294, 304, 313, 319, 340–343, 355, 357–358, 362–363, 377, 379, 384, 391–392, 398, 425, 429, 431, 442, 464, 469, 485, 495, 502, 549, 558, 580–582, 591, 598, 601, 604, 607, 616–617, 621, 623–628, 634–637, 641, 644–645, 655, 667
- historical, 254–255, 567–568, 593
- honorific, 63–64, 427, 624
- isopsephic, 14, 64
- juxtaposition, 185, 216, 217, 219, 389, 527, 590, 659
- oracles, 22, 39, 220, 276, 609, 633–634
- pairs of epigrams, 70, 279, 522, 590, 654, 659
- panegyric, 44, 60–64, 413, 417, 466, 482, 508–509, 516, 532, 600, 602, 661
- paradox epigram, 450–452
- political, 22, 32–33, 59–72, 104–105, 169, 382, 384–385, 408, 435, 497, 543, 675, 690
- primordial, 234–235, 238
- protreptic, 219–220, 223, 363, 601

- riddles, 22, 220, 276, 309, 378,
 398, 513–514, 518
 satiric, 22, 30, 34–35, 43, 45–46,
 49–55, 93–106, 133,
 163–164, 169–174, 206,
 218–219, 274–275, 434–435,
 486, 582, 608, 655, 659,
 669–670
 scholastic, 578–580
 scoptic, 34, 43, 45, 47, 49–55, 60,
 65–69, 94, 96, 105, 115,
 163–164, 180, 187–188,
 206–207, 274, 357, 365, 435,
 486, 495, 548, 582–583,
 585–586, 588–589, 591, 601,
 606, 608, 654–655, 659
 sympotic, 22, 25–29, 34, 43,
 218–219, 240, 274, 279, 315,
 341, 351, 353–354, 357,
 362–363, 395, 601
 votive (*cf.* dedicatory), 22–26, 34,
 256, 259, 391
 women as authors of, 77–88,
 287–298, 392, 395
Epigrammata Bobiensia, 218, 465,
 582, 584, 590
epitymbia, 221, 280, 310, 357, 359,
 391–392, 397
 Erinna, 77–79, 81, 86, 311, 316, 343,
 345, 347
erotica, 357, 390–91, 395–401, 442,
 485–86
 Erwartung und Aufschluss, 38, 198,
 505–6, 517, 673
 Euphoriön, 371
 Euripides, 152–155, 327, 349,
 374–375, 417
 femininity, 86, 93–101, 288, 291,
 293–294, 298
 Flamininus (T. Quinctius Flamininus),
 66, 383, 416
 Flavius Felix, 661
 Florus (P. Annius Florus), 578
 flower metaphor *see* garland/crown
 metaphor
 Franco, Niccolò, 551
 frescoe epigrams, 682–683
 Gaetulicus (perhaps identical with the
 following), 304
 Gaetulicus (Cn. Cornelius Lentulus
 Gaetulicus), 34, 169, 460–461,
 468–470
 garland/crown metaphor, 393–397
Garland of Meleager *see* Meleager of
 Gadara
Garland of Philip *see* Philip of
 Thessalonica
 George of Pisidia, 602, 681
 graffiti, 103, 112, 116, 140, 183, 329,
 491–502, 543, 554
 Gregory of Nazianzus, 221, 597–598,
 605–607, 633–645
 Hakesandros' cup, 233–236
 Hedylus, 65, 212, 214, 279, 339,
 352–354, 360, 371, 399
 Hegesippus, 371
 Herder, Johann Gottfried, 38, 40, 673
 Herodas, 79, 360, 381
 Herodotus, 26, 61, 196, 220, 241,
 249–251, 253, 255
 Hesiod, 80, 83, 86, 372, 391, 394,
 585, 606
hippika (“on equestrian victories”), 62,
 274, 357
 Hipponax, 44, 130, 311, 316,
 372–373
Historia Augusta, 71–72, 593
 Homer, Homeric influence, 78, 80–81,
 86, 131, 145–148, 151,
 287–291, 293–295, 307, 316,
 321, 344, 372, 391–392, 394,
 415, 511, 517, 549, 580, 603,
 605–606, 689
 homosexuality, 94, 103, 216, 220,
 222, 390

- Honestus, 485
- Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus), 25,
140, 163–175, 325, 421, 447,
452, 462–463, 465–467, 548,
567, 652, 675
- House of the Epigrams (Casa degli
epigrammi greci, Pompeii),
11, 69
- iamatika* (“on cures”), 273, 357,
362–363
- icon epigrams, 682, 684, 687
- Iulius Caesar Scaliger, 36–38, 40
- Julian the Egyptian, 597, 600,
605, 607
- Juvenal (D. Iunius Iuvenalis), 98,
163–64, 173–176, 508,
544, 548
- Knight, Richard Payne, 552–553
- Lascaris, Constantine, 215, 223–224
- Lascaris, Janus, 223, 668–669, 688–
689
- Leo I, 620, 625
- Leonidas of Tarentum, 44, 69, 84,
128–131, 179, 279, 303–316,
344, 361, 371, 373, 382, 384,
392, 398, 415, 469
- Leonides of Alexandria, 64, 304, 417
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 38, 198,
505, 673
- lithika* (“on stones”), 273, 357–358,
360–361
- Lucan (M. Annaeus Lucanus), 148,
469, 523, 560, 563, 570
- Lucilius (C. Lucilius), 33, 164–166,
168–169, 172, 175, 431, 583
- Lucillius, 10–11, 43, 45, 49, 65, 93,
98, 122, 163, 183–184, 199,
274, 435, 582, 606, 636
- Luxorius, 34, 55, 124, 141, 577, 590,
649–662
- lyric poetry, 27–29, 32–33, 40, 80, 87,
255, 257, 274, 306, 339, 341,
343, 372, 374–376, 385,
433–434, 445–447, 581
- Macedonius Consul, 597, 600
- Machon, 374–375
- Maecenas (C. Maecenas), 138, 165,
168–169, 471–472
- Marcellus (M. Claudius Marcellus,
nephew of Augustus), 475–478,
480–483
- Martial (M. Valerius Martialis), *passim*
Apophoreta, 30, 185–186, 505–518,
591, 660
- characters
fictitious, 49–55
real, 45–47
- emperor (imperial poetry, panegyrics),
46, 70–71, 99, 466,
506–508, 522–524,
528–529, 531–534
- Epigrammaton libri XII* (12 Books
of *Epigrams*), 70, 180,
521–534, 572
- libellus* theory, 527–531
- Liber spectaculorum*, 30, 70, 464,
505–509, 518, 591
- obscenity, 34, 71, 99, 117–121,
180, 508, 522
- preface to Book 1, 34, 49, 96, 170,
180, 443, 460–461, 651
- Xenia*, 30, 185–186, 505–518, 591
- masculinity, 93–95, 101–106, 288,
293, 298
- Maximianus, 124–125
- Meleager of Gadara, 29, 32, 80, 82,
127–128, 132, 184–185,
197, 211, 216–217, 224–
225, 250, 253, 279–280,
287, 304, 339, 352, 361–
363, 372, 389–401, 409,
433–435, 441–444, 478,
484, 501, 512, 599, 601

meter

alcaic decasyllable, 130

archilochian, 130

asclepiad, 137, 339, 651, 659

dodecasyllable, 602, 681–682, 689

elegiac distich (elegiac couplet,

ἐλεγεῖον), 22, 24–25, 27,

29–31, 33–34, 39, 114–115,

127–141, 225, 232, 257–258,

281, 339, 427, 431, 443–445,

452, 493, 498, 501, 516,

523, 544, 598, 622, 651–652,

654, 659, 667, 669, 672,

680, 688

glyconic, 137, 447, 544

hendecasyllable (phalaecean), 30–31,

130, 134, 136–141, 196,

442–445, 452, 523, 544–545,

550, 560, 570, 651–652, 654,

659, 672

hexameter, 24, 25, 31, 115, 127–

129, 131–133, 135–136, 138,

140–141, 164, 173, 225, 232,

257–258, 281, 339, 466–467,

493–494, 498, 501, 580, 591,

598, 602–604, 622, 635, 652,

654–655, 659, 680–681, 688

iambic tetrameter, 137

catalectic, 339

iambic trimeter, 127–128, 130, 137,

257, 281, 442, 444, 452, 602–

603, 680–682

catalectic, 130, 258, 339

pentameter, 115, 129, 132–136,

183, 232, 452, 493–494, 498

political verse, 681–682

sapphics, sapphic stanza, 137, 320,

447, 672

saturnian, 33, 63, 133–134, 425,

427

scazon (choliambus, limping iambs),

31, 130, 137–141, 182, 444,

452, 523, 530, 544, 651–652,

655

senarius, 140, 434, 493, 495,

497–498, 651

sotadean, 141

trochaic tetrameter, 681

catalectic, 68

Milan Papyrus (*P.Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309,

Milan Posidippus, “New”

Posidippus), 33, 214, 253, 273,

277, 279, 325, 351–355,

357–366, 478

mime, 112, 168–169, 171–172, 341,

343, 344, 379, 498

misogyny, 98–99, 608

Mnasalces, 371–385

Moero of Byzantium, 77, 80–81,

86–87, 395

monothematic books, 486, 505–518,

541–554, 591

mosaic epigrams, 616, 618–619, 624,

628, 682–683, 688

Naevius (Cn. Naevius), 33, 134, 140,

428

nauagika (“on shipwrecks,”), 269,

357, 363, 392

Naucellius, 584–585, 590–591, 617

Neoptolemus of Parium (author of

On Epigrams), 25, 27, 36,

212, 271

neoterics, 31, 67, 434–435, 450,

470–471, 544, 651

Nero, 10, 45, 71

Nerva, 71, 522, 532–534

Nestor’s cup, 28, 233–234, 236–

237, 680

Nicaenetus, 371–385

Nicarchus, 10–11, 43, 49, 65, 67,

122–123, 163, 187, 274,

364–365, 435, 582, 606

Nonius Atticus Maximus, 585

Nonnus of Panopolis, 220, 601–602,

606–607, 681

Nossis of Locri, 44, 77, 79, 82–87, 179,

279, 361, 371, 382, 384, 392

- obscenity, 32, 36, 71, 96, 99, 101,
 111–125, 130, 167–169, 180,
 445–447, 450, 460, 469, 491,
 495, 508, 516, 522, 525, 541,
 543, 547–549, 551, 582–83,
 590, 607, 657, 667, 672
 Octavian (*cf.* Augustus), 465, 568
oionoskopika (“on omens”), 273,
 357–358
 ὀλιγοστιχίη (*oligostichia*) *see* brevity
onomasti komoidein, 166–168
 Optatianus Porphyrius, 570, 592, 619
 oratory (rhetoric), orators, 37, 195–
 207, 271, 498, 579
 Ovid (P. Ovidius Naso), 69, 118,
 134–135, 148, 304, 323, 452,
 460, 465, 468–469, 498, 515,
 544, 546, 559, 561–562,
 564–565, 569–570, 583, 620,
 622–624

 Pacuvius (M. Pacuvius), 33, 140
 Palladas, 128, 187, 218–219, 365,
 585, 597–598, 603–604,
 606, 608
 panegyric, 44, 60–64, 413, 417,
 452, 466, 468–469, 482,
 508–509, 661
 Il Panormita (Antonio Beccadelli),
 125, 551, 668
 pastoral (bucolic poetry), 81, 86, 287,
 297–298, 309, 313–314, 362,
 498, 674
 Paul the Silentiary, 220, 597, 600,
 602, 607
 Paulinus of Nola, 592, 627
 pederasty, 97–98, 102, 122–123, 391,
 476–477, 486, 578, 675
 Peloponnesian school, 279–280, 314
Peplos, 215, 271, 581
 Persian Wars, 24, 60–61, 196, 239,
 252–253, 255–256, 272
 Persius (A. Persius), 163–164, 170,
 172, 463, 544

persona (poetic “I”), 32, 43, 46, 70,
 82, 85, 102, 114, 130, 179,
 288, 298, 353, 399, 506
 Petronius, 204, 513, 544, 548, 560,
 577
 Petrus (*referendarius*), 661
 Phaedimus, 371–385
 Phanius, 371, 374
 Philip of Thessalonica, 29, 62, 128,
 130–131, 181–182, 188, 198,
 205, 211, 216–217, 224–225,
 363, 390, 409, 417, 479,
 483–487
 Philip V of Macedon, 65–66, 382–384
 Philitas of Cos, 33, 337, 359
 Philochorus of Athens (author of *Attic*
Epigrams), 25, 212, 271
 Philodemus of Gadara, 113–114, 204,
 218, 279, 365, 407–418, 479,
 486, 567
 Phoenician school, 279–280
 Pindar, Pindaric influence, 311, 324,
 378, 394
 Planudes (Maximus Planudes), 113,
 222, 224–225, 635
 Plato, Platonic influence, 196, 324,
 327–330
 Plautus (T. Plautus), 33, 140, 428
 Pliny the Elder (C. Plinius Secundus),
 186, 258, 583
 Pliny the Younger (C. Plinius Caecilius
 Secundus), 30–31, 34, 36, 71,
 136–137, 180, 196, 319, 459,
 469, 534, 571, 577–578, 587,
 592, 651, 658
 Plutarch, 61, 68, 250–251
P.Mil. Vogl. VIII 309 *see* Milan Papyrus
poetae novelli, 34, 577–578
 point (*aprosdoketon*; *cf.* *argutia*), 35,
 39, 122, 198–199, 201–202,
 204, 450, 467–468, 521,
 638–639, 671–672
 Polemo of Ilium (author of *On epigrams*
city by city), 212, 260, 271

- Polystratus, 371, 417
 Pompey (Cn. Pompeius Magnus), 49,
 67, 105, 148, 444, 447, 560
 Pontano, Giovanni, 125, 550–551, 669
 popular verse (*versus populares*), 68–69,
 435, 497
 Porcius Licinius, 114, 196, 401, 432
 Posidippus of Pella, 27, 29, 33,
 44, 61–62, 131, 214, 273,
 279–280, 338–339, 351–366,
 371, 391–392, 479, 582
P.Oxy. LIV 3724, 113, 217, 365
P.Petr. II 49a, 27, 214–215
Priapea (*Corpus Priapeorum*), 34,
 96, 121, 137, 204, 452,
 541–554, 572
 Propertius (S. Propertius), 304, 314,
 452, 463–464, 469, 498
 Prosper of Aquitaine, 591–592
 prostitutes (courtesans, *hetairai*), 51,
 82, 95, 102, 116, 120, 122,
 124, 342, 353, 355, 416, 445,
 547–548, 567
 Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 67, 359, 382
 Ptolemy III Euergetes, 382
P.Vindob. G 40611 *see* Vienna incipits
 Quintilian (M. Fabius Quintilianus),
 31, 37, 164, 179–180, 195–
 197, 199–202, 444, 467–468,
 525, 571
recusatio, 188–189, 323–324, 562–
 563, 652
 rhetoric *see* oratory
 Rhianus, 371
ridiculum dictum, 201–203, 435
 ring composition, 358, 361, 397
 Rufinus, 11, 95, 123, 332, 486, 582–583
 Samius, 371–385
 Sappho, 78, 83–85, 180, 216, 355,
 373, 376, 393–395, 434, 445,
 447, 564
 satire (genre), 33, 35, 98, 104, 112,
 140, 163–176, 389, 392,
 431, 435, 541, 552, 584,
 591, 669
Saturnalia, 119, 138, 510–516, 518,
 544, 554
 Scipiones, epitaphs of, 133, 425–429,
 431, 617
scoptica, 357
 seals, epigrams on, 684
 Seneca, Ps., 72, 204, 452, 557–572,
 577, 589
sententia, 35, 195–196, 200–203
 Septimius Serenus, 578
 sexuality (*cf.* femininity, homosexuality,
 masculinity, pederasty), 50,
 103, 116, 377, 381, 434,
 449, 530, 541–554, 566,
 583, 589, 607, 655–656
 Sidonius Apollinaris, 64, 469, 586–587,
 591–592, 628
 Silius Italicus, 138, 180, 570, 620
 Simonides of Ceos, 24, 60, 85, 180,
 216, 241, 249–261, 272–273,
 361, 377, 392–395
 Sixtus III, 625
 Sophocles, 27, 158, 254, 374–375,
 689
Soros (Σωρός), 214, 339, 354, 360,
 362
 Sositheus, 374–375
sphragis, 83, 312, 315, 352, 356,
 396, 500
spoudogeloion (σπουδογέλοιον),
 163, 165
 Statius (P. Papinius Statius), 34, 71,
 515–516, 591
 Stoics, Stoicism, 165, 353, 523, 557,
 561, 564, 572
 Strato of Sardis, 122–123, 390, 486,
 547, 582
 Swift, Jonathan, 552
Syllogae minores, 223
Sylloge Simonidea, 250, 273

- Symmachus I (pope), 625
 Symphosius, 518
sympotica, 357
 συντομία *see* brevity
- Tacitus (Cornelius Tacitus), 197,
 571, 626
- Theocritus, 79, 219, 305, 310, 314,
 337–338, 346, 359, 362, 371,
 379, 381, 479, 642
- Theodore Studites, 680, 686
- Theodoridas, 371–385
- Theognis, 29, 83, 324, 341, 434
- Thespis, 374
- Thucydides, 196, 253, 382
- Tibullus (Albius Tibullus), 136, 452,
 463–464, 469, 561–562
- Tiburtinus (Loreius Tiburtinus), 434,
 498–501
- tragedy, 145, 148–158, 172, 187, 189,
 305, 326, 374, 417, 571
- Trajan, 71, 532–534
- tropoi* (“characters”), 357, 360
- Unus poeta*, 649–650, 654, 658–661
- urbanitas*, 115, 168, 171, 195, 199–
 200, 433, 467
- Valerius Flaccus (C. Valerius Flaccus),
 148, 180, 549
- Vergil (P. Vergilius Maro), 69, 136,
 138, 147–148, 361–362, 412,
 452, 459, 461–462, 464, 469,
 475, 501, 531, 545, 549, 579–
 580, 583, 617, 620, 622–624,
 649–650
- Vienna incipits (*P. Vindob.* G 40611),
 213–214, 225, 362, 365
- Vignale, Antonio, 551
- Wilmot, John (Earl of Rochester), 552
- wit (*sal*, *acumen*), 36–37, 59, 69, 186,
 195, 198–199, 202, 343, 349,
 433, 449, 651, 653, 659, 673

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